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THE
CONTINUATION
OF
Mr. RAPIN's
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND;

From the REVOLUTION to the
Present Times.

By N. TINDAL, M. A.

Rector of ALVERSTOKE, in HAMPSHIRE, and
Chaplain of the Royal Hospital at GREENWICH.

The FIFTH EDITION, Corrected.

V O L. XIX. VIIth of CONTINUATION.

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J. HINXMAN, and C. WARE.

MDCCLXIII.

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MR. RALPH
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VOL. XIX. THE CONSTITUTION.



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MDCCLXXIII.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

BOOK XXXI.

From the Year 1716 to the Year 1727.

30 GEORGE I.

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Rebels tried—Scots officers hanged in effigy at Edin-
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Progress of the prince—Lord Townshend removed—
State of France and Spain—Treaty with France—
Murmured against—Swedish minister and baron Gortz
seized*

THE HISTORY

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1716.
The septennial bill proposed.

THE rebellion was now quelled, and the strength of the rebels intirely broken, but the disaffection of the people was not yet conquered. The parliament was the bulwark of the crown; the vigour and unanimity of the king's friends, and their superiority in the house, was the support of the whole affair. But the parliament being only of three years continuance, by virtue of the Triennial Act, made in the 6th year of king William and queen Mary; all the hopes of the other party seemed to be centered in this, that the parliament would expire; and that they should be able, by their influence in the country, to chuse a majority of their party at the next election; or raise such a ferment at that juncture, as might make way for a successful invasion from abroad. This the persons at the helm observed with concern; and therefore resolved to baffle these hopes of the enemies of the government, by prolonging the sitting of the present parliament. It is said, it was first proposed only to suspend the Triennial Act for once, whereby this parliament would have continued three years beyond the time, at which it was to determine; but it was afterwards thought, that a bill for enlarging the time of continuance of parliaments in general would be less liable to exceptions. The next thing that fell under consideration was, Whether this intended bill should be set on foot in the house of lords, or in the house of commons? The first was judged the properer for several reasons, particularly, because, the court being more sure of a majority in the house of commons, if the bill miscarried with the lords, the odium of this project, which carried a face of unpopularity, would not rest upon the commons, nor consequently prejudice future elections.

On the 9th of April in the evening, about thirty of the court lords met at the duke of Devonshire's, where, after a short consultation, it was resolved to begin this matter the very next day; and the duke was desired to move it in the house of lords. The duke readily complied with the desire

Geo. I.
1716.

of the assembly; and the next day, after the lords had dispatched some private business, the duke stood up, and made a speech on the inconveniencies that attend triennial elections; suggesting, in particular, that they keep up party divisions, raise and foment feuds and animosities in private families; occasion ruinous expences; and give occasion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes. It therefore became the wisdom of that august assembly to apply a proper remedy to an evil, which might be attended with the most dangerous consequences, especially in the present temper of the nation. For, though the rebellion was happily suppressed, yet the spirit of it remained unconquered, and seemed only to wait for an opportunity to shew itself with more violence. That, the election of a new parliament, which by the triennial act was not far off, being the most favourable juncture, which the disaffected could expect, he thought it absolutely necessary to deprive them of it. For which purpose he had a bill to offer to this house, 'for enlarging the continuance of parliaments;' and moved, that the same might be read. The duke was seconded by the earl of Rockingham, and supported by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Dorset, the lord Townshend, and some other lords. The duke of Bucks, the lord Trevor, the earls of Nottingham and Aylesford, and some peers of the other side, did not directly oppose the bill, but made long speeches for putting off the reading of it to another time. They owned, that every member has the privilege of offering what bill he thinks fit, without asking leave; but that the house is likewise at liberty either to read it or not, as they think convenient; and that the matter, now offered, was of so high a nature, that it well deserved to be maturely weighed and considered before the same was debated: And therefore they moved, that the bill might lie for some days on the table. To this it was answered, that nothing was farther from their thoughts, than to carry any thing by surprise: That, by the ordinary method of proceeding, every member has sufficient time to weigh and consider what is offered in the house; and, to shew how fairly they intended to act in this affair, the earl of Dorset proposed, that, after the bill had been once read, the second reading of it should be put off for some days, and that all the members in and about London should be summoned to attend. The lords of the opposite side, finding themselves the weaker, acquiesced in this motion; so the bill was read the first time, and ordered to be read a second on the 14th of April.

Geo. I. On that day the bill was read (a), and a warm debate
 1716. arose, which lasted five hours (b). The earl of Abingdon
 said, 'The bill was of a very extraordinary nature, since it
 Debate upon it. repealed the Triennial act, which the people justly looked
 Pr. H. L. upon as the great security of their rights and liberties; and
 that, if it passed this house, and the commons agreed to it,
 the same would be a breach of that trust, which was reposed
 in them by those whom they represented.' The latter part
 of this assertion was denied by the duke of Kingston, who
 urged, 'That the business of the legislature was to rectify
 old laws, as well as to make new ones.' Earl Powlet de-
 clared, 'That he would be for it, if he thought it for the
 king's service and interest; but that, before they went any
 farther in so important an affair, some method should be
 taken to know the sentiments of the nation.' He urged,

(a) The substance of the bill was: It has been found by experience, that triennial parliaments are grievous, by occasioning much greater and continual expence, and more violent and lasting heats, than were ever known before. And, if the triennial act continues, it may probably, at the present juncture, when a restless and Popish faction are designing to renew the rebellion at home,

and an invasion from abroad, be destructive to the peace and security of the government. Be it therefore enacted, that this present and all future parliaments shall have continuance for (seven) years, to be accounted from the date of the writ of summons, unless this or any such parliament shall be sooner dissolved by his majesty, his heirs and successors.

(b) The speakers were as follow :

Against the bill.

1. Earl of Abingdon,
3. Earl Powlet,
5. Lord Trevor,
7. Duke of Bucks,
9. Lord Foley,
11. Earl of Aylesford,
13. Earl of Peterborough,
14. } Earl of Nottingham,
16. }
18. Duke of Shrewsbury,
21. Earl of Aylesford,
22. Bishop of London,
23. Earl of Anglesey,
24. Duke of Bucks.

For the Bill.

2. Duke of Kingston,
4. Earl of Dorset,
6. Lord Carteret,
8. Earl of Cholmondley,
10. Duke of Newcastle,
12. Earl of Ilay,
15. } Duke of Argyle,
17. }
19. Lord Parker,
20. Lord Cowper.

‘That this bill shewed a distrust of the affection of the people, without which no king can be either safe or easy. That king William gained the hearts of his subjects by the Triennial Act; and it would look somewhat strange, that the most popular of our laws should be repealed a year after the Protestant succession took place.’ After this, he endeavoured to answer what was suggested in support of this bill, viz. 1. That frequent elections occasion ruinous expences. 2. That they raise a great ferment, and foment animosities, which are of the most dangerous consequence after the late rebellion: And 3. That they obstruct foreign alliances.’ He said, ‘That no stress ought to be laid on the first of those objections, expences at elections being voluntary. That, as to the second, he was sorry there had been a rebellion; but that the same was now happily suppressed. And, as to the third suggestion, the same was of no weight with him, it being his opinion, that in a matter, which so nearly concerns our constitution, we ought to have regard to ourselves only, and not to foreigners.’ Upon all which considerations, he was against the committing of this bill. The earl of Dorset said, among other things, ‘That they who now spoke against this bill, would be for it, if it served their turn. That the Triennial act was a new law, and an alteration of the old constitution. That, the experience of twenty years having shewn a thousand inconveniencies attending that law, they ought to apply a remedy to it. That it sowed the seeds of corruption, it being notorious, that great numbers of persons had no other livelihood, than by being employed in bribing corporations. That we had lately a sad experience of it; since by those methods a parliament was procured by the last ministry, which gave sanction to most of their ill measures, and went near to give up the trade and liberties of the nation. That triennial elections destroy all family interest, and subject our excellent constitution to the caprice of the multitude: And, in short, that by triennial elections we have but a triennial government, which is little better than no government at all.’ For which reasons he was for the bill. The lord Trevor said, ‘That the question now lying before them was, Whether the law, they were going to make, tended to the good or prejudice of the constitution? That, for his own part, he looked upon the Triennial Act as an essential part of our ancient constitution, according to which, frequent, and even annual parliaments were to be held. That he might easily prove, that long parliaments were always pernicious. That, when

Geo. I. king Charles I. had given up his prerogative of dissolving parliaments in 1640, he gave himself up into the hands of traytors, and had nothing but destruction to expect from them.

That, after the restoration, king Charles II. that very good prince, found the inconvenience of a long parliament. That, as soon as the nation had opportunity, by the revolution, to assert their just rights and liberties, the Triennial Act was insisted on, and gained, at last, with a great deal of opposition. That there were very good and cogent reasons for making a law to support the constitution, and prevent incroachments, either of parliaments on the crown, or of the crown on the rights and liberties of the people; and to correct abuses and exorbitances committed through the ambition and avarice of ministers. That he would not be thought to reflect on the present administration; but that, in his opinion, frequent elections were a necessary right of the subject to remedy abuses. That, for his own part, he had ever been against the bill for limiting the number of officers in the house of commons: But, if the Triennial Act were repealed, he thought that bill would become very necessary, because the long sitting of parliaments would give the crown both an opportunity and temptation to multiply the number of officers. That some reflections had been cast on the last parliament: But that, in his opinion, that parliament was chosen by the same method as the present was, by great expences. That he owned this to be a great abuse; but that laws might be made to rectify the same. That, if this bill passed, how could any member of the other house expect to preserve his interest with those who chose him, when this bill would certainly be interpreted both a violation of their right, and a breach of the trust reposed in him? That, if this house of commons continued themselves beyond the time, for which they were chosen, they were no more the representatives of the people, but a house of their own making. That he was sorry there were discontents in the country; but he apprehended that this bill would rather increase than abate them. He owned, that the majority of this house of commons were honest gentlemen, who had the interest of their king and country at heart; but that, in his opinion, those, who went before them, did not come short of them in point of duty and affection to his majesty; for it was they who established the king on his throne, and settled his revenue with all chearfulness imaginable. That what he had suggested, flowed from the dread of the ill consequences of this bill, which might rise to such an height, as to render

Geo. I.
1716.

der the crown uneasy to his majesty. That he owed so much to the Protestant succession, that, if he could believe this bill to be of any service to the king and royal family, he would be intirely for it; but, as he was of a contrary opinion, he would not have a bill, obtained in the best of reigns, repealed in the first year of this Protestant reign. And therefore he was against the committing of this bill.' Lord Carteret, who spoke next, owned, 'That frequent parliaments are a great security of the people's rights and liberties; but he observed, that this bill was not against frequent sessions, but only against frequent elections. That they ought maturely to weigh and consider what was suggested in the preamble of the bill, That there is a 'restless Popish faction designing and endeavouring to renew the rebellion within this kingdom.' That, of all rebellions, this last was the most monstrous and unnatural; for all other rebellions were carried on under pretences of liberty, whereas this last was a rebellion for slavery. That, as to our allies abroad, though he could not say, that they expected this bill, yet it was reasonable to suppose, that they would be glad to see it pass into a law; for, having found, by sad experience, that great changes may be made in the best concerted measures by different parliaments, inflamed by different ministries; so, if they had not some security for the treaties his majesty was now entering into with them, a strong tide might come upon a new election, that might overturn all. That, in short, this bill would fix the king, and the present happy establishment, on a lasting foundation; and therefore he was for committing it.' The earl of Cholmondley said, 'That he made no doubt, but the legislature is vested with a supreme power to rectify any inconveniencies, to which any former law may, by experience, be found to be subject; and, this being the case of the Triennial Act, they ought to remedy the same. That what had been suggested, in relation to the long parliament in king Charles the second's reign, was, in his opinion, rather an argument for, than against the bill. For though, in that parliament, the king had many pensioners, who, at first, complimented him with money, yet at last, when the interest of the nation came to be at stake, they voted for a war with France, and prosecuted the Popish plot with the utmost vigour. That they had lately seen what a corrupt parliament may do, and by what means such a parliament may be got: And every one might guess how there came to be a debt of 500,000*l.* upon the civil list. That he did not mention this to irritate

against

Geo. I. against persons, but against things. That, in his opinion, 1716. there was no better remedy against corruptions, than the suppressing frequent elections. That he thought this bill the more necessary, because our allies will thereby have a security, that they shall not again be left in the lurch. And, in consideration of the great benefits, that will accrue from it both at home and abroad, he was for the committing it.' Lord Foley made a long speech, in which he enlarged upon the excellency of our constitution; took notice, that the different branches of the legislature are a check to one another, which prevents exorbitancies in the administration, and dragging, as in Turkey and other arbitrary governments; suggested, that the pensionary parliament made king Charles II. uneasy, by making him neglect the affections of his people; and concluded, that he was afraid, that the repealing the Triennial Act would have the same effect, and therefore he was against it.'

The duke of Newcastle answered, ' That it had already been rightly observed, that, though the long parliament of king Charles II. at first complimented that prince, yet they afterwards vigorously opposed destructive measures, and insisted on a war with France.' Then passing over less material objections, which had been fully refuted, he urged, ' That the present happy settlement could not be maintained without taking away the seeds of corruption. That no cause ever miscarried in so many instances as that of the rebels. But, notwithstanding their defeat at Preston and Dunblain, their being driven out of Scotland, with their king at their head, their disappointments in other parts, and the execution of some of their leaders, the Jacobites were as insolent as ever. That this was the reason why, in a late debate in this house, he was against lenity; and the rather, because no prince was ever more naturally inclined to mercy than his present majesty; for no prince ever had so many rebels in his power, and never were so few punished. ' My lords (added he) you must now strengthen yourselves, and disarm your enemies. It is not to be doubted, but the late unnatural and monstrous rebellion was raised and fomented by large contributions of a restless Popish faction. The same means, my lords, will be used to renew the rebellion as soon as a proper opportunity offers. Their emissaries are busy everywhere to keep up the spirits of the people for a year longer, and then they hope to retrieve all by a new election.' He concluded, ' That, though the allies would not make any thing done among us an article of their treaties, yet, having
the

the sad experience of being left in the lurch, they would certainly enter into alliances with us with more confidence, if they saw, that our government was not precarious.' Upon all which considerations he was for the bill (c). Geo. I. 1716.

The

(c). After several other speeches, the earl of Nottingham, having made large professions of duty and affection to the king, said, ' That he was against this bill, because he thought it would rather exasperate than quiet the minds of the people. That this bill shewed a distrust of the affections of the people, and an intention of governing by fear, which, in his opinion, was the worst way of government: And God forbid his majesty should have no prospect of gaining the affections of his subjects. That the king came in universally beloved, and was received with general acclamations of his people; and, though he could not assign the true cause of the present dissatisfaction, yet some secret cause must have been given for it. That he hoped the people's dissatisfaction was not so great, as it was represented. That the rebellion was intirely suppressed, and at an end; but, if any ferment yet remained, this bill was a very improper way to allay it, and would rather rivet the disaffected in their prejudices against the government, than make them change their opinion. That one of the arguments urged for this bill was that it would encourage foreign princes and states to enter into alliances with us; but that, in his opinion, the same might have a contrary effect. For foreign potentates may be deter-

red from entering into measures with us, when they shall be informed, by the preamble to this bill, that the Popish faction is so dangerous, as that it may be destructive to the peace and security of the government; and may apprehend, from this bill, that the government is so weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety; which seems to imply, that the gentlemen of Great Britain are not to be trusted in a new election, and that the good affections of the people are restrained to so small a number as that, of which the present house of commons consists. That frequent and new parliaments are required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom; and that the practice thereof, for many ages, was sufficient evidence of this constitution. That this bill was so far from preventing corruptions, that it would rather increase them; for, the longer a parliament is to last, the more valuable to be purchased is a station in it, and the greater also is the danger of corrupting the members of it. That, whatever reasons there may be to continue this parliament for seven years, they will be at least as strong, and, by the conduct of the ministry, may be made much stronger, before the end of seven years, continuing it still longer, and even to perpetuate it, which would be an absolute subversion

of

Geo. I. The duke of Shrewsbury spoke with some vehemence
 1716. against the bill ; after which the lord Parker enlarged on the
 constitution with relation to the calling, election, sitting,
 and prolonging of parliaments. He was followed by the

of the third estate of this realm.' But what was most taken notice of in his lordship's speech, was, that, in order to shew the danger of enlarging the prerogative, he instanced, in the precedent of king Henry VIII, who persuaded his parliament to give him the abbey-lands, under pretence, that they would bear part of his expences, which would ease them of taxes, and improve trade ; but that, soon after, he demanded and obtained great subsidies, and made use of those lands to inflave the nation.

The duke of Argyle answered, among other particulars: 'That he could by no means agree with the noble lord, that spoke last, either as to the beginning or end of the rebellious. That it had been suggested, that the king had been received with the general acclamations of his people ; but that it was certain, and has since manifestly appeared, that, whatever arts were used by the last ministry to blind and deceive the people, designs had been laid to bring in the pretender, long before the king's happy accession to the throne. That the disappointment of these designs was intirely owing to Providence ; for, had the conspirators thrown off the mask sooner, and improved the ferment their emissaries had raised in the nation, at the election of the last parliament, it is very probable their wicked schemes for setting aside the Protestant succession had taken

place. That he wondered therefore, that his lordship could be puzzled to find out the cause of the present disaffection, for, it was plain, it proceed from the false representations of things and persons, that were industriously spread abroad, both before and since his majesty's coming in.' As to what has been suggested, that the rebellion was at an end, his grace observed, 'That the rebels had only shifted their head-quarters from Perth to Paris, or St. Germain's ; but that their emissaries were still as busy and insolent as ever in Great Britain, and wanted only an opportunity to renew the rebellion, and favour an invasion.' As to what had been hinted, that this bill would rivet the Jacobites in their opinion, he said, 'That was no good argument against it, for he had seen some persons shift sides often, and change their opinions, and be very zealous for both.'

The earl of Nottingham, taking this reflection to himself, readily owned, 'That he was for some time against the Abjuration Oath, because he thought a multiplicity of oaths, would make the nation unsafe ; but that, as soon as he was convinced of the necessity of that oath, he readily came into it.' The duke of Argyle thereupon stood up, and said, He was sorry that noble lord took to himself what he said only in general.'

lord

lord chancellor Cowper, who resumed all the arguments that had been urged in the debate; rectified some mistakes as to the constitution and nature of the parliaments; gave a clear account of the triennial act; and vindicated the king and the government, as to the present disaffection; appealing to the lords and commons, 'Whether the least provocation had been given either by his majesty or his ministers?' and asserting, That, if there was any fault on the king's side, it was too much lenity; and that the only crime that could be charged on his ministers, was their zeal and vigilance in defence of his majesty's person and government.' The earl of Aylesford having answered part of the lord chancellor's speech, the bishop of London said, 'That, when he came to the house, he knew not which way he should give his vote, and hoped to be guided and determined by what should be offered on both sides on this important subject: But now he owned he was confounded between dangers and inconveniencies on one side, and destruction on the other.'

The earl of Anglesea spoke next with great vehemence against the bill; and the duke of Bucks closed the debate with saying, 'That he was for the bill, but did not think it seasonable.' At last, the question, 'That the bill be committed,' being put, it was carried in the affirmative by ninety-six voices against sixty-one. But thirty lords entered their protests (d).

Two

(d) They were as follow :

Dissentient.

I. Because, we conceive, that frequent and new parliaments are required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and the practice thereof, for many ages (which manifestly appears by our records) is a sufficient evidence and proof of this constitution.

II. Because it is agreed, that the house of commons must be chosen by the people; and, when so chosen, they are truly the representatives of the people, which they cannot be so properly said to be, when continued for a longer time than that,

for which they were chosen; for, after that time, they are chosen by the parliament, and not by the people, who are thereby deprived of the only remedy, which they have against those, who either do not understand, or, through corruption, do wilfully betray the trust reposed in them; which remedy is to chuse better men in their places.

III. Because the reasons given for this bill, we conceive, were not sufficient to induce us to pass it, in subversion of so essential a part of our constitution.

I. For, as to the argument, that this will encourage the princes and states of Europe to enter

Geo. I.
1716.

Two days after the lords considered of the bill in a grand committee, and most of the former speakers exerted themselves

enter into alliances with us, we have not heard any one minister assert, that any one prince or state has asked, or so much as insinuated, that they wished such an alteration.

Nor is it reasonable to imagine it; for it cannot be expected, that any prince or state can rely upon a people to defend their liberties and interests, who shall be thought to have given up so great a part of their own; nor can it be prudent for them to wish such an experiment, after the experience that Europe has had of the great things this nation has done for them, under the constitution which is to be altered by this bill.

But, on the other hand, they may be deterred from entering into measures with us, when they shall be informed by the preamble of this bill, that the Popish faction is so dangerous, as that it may be destructive to the peace and security of the government; and may apprehend, from this bill, that the government is so weak, as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety; which seems to imply, that the gentlemen of Britain are not to be trusted or relied upon; and that the good affections of the people are restrained to so small a number, as that, of which the present house of commons consists.

2. We conceive, this bill is so far from preventing expences and corruptions, that it will rather increase them, for the

longer a parliament is to last, the more valuable to be purchased is a station in it, and the greater also is the danger of corrupting the members of it. For, if there should be a ministry, who shall want a parliament to screen them from the just resentment of the people, or from a discovery of their ill practices to the king, who cannot otherwise, or so truly, be informed of them, as by a free parliament, it is so much the interest of such a ministry to influence the elections, (which, by their authority, and the disposal of the public money, they, of all others, have the best means of doing) that, it is to be feared, they will be tempted, and not fail to make use of them; and, even when the members are chosen, they have a greater opportunity of inducing very many to comply with them, than they could have, if not only the sessions of parliament, but the parliament itself were reduced to the ancient and primitive constitution and practice of frequent and new parliaments; for, as a good ministry will neither practise, nor need corruption, so it cannot be any lord's intent to provide for the security of a bad one.

3. We conceive, that whatever reasons may induce the lords to pass this bill, to continue this parliament for seven years, will be, at least, as strong, and may, by the conduct of the ministry, be made much stronger before the end of seven years, for

selves for and against it; and, among others, a bishop, who had not yet spoken on the subject, said, 'If this bill was never so good in itself, it was very unseasonable, because very unpopular, and altogether useless, the rebellion being crushed, and the power of France not to be feared; now especially, when we have a glorious standing army, and a ministry, that knows how effectually to engage the affections of the people.' The committee having gone through the bill, and ordered the blank before the word Years to be filled up with the word Seven, the question was put, Whether the same should be reported, in order to be ingrossed, which was carried by seventy-four voices against thirty-nine. The next day the bill was reported, and, without dividing, ordered to be engrossed; and, being read the third time, on the 18th of April, there arose a debate, which lasted about two hours. Near half of that time was taken up by the earl of Nottingham, who, among other things, by a long historical detail, endeavoured to shew, 'That counsels for enlarging the prerogative were ever pernicious to the crown.' To this the duke of Argyle answered, 'That, not being so well read in history as that noble lord, he would confine himself to what had happened in his own time; and that he had observed, that his lordship had, by turns, opposed all that had been offered, either for the interest of the crown, or the liberties of the people; of which he might easily produce several instances:' adding, 'That he did not much wonder there appeared already so much joy among a certain party over a repenting sinner.'

for continuing it yet still longer, and even to perpetuate it; which would be an express and absolute subversion of the third estate of the realm.

Somerset,
Shrewsbury,
Anglesea,
Osborne,
Compton,
Bristol,
Tadcaster,
Nottingham,
Abingdon,
Guilford,
Aylesford,
Foley,

Ashburnham,
Mansel,
Gower,
Bathurst,
Weston,
Bruce,
Willoughby de Broke,
Poulet,
Dartmouth,
Bingley,
Strafford,
Trevor,
Montjoy,
Northampton,
P. Roffens.
P. Hereford,
Fr. Cestriens.
Salisbury.

Upon

Geo. I. Upon the whole matter, the question being put, 'Whether
1716. 'this bill should pass?' It was carried in the affirmative by a
majority of sixty-nine voices against thirty-six; but twenty-
four lords protested against it.

Debates of
the com-
mons on the
septennial
bill.
Pt. H. C.

The bill being sent down to the commons, the lord Guernsey moved for the rejecting of it without being read; but his motion was declared to be unprecedented, and the bill read. Upon the question for the second reading, there arose a debate, of which the most remarkable passage was, that an eminent member, who had been, in the most difficult times, very zealous for the Protestant succession, spoke against the bill, and, among other things, suggested, 'That it was an imposition of the lords to take upon them to direct the commons in a matter, which solely concerns them, as guardians of the rights and liberties of the people.' He was seconded by Mr. Shippen; but the lord Coningsby made them sensible, 'That their objection was altogether groundless, and the result of their want, either of experience or memory; for had they, like himself, been members of that house, when the triennial act was made, they might have remembered, that the same was begun in the house of lords, who, as part of the legislature, are no less guardians of the liberties of the subject, than the commons themselves.' Mr. Fuller and the lord Guernsey spoke afterwards against the bill, but were answered by the lord Stanhope, eldest son to the earl of Chesterfield; and a second reading was at last carried by a majority of two hundred and seventy-six against a hundred and fifty-six.

In the mean time, several petitions were prepared in the country, and presented to the house against the bill, particularly from Hastings, Marlborough, Cambridge, and Abingdon. Then, the bill being read the second time, there arose a warm debate, which lasted from about two in the afternoon till near eleven at night.

Mr. Lyddal spoke a long speech for the bill, and, among other things, said. 'If this opportunity be lost, you may possibly never have another, or at least so good a one, not only to conquer, but even to eradicate that spirit of Jacobitism, which has dwelt long amongst us, and has more than once brought this nation to the very brink of ruin and destruction. Since therefore, with much danger and difficulty, we have at last secured our religion, laws, and liberties, when all was at stake from the treachery of the late ministry, and the unaccountable proceedings of the last triennial parliament, why should you run the risk of having a new one so soon,

first

first chosen by French money, and then voting by French directions, since the king and his parliament exert their united power for the good of the public, and to retrieve the honour of the nation? Why should they not continue longer together, that they may finish what they have so unanimously and happily begun? Upon the whole, the electors and people of all the boroughs in England having, for several years past, been bribed and preached into the pretender's interest, and a dislike of the Protestant succession, it becomes rather necessity than choice, to apply an extraordinary remedy to an extraordinary disease.'

After this and several other speeches, it was carried for committing the bill (a); and, the next day, a petition from the borough of Horsham was presented to the house, setting forth, 'That they looked upon the bill as an overturning the constitution, and an infringement of their liberties;' at which expressions the house being offended, it was resolved, that the petition should be rejected. Then Mr. Lechmere moved, 'That the committee have leave to receive a clause, to disable persons from being chose members of either house of parliament, who have pensions during pleasure, or any number of years.' But Mr. secretary Stanhope having represented, that such a clause would but clog the bill, and endanger its miscarriage, part of it being derogatory to the privileges of the house of lords; and that, if any jealousy were entertained of the members of the house of commons having pensions from the crown, a bill might be brought in to ex-

(a) Mr. Haddon, a Scotch member, having spoken for the bill, Mr. Snell, one of the representatives for the city of Gloucester, said, 'It was no wonder that they who had betrayed the liberties of their own country, should be so ready to give up theirs.' Mr. Smith animadverted upon this injurious reflection, and said, 'That the member, who made that speech, would not be so bold as to utter those words any where else.' He was seconded by lord Coningsby; and, the dispute being like to grow warm, the speaker interposed, and said, 'That, all the members of the

house having the privilege of explaining themselves, Mr. Snell ought to enjoy the same. Hereupon Mr. Snell said, 'That he meant no personal reflection on Mr. Haddon, and that he only spoke of the Scots nation in general.' By which pretended excuse Sir David Dalrymple being provoked, said, 'That this explanation, instead of extenuating, did but aggravate the offence;' for which he demanded satisfaction. Some other members calling 'to the bar,' Mr. Snell prevented any further proceeding, by begging pardon for any unguarded expression he might have let fall.'

Geo. I. clude them; the motion for the clause was rejected, and a
 1716. separate bill against pensioners sitting in the house was ordered to be brought in, which, having passed both houses, received the royal assent. When the septennial bill had gone through the committee of the whole house, it was read the third time, and, the question for passing it being put, a debate of two hours ensued. Those, who spoke against the bill, were Mr. Freeman, Mr. Hungerford, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Wykes, the lord Finch, eldest son to the earl of Nottingham, and some others. They were severally answered by Sir Richard Steele, Mr. comptroller, Sir William Thompson, captain Earle, Mr. Tufnel, Mr. Morris, and Sir John Brownlow (b). After which, the bill passed by a majority

(b) Mr. Hampden spoke for the bill, part of whose speech was as follows:

‘ A principal argument for continuing the triennial bill, is, that it is agreeable to the ancient laws of this nation, that there should be frequent parliaments. I find, by the laws I have looked over, that parliaments ought to be frequently held: But I found it no where laid down as a fundamental position of the nature of this constitution, that there should be frequent elections. If gentlemen will look to the beginning of parliaments, they will find, in the 4th, 5th, and 36th of Edward III, that, ‘ for redress of ‘ divers mischiefs and grievances which daily happen, a parliament shall be holden every ‘ year, or oftener, if need be.’ Let it then be considered, in what manner those parliaments were held: When a king met his parliament, they used to sit ten or twenty days, and then were prorogued or dissolved; and there were frequent intermissions of parliaments, none being called for several years.

By looking over the journals, we find the prorogations and dissolutions of parliaments.

To come down to the time of Henry VIII. few of his parliaments sat more than twenty days, though there was not a parliament met every year; and, from the 7th to the 25th of Henry VIII, there are no journals, and consequently we cannot tell in what manner parliaments were held. Afterwards, there were several parliaments, but not every year, to the end of his reign.

A parliament was called the first year of Edward VI, and, in five years, sat but four months. In Philip and Mary there were four parliaments, but the sessions extremely short. From the 2d to the 5th, and from the 7th to the 13th of queen Elizabeth, no parliament met, and, from the 14th to the 25th of queen Elizabeth, the parliament sat only from the 8th of May to the 30th of June; and, four years after, from the 8th of February to the 8th of March following; and, in eight years after, never sat to do business,

majority of two hundred and sixty-four, against one hundred and twenty-one; and being sent back to the lords, received, soon after, the royal assent.

On

finess, but were then dissolved. There were six other parliaments called in queen Elizabeth's time; but never sat long, unless that in the 39th of her reign, which sat four months.

The parliament, the first of James I, sat about four months; and, in three years after, sat about eight days. The parliament was not dissolved till the 9th of James, but sat twice or thrice only. There were three other parliaments in his reign, but they met very seldom.

The sessions in king Charles I. were much shorter than of late days, and very frequent prorogations; and, in the 16th of his reign, an act was passed, 'for preventing inconveniences by long intermission of parliaments;' by which it was provided, that a parliament should meet every three years; which law we find repealed in the 16th of Charles II. by reason that the provisions in the former law were looked upon 'as a derogation to his majesty's just and undoubted prerogative for calling and assembling parliaments, and might be an occasion of manifold mischiefs, and might endanger the peace of his people.' This said act is repealed, and a provision made therein, that, 'because, by the ancient laws of this realm, in the reign of Edward III. parliaments are to be held very often, the fitting and holding of parliaments shall not be in-

termitted above three years.'

In this king's reign, the long parliament was held; and, whatever corruptions they were tainted with, they could never be accused of favouring the cause of France, or attempting to enslave their own country.

In king James II, that unfortunate prince, a parliament was held in May, 1685, and sat about two months, and was, at several times prorogued to November 1687. Then the happy revolution took place; and, in the Bill of Rights, 1 Gul. & Mar. it is declared and enacted, that 'all the rights and liberties, asserted and claimed in the said declaration, are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and ought to be firmly and strictly holden and observed.'

And, in the same bill, among this long catalogue of grievances, which precedes the said declaration, there is not the least mention made of want of frequent elections, but only 'that parliaments ought to be free.' In the sixth of king William, this now-favoured bill for triennial parliaments was passed; and upon this occasion, I cannot help observing, that it is some satisfaction, that the people abroad, who look upon the reign of that prince as a usurpation, should be fond of any one act that was passed in that time; and, I hope from hence, they may, in time, be more reconciled to the

Geo. I. On the 26th of April died that great man, and great patriot, the lord Sommers, whose character is drawn with great

Death of
lord Som-
mers.

the Protestant succession, which is in consequence of that happy revolution.

If gentlemen will look over the writs of summons, and the returns to those writs, they will find no mention how long any parliament is to last; but the return makes mention of the persons who are to serve in the parliament that is to meet and be held at such a time at Westminster. But it must be allowed, that the parliament is subject to the triennial act while it subsists; and therefore the advantages or inconveniencies of that law ought chiefly to be considered in the matter now before us: And, in case an act be found prejudicial, if such a veneration is to be paid to a law, as not to alter it, from any conviction of its being insufficient, or attended with ill consequences, I think the legislature will become, in a manner, useless. I take the principal matter to be, to examine what benefit has accrued to the nation by virtue of this bill, and if the inconveniencies do not outweigh all the advantages?

It is pretended, that by triennial elections the people have an opportunity of laying aside those persons with whose behaviour, in parliament, they are dissatisfied, or such, whom they apprehend to be under court-influences: I desire it may be considered, how very few examples there are of persons, who having accepted places, have not been re-elected. The reason is

very obvious; because the people who love expences, judge, that a man who has a place of profit, is much more capable of making an expence, than he that has none. But, supposing any gentleman so wickedly disposed, as to sacrifice his opinion to the lucre of a place, does not such a person, who has spent five or six hundred pounds at his election, and his circumstances not very able to bear it, come more prepared for a court-temptation, than if he had enjoyed his seat in parliament, and been free from the trouble and expence of frequent elections? I appeal to gentlemen, if expences are not increased? And, if any instance can be produced, where they are abated, many more may be where they are increased; so that the end of the bill, in this respect, is no way answered.

It is said, that expences being voluntary, it is the fault only of those who make them; but, when we observe the contagion of expences to be universally spread in the kingdom at the time of elections, and a dissolution of manners, occasioned by such expences, it is time for the legislature to interpose, and prevent the dangerous consequences of such an evil. Do, gentlemen, consider the distractions occasioned by elections, and the impossibility, considering the small interval of elections, to heal up those wounds, which the animosities of parties have occasioned; so that it is

little

great force and elegance by Mr. Addifon, in his Free-Geo. I.
holder. 1716.

The

little better than living in a continual state of warfare. This is a no less fatal, than undeniable consequence of this bill, which was calculated for the ease of the subject.

It is said, the reason of this expedient, as it is called, is, because the majority of this parliament are Whigs: And, tho' it is allowed, that this parliament has acted for the service of his majesty and the nation, the proceedings of the last parliament are said to be as meritorious of the king's good opinion and the nation's, as what this parliament has done.

It is much insisted on, That the Tories gave the civil list: That is true; but, had they not given it, I believe, the king would not long have been deprived of it. It is said, that the king was received here with the universal joy of his people: Why did that satisfaction cease so soon? Has the king done any thing to lose the affection of so many of his people? or have his ministers? If his ministers, Why has the spirit of patriotism been so much wanting in gentlemen, as not to represent to the king, or in this house, the crimes of those he employs in his service? But, if no real handle for these discontents has been given, by king or ministers, then, those who pretended such a zeal for the king and his service, at his arrival here, acted a hypocritical part, and meant nothing less than what they now make professions of. Let us

consider the present situation of the minds of the people, how exasperated one set of them are at the necessary prosecutions of those, who so fatally concerted the ruin of their country; and to what degree that restless spirit influenced the people in the late rebellion; and how industriously a false and mistaken cause of the Church has been of late propagated in this nation.

From these, and many other circumstances of affairs, and symptoms of the ill temper of the nation, I think the disposition of the people's minds far from being suitable to the business of an election, but rather for a restoration of that person, who, the deluded people have been taught, has alone a right to the crown, and came to free you from the oppressions you now lie under.

He concludes with saying, 'The reasons why I am now for the bill are, To dispose the people to follow their callings, and to be industrious, by taking from them, for a time, the opportunity of distracting one another by elections. To prevent such who have the will, from the power of giving any new disturbance to the government. To prevent another rebellion; there being just as much reason to expect one this year, as there was the last. To check that evil spirit in those who have sworn to the king, and rose in arms against him, or abetted such who have. To discountenance that spirit, which lately

Geo. I.
1716.

Mackintosh
and others
escape out of
Newgate,
May 4.

The escape of the earl of Nithisdale, and of Mr. Forster, had given sufficient warning to the government, and ought to have doubled the vigilance of the jailors; yet brigadier Mackintosh, John Mackintosh his son, Charles Wogan, James Talbot, Robert Hepburne, William Dalmahoy, Alexander Dalmahoy, and John Tasker, servant to Mr. Butler, having knocked down the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the centinel, broke out of Newgate between eleven and twelve at night. Six more of the rebels went out of the prison with them; but being unacquainted with the streets, and turning into Warwick-Court, where they found no passage, they were forced to return into Warwick-Lane, and so fell into the hands of their pursuers. Mackintosh and some others were to have been tried the day after. The judges met in Westminster-Hall for that purpose, but, receiving a message, that the keepers of Newgate were employed in searching after the rebels, who had made their escapes, the court and juries adjourned. James Talbot, one of the fugitives, was retaken at an house in Windmill-Street, in Piccadilly, and sent back to Newgate.

When the court sat the next time, thirteen of the rebels (b) were arraigned, and pleaded not guilty; but upon application for time, some of them setting forth that they had evidence upon the road, they had three weeks allowed to prepare for their trial.

Rebels tried.

Mr. Richard Gascoigne was set to the bar, but by the indulgence of the court, had ten days allowed him for bringing witnesses to town. His trial came on the 17th of May; and besides the evidence of Mr. Patten, Mr.

did so far prevail in this nation, as to approve of a most ignominious conclusion of a successful war, by a ruinous peace. To render fruitless any concerted project of the regent, or any other foreign princes, to disturb this nation, at a time when elections, or the approach of them, have raised a ferment in the minds of the people: and to procure to the clergy an interval from being politicians, that they may be the better able to take care of their flocks, in the manner the scripture has prescribed.

(b) Charles Radcliffe,
Charles Widdrington,
Peregrine Widdrington,
Esquires;
John Thornton,
Robert Shaw,
Thomas Errington,
Philip Hodgefon,
Donald Robertson,
James Swinburne,
William Mackintosh,
Angus Mackintosh,
James Mackintosh,
Alexander Macruder.

Forster's

Foster's chaplain, who deposed, that he saw Mr. Gascoigne in Mr. Forster's company at Preston, Mr. Wye made oath, 'That, coming once to the duchess of Ormond's, he saw the prisoner, Gascoigne, in her grace's closet. That, being introduced, he told her grace, he was just come from France, and had seen the duke but six days before, who was well, and would be here quickly from Bayonne, and the pretender from some other place. Upon which her grace called for a map, to find whereabouts St. Sebastian lay. That he was asked by her grace, what people said at Paris, especially in relation to Sir William Wyndham; and asked Mr. Gascoigne, whether it was true which was said in the public news, that he had letters found in his pocket of dangerous consequence? Mr. Gascoigne said, 'He could not tell; but, if it were so, a school-boy would deserve to be whipped for carrying such papers in his pocket.' It being at that time generally discoursed about town, that Sir William Wyndham had surrendered himself, Mr. Gascoigne said, 'He had sent or carried him one of the proclamations (but the evidence could not be positive which) and added, if he was taken, their design was ruined, for there were an hundred gentlemen, who waited only for a signal, and Sir William would be at the head of eight or nine thousand men.' That the lady Rochester having asked him (Mr. Gascoigne) where Sir William was? The prisoner replied, 'Whether, if he should tell her ladyship, she would not make use of it to persuade him to surrender? But, if it were only to give Sir William notice of the proclamation, he told her, that he had already sent him one.' Mr. Wye further declared, 'That, when he was in the duchess's closet, he saw a gentleman dressed in laced scarlet clothes, whom he understood to be one of the Cotton's; and, having since seen Mr. Cotton, knew it to be the same person.' There were some other circumstances, which Mr. Wye said Mr. Gascoigne told him, particularly, that the prisoner said, 'He came to London to learn whether Sir William Wyndham made any discovery.' The jury, after a considerable stay, brought in Mr. Gascoigne guilty of high-treason.

Henry Oxburgh was tried May the 7th, and made a very weak defence. His council, serjeant Darnel and Mr. Kettleby, endeavoured to serve him by insisting on a misnomer in the indictment, wherein he was called Oxborough, whereas his true name was Oxburgh: But, that being overruled, the jury brought him in guilty of high-treason.

THE HISTORY

On the 26th of May, Mr. John Hall, of Otterburne in Northumberland, was brought to the bar. This gentleman had been a justice of the peace in his country, and had taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. He was found guilty by the jury, and gloried in his guilt at his execution. Ox-burgh was the first of those who suffered at Tyburn. Gascoigne had been a common sharper, and, having been bubbled by gamesters out of the money he had raised by the sale of a small estate in Ireland, supported himself afterwards by defrauding others. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on the 25th of May, and died a Papist.

John Hume, brother of the earl of Hume, was tried and found guilty May the 8th; John Farquharson not guilty; and Alexander Menzies guilty. On the 12th, Thomas Farquharson and John Ennis was brought to their trials. There was a great uproar in the court upon the jury's bringing in Farquharson not guilty, though the evidence was positive, 'That he was in arms with the rebels at Kelso, and at Lancaster where the pretender was proclaimed, and also at Preston.' Two persons, who clapped and shouted, were apprehended; one of them, who was summoned as a jurymen, was fined 100l. the other 50l. and a year's imprisonment. The same jury, contrary to as full evidence as that against Farquharson, acquitted Ennis likewise. The same day five rebel prisoners pleaded guilty; the two Mr. Douglas's, captain Macquean, Mr. Scrimshaw, and Mr. Skean, who received sentence of death. Three days after came on the trials of Richard Townley and Edward Tildesley. It was sworn against Mr. Townley, that he was not only among the rebels at Preston, 'but that there was a troop, called Mr. Townley's troop, in which rode his coachman, his butler, and postilion.' It was sworn against Mr. Tildesley, 'That a troop of the rebels went by his name also; and that he rode at the head of them with his sword drawn.' These two gentlemen had nothing to say for themselves, but that they were forced to do what they did; and, upon this slight defence, the jury acquitted them both.

Two days after, Mr. baron Montague came to the Marshalsea-court, and discharged the Surrey jury, after having reprimanded them for their behaviour in the late trials, especially in the case of Mr. Townley and Mr. Tildesley. The same day Mr. Wogan was tried, and found guilty; and major Blair, retracting his former plea, pleaded guilty. Captain Lancelot Mackintosh and Charles Ratcliffe, brother to
the

the late earl of Derwentwater, were likewise found guilty, and received sentence of death. Geo. I.
1716.

Alexander Menzies petitioned the king for mercy, and was reprieved, as were the rest of the persons hitherto condemned on the like submission, or the intercession of their friends, excepting those who are already mentioned to have been executed.

On the 30th of May came on the trial of Mr. John Dalton. The evidence against him being positive, the jury found him guilty; upon which he desired the court to intercede with the king for mercy.

Mr. William Tunstall pleaded guilty as to the being taken in arms, but not, as in the indictment, of any design of murdering the king, which (he said) never entered into his heart. But the court told him, 'That he, being a man of sense, could not but know, had the rebellion succeeded, it could not have ended otherwise, since it was certain, that his majesty would not have run away, as the master they had declared for had already done.' The lord chief justice Parker advised him to draw up the state of what he had to say in a petition, and he would recommend it to the king.

The next day Philip Hodgeson, uncle to the lord Widdrington, Charles Widdrington, Peregrine Widdrington, Donald Robertson, Alexander Macrudder, Thomas Errington, John Nairne, son to the lord Nairne; George Seaton, who, before the battle of Dumblain, went by the name of the earl of Dumferling; John Steward, Dr. Patrick Blair, James Robertson, William Grierison, son of Sir Robert Grierison, of Lagg; and John Carnegie, pleaded guilty to their indictments. But Francis Anderton, Basil Hamilton, Archibald Rutter, William Shaftoe, and William Paul, clerk, pleaded not guilty; which plea some of them afterwards retracted, and pleaded guilty, while others were tried and found guilty. The condemned rebels were reprieved from time to time; but, on the 13th of July, John Hall, and William Paul, the clergyman, were executed at Tyburn.

Hall, in his dying speech, declared, 'that he died a true and sincere member of the Church of England, but not of the revolution schismatical church, whose bishops had so rebelliously abandoned the king, and so shamefully given up the rights of the Church, by submitting to the unlawful, invalid lay-deprivations of the prince of Orange, but of the true catholic nonjuring Church of England.' Mr. Paul likewise professed himself a son of the Church of England, but
not

Geo. I. not of the schismatical church, whose bishops set themselves
 1716. up in opposition to those orthodox fathers, who were unlaw-
 fully and invalidly deprived by the prince of Orange. I de-
 clare, says he, 'that I renounce that communion, and that
 I die a dutiful and faithful member of the nonjuring church,
 which has kept itself free from rebellion and schism, and has
 preserved and maintained true orthodox principles, both as to
 Church and state.' Yet this same man, in a petition to the
 lord chief-justice King, after sentence, had declared, 'That
 thro' the grace of God, he had a deep insight into, and a lively
 sense of his crimes; which he did now at last detest and ab-
 hor, from the bottom of his soul, and begged pardon of God,
 and king George, and his native country, against all which
 he had highly offended, and did now sincerely repent, and
 declare his unfeigned sorrow, in having been instrumental
 towards encouraging and promoting the same.'

And, in a petition to the king, 'He humbly begged leave,
 in all sorrow of heart, to acknowledge his great and heinous
 offence, and did, from the bottom of his heart, ask par-
 don of God, his most sacred majesty, and the Church and
 nation.'

Cadogan re-
 turns from
 Scotland,

General Cadogan, whom the duke of Argyle had left in
 Scotland, had now extinguished all remains of the rebellion,
 both by securing the chiefs, and disarming their dependants.
 About the middle of April, the marquis of Huntley, eldest
 son of the duke of Gordon, the lord Rollo, Sir Thomas Cal-
 der, and the laird of Tannaclue, were brought from the
 north of Scotland to Edinburgh, and committed to the castle.
 Glengary, a famous leader of the rebels, surrendered himself
 to the duke of Athol, which inclined many of the High-
 landers to submit, as did the greatest part of the earl of Sea-
 forth's vassals; and all the clans, except those of the western
 isles, being reduced, two detachments, one of six hundred,
 the other of three hundred men, were sent to those isles, un-
 der the command of colonel Clayton, and lieutenant-colonel
 Cholmondley, upon which all the rebels in the isle of Skie
 submitted to mercy. The rebels in the other islands follow-
 ing their example, general Cadogan returned to Edinburgh,
 and from thence to London, where he arrived the 18th of
 May, having left the command of the forces in Scotland
 with general Sabine, and ordered the Dutch troops to march
 back into England, where they embarked for Holland, after
 having received, both officers and soldiers, marks of the
 king's bounty for their good services.

A court-

A court-martial sitting at Edinburgh, made an order for Geo. I. the following Scots officers, who had deserted from the Dutch service to the pretender, to be hanged in effigy at the market-cross, in the Cannon-Gate, Edinburgh, and their names to be inscribed round the gallows (c). 1716.

Scots officers
hanged in
effigy.

Congratulatory addresses were presented to the king from the city of London, and most of the communities in the kingdom, upon the intire suppression of the rebellion; and the 7th of June was appointed to be kept as a day of thanksgiving.

On the 3d of May, Mr. Harvey, of Combe, who had been in the messenger's hands since he stabbed himself, was examined before a committee of the council, and sent to Newgate. About a week after, Mr. Thomas Harley, who had been formerly committed to the Gatehouse, by order of the house of commons, for his prevaricating answers, to questions that were put to him concerning his negotiations abroad, and was supposed to have been still a prisoner, was found in a house in St. Martin's-lane, by messengers who were searching for some of the rebels that had lately escaped out of Newgate. Mr. Harley had a great parcel of papers before him, which were seized, and himself committed to the Gatehouse.

The king, strengthened by his late treaty with Spain, and by that which he was now certain of concluding with the duke of Orleans, and secure of having so faithful a parliament for five years more, thought he should run no risk in visiting his German dominions this summer, where affairs of secrecy and importance required his presence. But it being provided, by the 'act for the further limitation of the crown, &c. that no person, who should thereafter come to the possession of the crown, should go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of parliament: The court was some time in suspense, which way to get over that restriction. The asking the parliament's consent by a message, or otherwise, being thought too derogatory to the royal prerogative, and some leading members of the house

The king
resolves to
go abroad.

(c) These were: Captain John Hepburne, ensign Patrick Smith, ensign Williams, Calderwood, of Douglass's regiment, lieutenant Fleming, ensign Chalmers, and ensign Carse, of Lauder's; ensign William Creighton, of Murray's; lieutenant Murray, ensign Dallas, ensign Boswal, and ensign Robertson, of Collier's, and ensign Owen,] of Wood's regiment.

of

Geo. I. of commons being made sensible of it, Sir John Cope moved
1716. for repealing this restriction; which being agreed to, a bill
passed both houses for that purpose (d).

The parlia- When the king came to the house of peers to pass this,
ment is pro- and many other bills, and to put an end to the session, the
rogued, following speech was by his order delivered to both houses by
June 26. the lord chancellor.
Pr. H. C.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

The king's “ I Cannot put an end to this session, without expressing
speech. “ to you my satisfaction in the proceedings of this par-
“ liament. The wholesome and necessary laws, which
“ have been passed with so much steadiness, resolution, and
“ unanimity, will, I trust in God, answer those good ends,
“ which, it is evident, you have had in view, by defeating
“ the designs, and reducing the spirit of our enemies, by en-
“ couraging our friends, and raising the credit and reputa-
“ tion of the nation abroad to such a degree, as that I may
“ reasonably expect the fruits of a settled government; espe-
“ cially being supported by a parliament, zealous for the
“ prosperity of their country, and the Protestant interest of
“ Europe.

“ I am confident, my conduct hitherto in suppressing the
“ rebellion, and punishing those concerned in it, has been
“ such, as demonstrates, that I desire rather to lessen their
“ numbers by reclaiming them, than by making examples;
“ but I am sorry to find, that the numerous instances of
“ mercy, which I have shewn, have had no other effect, than
“ to encourage the faction of the pretender to renew their insults

(d) Before the king went abroad, he made the following creations and promotions: Thomas, lord Coningsby, of the kingdom of Ireland, baron Coningsby, of Coningsby, in the county of Lincoln; Sir Richard Onslow, baron Onslow, of Onslow, in the county of Salop; Thomas Newport, baron of Torrington, in the county of Devon; William Cadogan, baron of Reading, in the county of Berks; and Sir Robert Marsham, baron of Romney, in the county of Kent; viscount Castle-
ton in Ireland, viscount Castle-
ton in England; Sir Henry St. John, viscount St. John; George, lord Newburg, of Ireland, lord Newburg, of Anglesey, in Wales; Mr. Edgecombe was made one of the lords of the treasury; Mr. Methuen, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state; and Mr. Hampden, one of the tellers of the exchequer. Mr. baron Bury was declared lord chief-baron of the exchequer, in the room of Sir Samuel Dodd.

“ upon

“ upon my authority, and the laws of the kingdom, and
 “ even to affect, with the greatest insolence, to distinguish
 “ themselves from my good and faithful subjects, acting
 “ with such folly and madness, as if they intended to con-
 “ vince the world, that they are not to be reduced to quiet
 “ and submission to my government, by such gentle methods,
 “ as are most agreeable to my own inclinations.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ I return you in particular my thanks for the supplies
 “ you have given ; which, although they fall short of the
 “ sums you found necessary, and have voted for the service
 “ of the whole year ; yet, by the encouragement you have
 “ given to make them effectual, may, I hope, be so mana-
 “ ged, as to carry on the current service till another session
 “ of parliament.

“ My Lords and gentlemen,

“ I am very sensible, there are matters of great conse-
 “ quence still depending before you ; but, as they have hi-
 “ therto been postponed out of absolute necessity, by inter-
 “ vening affairs of a more pressing nature, and of the most
 “ immediate concern to the peace and safety of the nation,
 “ I thought the season of the year required, I should defer
 “ your further proceedings till the next session, rather than
 “ you should be detained out of your respective counties
 “ longer than could be consistent with your private con-
 “ cerns.

“ I cannot doubt but that, during this recess, you will use
 “ all your best endeavours to preserve the peace of the king-
 “ dom, and to discourage and suppress all manner of disor-
 “ ders, since, as the first scene of the late rebellion was
 “ opened and ushered in by tumults and riots, so you may
 “ be assured, upon what pretence soever they are raised, they
 “ can have no other tendency, but to support a spirit of
 “ faction, restless and unwearied in their endeavours to re-
 “ new the rebellion, and to subvert the religion, laws, and
 “ liberties of their country.

“ I design to make use of the approaching recess, to visit
 “ my dominions in Germany, and to provide for the peace
 “ and security of the kingdom during my absence, by con-
 “ stituting my beloved son, the prince of Wales, guardian
 “ of the realm, and my lieutenant within the same.”

After

Geo. I. After this speech, the parliament was prorogued to the
1716. 7th of August.

Thus ended this long session of the first British parliament called by king George. This parliament *, by the excellency and seasonableness of the laws, made by them, recovered their country, in a great measure, out of its confusions, and provided for its future peace and happiness, under the present establishment. Their unanimous and regular proceedings; the absolute necessity of some acts, which were passed, and their disinclination to extend them any longer than that necessity required; their manifest aversion to enter upon schemes, which the enemies of the nation had insinuated to have been their design; together with that temper so suitable to the dignity of such an assembly, at a juncture, when it might have been expected, that very unusual heats would have arisen in an house of commons so zealous for their king and country, were sufficient to quiet those groundless jealousies and suspicions, which had been industriously propagated by the ill-wishers to our constitution.

Riots.

The king had but too just cause to complain of the fresh insults of the disaffected, notwithstanding the many instances of his clemency. For on the 29th of May (king Charles's restoration) the Jacobite and Tory factions had distinguished themselves by wearing oaken boughs, and on the 10th of June, the pretender's birth-day, by wearing white roses. But the spirit of disaffection shewed itself no where more openly than at Oxford. On the 28th of May the king's birth-day, all the windows that were illuminated there, were broken to pieces, as were all the windows that were not illuminated the next day, being the anniversary of the restoration (e). To prevent the ill effects of this disaffection, soldiers were quartered there, who, as they were cheerfully and peaceably celebrating the prince of Wales's birth-day, were insulted by both the scholars and townsmen. Stones were thrown into the windows of the Star-Inn, where the officers

(e) At the next assizes, among others, Wood, manciple of Baliol, and Mr. Stirling of the same college, were tried for cursing the king: But Stirling was acquitted. Mr. Frank Nicholls, a commoner of Exeter college, about fifteen years of age, was tried for crying out,

' Ormond for ever;' and fined and imprisoned for the same. The Political State for July 1716, says, that he was tried for cursing the king and government: But it is a mistake, for he was tried only for the fact above-mentioned, as appears by the record,

and

and some loyal gentlemen were met, who were attacked by the disaffected party when they came out to drink the king's and the royal family's health at the bonfire. Provoked by these affronts, the soldiers broke the windows of the disaffected, and committed some other disorders. When the vice-chancellor and the mayor sent up their depositions to court, they took no notice of the insults the officers and soldiers had met with, but only of what the soldiers had done by way of reprisals. As this affair came before the parliament, it will be mentioned more largely hereafter.

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1716.

On the 13th of June, general Maccartney, who had returned to England some time before, took his trial for the pretended murder of the duke of Hamilton. Colonel Hamilton, who, in the queen's time, had given such a positive evidence, that he saw general Maccartney give the duke his mortal wound, now deviated from it, and only averred, that he saw his sword over the duke's shoulder. The falshood of which appeared by the evidence of the two park-keepers, who stood firm to their former depositions, 'That they had taken the swords from general Maccartney and colonel Hamilton, when they went to the relief of the duke and lord Mohun.' And one of them deposed, that he had been offered two handfuls of gold, and a place of 100 l. a year, by the lord Bolingbroke, if he would swear, that Mr. Maccartney killed the duke. The jury acquitted Mr. Maccartney of the murder, and he was discharged of the manslaughter by the formality of a cold iron immediately made use of to prevent appeal. He was soon after restored to his rank in the army, and had the earl of Orrery's regiment given him.

Maccartney
tried and
restored.

The king, before his departure, appointed the prince of Wales guardian of the realm, and his lieutenant, during his absence. The titles of duke of York, and Albany, and earl of Ulster, were given to prince Ernest, bishop of Osnaburg, the king's brother, who with prince Frederick, was also made knight of the garter. The duke of Devonshire was made president of the council, and his place of lord steward of the household was given to the duke of Kent. The earl of Portland was made marquis of Titchfield, and duke of Portland. These promotions were attended with unexpected disgraces. The duke of Argyle, and his brother the earl of Ilay, were removed from all their employments (f). They had both

The prince
of Wales
made guardian
of the
realm.

distin-

(f) A list of the duke's posts and employments was made publick, to this effect : Governor and commander, in

Geo. I. distinguished themselves by their zeal and services for the government; and the king had in some measure put his crown into their hands, by placing them at the head of his armies in Scotland. They had all along voted in the house of lords on the court-side; and therefore their removal was the more strange. Whatever might be the cause, their posts were disposed of, to shew there was no room to expect being restored. General Carpenter was made commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, and governor of Minorca and Port-Mahon, and the duke of Montrose was appointed lord clerk-register of Scotland, in the room of the earl of Illy.

The king
goes abroad.

On the 7th of July, the king set out from St. James's, took water at the Tower, and arrived about two in the afternoon at Gravesend, where he went on board the Carolina yacht (g). He was attended by Mr. secretary Stanhope, Mr. Boscawen, comptroller of the household, the officers of the green cloth, and most of his German ministers, who embarked in other yachts. In Margate Road they met a squadron of men of war, commanded by admiral Aylmer; and they all made the coast of Holland the 9th of July in the morning. About four in the afternoon, the king went ashore, and passed through Holland incognito; lay at Voorts, the earl of Albemarle's seat, and arrived at Hanover the 15th of July; and, on the 20th, set out for Pyrmont to drink the waters.

in chief of all his majesty's forces in Scotland; general of the king's armies; lord-lieutenant of the shire of Dumbarton; lord-lieutenant of the county of Surrey; privy-counsellor; colonel of the royal blue regiment of horse; governor of the island of Minorca; governor of Port-Mahon, in the said island; first gentleman of the bed-chamber, and groom of the stole to the prince of Wales; and knight of the garter. Whether he was governor of Edinburgh castle at the time of his being thus dismissed, is a doubt; but to all these is to be added a pension of 2000l. per annum, granted him by the king. His brother was

likewise chief lord of the justiciary, and lord clerk-register in Scotland. The hereditary governments, sheriffdoms, &c. which the duke and earl possessed in Scotland, they could not be deprived of; neither could the earl be removed from his place in the justiciary, which was, as those of the judges are in England, 'quam diu se bene gesserint,' or rather, for life. Of these preferments, posts, and trusts, the duke was dispossessed at once.

(g) The duke of Argyle, it was observed, waited that morning on the king, and was for a few minutes in private conference with him. Pol. Stat.

The

The king was absent six months, during which, the situation of affairs in Great Britain remained much the same; and all was at last as quiet, as if he had himself been present. The prince (doubtless by his orders) set several prisoners at liberty, and reprieved others (a). The passage from Dover to Calais was opened, and passports no longer required to go from England to France. The king's enemies affected to believe and give out, that these proceedings were all owing to the prince's good disposition, of which he would have shewn many more proofs, had it been in his power. This was carried so far, that addresses were preparing at Oxford and Gloucester, and other places, to be presented to the prince, to extol his wisdom in the administration of affairs, and, in particular, his affability and graciousness to 'all persons without distinction of parties.' It was soon perceived,

Proceedings
in the king's
absence.

(a) On the 4th of August the earl of Wintoun made his escape out of the Tower. On the 15th Mr. Farquharson of Invercald was set at liberty out of the Marshalsea, as was likewise the same day the laird of Mackintosh, out of the Fleet-Prison. Mr. John Mackintosh, a lawyer, under sentence of death, was also released from Newgate; and Mr. James Drummond, who was taken prisoner at Dumblain, from the custody of a messenger. About the same time pardons passed the seals for some other prisoners, and in particular for Charles Radcliffe, brother to the late earl of Derwentwater, and for Mr. Wogan; as likewise a further reprieve of three months was granted to the other rebel prisoners under sentence of death. But Mr. Radcliffe, making some difficulty of accepting the pardon, was detained in Newgate till he made his escape from thence on the 11th of December following; as Mr. Bruce, another of the rebel prisoners, had done on the 20th of August. The lord Duf-

fus, who, as captain of a man of war, must have abjured the pretender, and afterwards entered into his service, by joining with the rebels in Scotland, was from Hamburg brought prisoner to London, examined by Mr. secretary Methuen, and committed close prisoner to the Tower. Some time after fourteen of the rebel prisoners were discharged out of Newgate, George Seton, Charles Maxwell, Edmund Maxwell, William Dalmahoy, Alexander Forster, Alexander Milne, Francis Congleton, Alexander Congleton, Thomas Anderson, David Hall, George Skinner, William Dundas, merchants; and Mr. Lyon. The same day the following persons were released from the Marshalsea; Mr. Winram, senior, Mr. Crow, Mr. Cunningham of Wall, Mr. William Scot, Mr. Carruthers, Mr. Murray, Mr. Grierson, and Mr. William Maxwell. Butler and Samburne, two of the rebel prisoners, died in Newgate; and another Samburne made his escape out of it.

Geo. I. that this insinuated a reflection upon the king and his ministry, and therefore it was declared, the prince would receive no addresses that were not directly made to the throne.

Seditious
papers and
riots.

The papers and speeches of some of the rebels that were executed, particularly of Mr. Hall and Mr. Paul, made great impression on many people. Their execution, instead of lessening, rather increased the number of the Jacobites; nor were they deterred from declaring themselves. Seditious sermons were preached, and libels against the government were published (b). By these means a spirit of mutiny and rebel-

(b) The most noted pamphlet was published by Lawrence Howel, (a nonjuring clergyman) intitled, 'The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly stated;' wherein are the following passages:

'The authority of the Church of England, and consequently the Church of England itself, was with the deprived bishops and clergy, and remains still with their successors, who alone have immediately adhered to her true constitutions and principles. That all, who depart from them, are, at least, in a state of schism.'

That the canonical metropolitan, archbishop Sancroft, was not only displaced, but a subject-presbyter of his (Dr. Tillotson) was hoisted into his room; and, when God had removed him, another (Dr. Tenison) was set up in his place, as head of the schism. And under the bishops, who actually did this, or those who approved what they had done, by joining in communion with them, in opposition to the true canonical bishops, have all the parochial clergy acted, and joined with them, against the canonical bishops; and, being thus joined with them, they be-

come schismatics; and those who have, or still do continue to join with these parochial clergy, do join in the schism, and thereby become guilty of schism. Let them therefore have been never so canonically ordained, and placed over a flock, yet, by closing with schismatics, they have forfeited all, and cannot dispense the ordinances of God with any benefit, God's grace and influence, then and now, forsaking them. And to join communion with them, is not only to lose the benefit of the ordinance, but to join in the schism; is, to join with those, whom they ought to oppose with all their might, as violators and grand enemies of the unity and peace of God's Church.'

In the conclusion, the author cites the second canon of the Church of England, and then proceeds to affirm:

That by king, mentioned in this canon, is to be understood (according to the undoubted principles of the Church of England) that person, who is possessed of the throne, according to the civil institution of the English hereditary monarchy. Whosoever disowns his authority,

rebellion was kept up among the disorderly rabble. So great was the disaffection to the government at Oxford, that soldiers

Geo. I.
1716.

rity, &c. by the canon, incurs the sentence of excommunication, ipso facto.

If king James II. had a right, the revolutionists and compliers were excommunicated by this canon; for, in depriving their rightful king, they disowned his authority, &c. That he had a right, and continued claiming to his death, none can deny: Witness his personal assertion of his right in Ireland, his public manifesto at the treaty of Ryswick, (wherein he declares to the world, that that peace was founded upon the usurpation of his kingdoms) and other declarations to the same purpose; and his son (whose right, as a son, is as incontestable as his father's) hath often repeated the same. Now, the violation of this second canon, by the revolutionists transferring their allegiance from their lawful king to an usurper (which is disowning the lawful and rightful king's authority) renders them, ipso facto, excommunicates; and the nonjurors, who have faithfully adhered to the doctrine and principles, are the only true Church of England.

The state of the case plainly appearing, it is no difficulty to find out the guilty persons, who must be no other than those, that violated the canon, by breaking through their allegiance, and consequently are in an immediate state of excommunication; and, as such, they ought to be deemed, and treated by all, though no declaratory

sentence be pronounced by the proper judges

The words of the canon being positive, there is no farther occasion to enlarge on it. The only question then is, Whether there is such a notoriety in our case? And, truly, I think, there scarce ever appeared in the world a more notorious and manifest case. The matter of fact is evident to all; for, who is ignorant of the unnatural treatment of king James II, from his children and subjects? How his authority was trampled on, despised, and denied; and, after several attempts to recover his undoubted right, how he was forced to live and die an exile? Nor is the case in the least altered now; for they, that pertinaciously continued and gloried in their sin then, do the same now; which makes the case so notorious, that these offenders ought to be treated as excommunicates, ipso facto, upon the authority of the canon, without waiting for the declaratory sentence of a judge.

Let us now consider the state and condition of an excommunicated person, which is dreadful to any man; but, when it falls to be a clergyman's lot, it makes fatal work; for, 1st, it divests him of the power of exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction; which, if he should presume to do, it renders his acts invalid and null. 2. Excommunication renders a clergyman, so long as he continues in that state, incapable of any

Geo. I. 1716. diers were quartered there, to keep the scholars and townsmen within bounds. Nor were these riotous proceedings confined to England; for the pretender's friends at Edinburgh had like to have freed a great number of lords and gentlemen imprisoned there, on account of the rebellion (c).

Few

ecclesiastical benefit, or promotion; and if he assume any, his institution is void. It makes the whole administration of his ministerial office ineffectual. You can expect no return of prayers with him, with whom you ought not to communicate. He cannot, authoritatively, bless the people of God, who is, himself, under a curse, and excluded from being a part of them. And here, I think, all those, who have joined with such clergymen, ought to consider what they have done, in communicating with them hitherto, and, whether they think they can, with safety, continue therein; for, in communicating with them, as schismatics, they make themselves schismatics; and, in communicating with them, as excommunicates, not only all their labour is lost, but, instead of a blessing, they get a curse.'

Mr. Howel was apprehended in Bull-Head-Court, Jewin-Street, and, with him, was seized a large impression of his pamphlet. Among his papers, was found an original instrument, of his being ordained a priest, by Dr. Hicks, who styles himself suffragan bishop of Thetford; and also, the form of absolution and reception of converts to Jacobitism. He was committed to Newgate for high-treason. Upon the publication of this charge of schism, on the Church of England, a contro-

versy arose between the members of that Church and the Nonjurors. Howel being brought to his trial, and the pamphlet proved to be his, he was fined 500l. and three years imprisonment, and sentenced to be twice whipped. Upon which, he asked if they would whip a clergyman? And was answered by the court, 'They paid no deference to his cloth, because he was a disgrace to it, and had no right to wear it; and they did not look upon him as a clergyman, in that he had produced no proof of his ordination, but from Dr. Hicks, under the denomination of the bishop of Thetford; which was illegal, and not according to the constitution of this kingdom, which knows no such bishop.' As he received his sentence with an air of haughtiness, and behaved himself contemptuously to the court, he was ordered to be degraded, and stripped of the gown, he had no title to wear; which was done, in the court, by the executioner. But, a few days after, upon his petition to the king, the corporal punishment was remitted.

(c) The most remarkable riot was that in London in the month of July. Some time before the breaking out of the rebellion, many of the well affected to the government, in order to be ready on any proper occasion to quell the outrageous mob

Few occurrences happened during the king's absence worth noting. The prince of Wales, in September, took a

Geo. I.
1716.

pro-

Progress of
the prince.

mob, that disturbed the peace of the city of London, met in several public houses, which, from the vessel in which the drink was sold, were called *Mug-houses*. The two most noted of these societies were the *Mug-house* in Long-Acre, and the *Roe-buck* in Cheapside, being set up before the king's accession. Their example produced several others of the like houses, in Salisbury-Court, Tavistock-Street, Southwark-Park, Covent-Garden, and other places. As these societies were a terror and mortification to the disaffected, so were they the object of their fury, of which they gave many instances. The day before Mr. Paul the clergyman was hanged, they fell upon the *Mug-house* in Southwark-Park, with their usual cry of High-Church and Ormond; but the society falling out upon them after the windows of the house had been all broke, the mob retired. The execution of Mr. Paul, who declared himself at the gallows to be their martyr, exasperated them yet more, and the society at Mr. Read's, in Salisbury-court, having distinguished themselves by demonstrations of duty and respect to the prince and princess of Wales, at their return from Greenwich; the Jacobites took so much offence at it, that on the 20th of July they attacked Mr. Read's house, and would have demolished it, had not the company within sent for a reinforcement from Tavistock-street,

with which being joined, the mob fled with great precipitation. But they continued hovering about the house the following days; and, hearing that Mr. Archibald Butler, a young Scots gentleman, who had been in the rebellion, but had received the king's pardon, was in the Temple-Walks, they ran thither crying out, High-Church and Ormond. Mr. Butler got away from them as fast as he could; and presently one Vaughan, a small coal-man, proposed to them to go and revenge the affront they had received three days before at the *Mug-house* in Salisbury-court. The mob, assenting to this proposal, followed him to Mr. Read's house, on which they fell furiously; but, meeting with a vigorous resistance, they gathered recruits from the multitudes, that crowded thither. Upon this alarm, and hearing they were determined to demolish the house, Mr. Read appeared, and bid them keep off, otherwise he would shoot amongst them. The Bridewell-boys, of whom Vaughan had been one, and the rest of the mob, regardless of this fair warning, pressing forwards with great clubs and sticks, Mr. Read discharged a musket, and shot Vaughan their leader, who died on the spot. The riot continuing, the sheriffs of London repaired to the place, who caused the proclamation appointed by act of parliament against riots to be read; but, this not

avail-

Geo. I. progress into the country. He set out the 24th from Hampton-Court, and arrived at Knowle in Kent, the seat of the earl

availing an the rioters being become rebels, a party of the horse-guards was ordered by the privy-council to march to Salisbury-Court to suppress them; and, upon their appearance, the mob dispersed and fled from the pursuit of justice; which, however, overtook some of them; for John Love, Thomas Bean, a servant to Cassills and Carnegie, two condemned rebels, then in Newgate, George Purchase, Richard Price, and William Price, five of the most active of the rioters, were seized, imprisoned, and tried upon the statute, which makes it felony to demolish, or begin to demolish, any house. The evidence against them proved their breaking the windows with stones and sticks, pulling down the sign, entering the house, fetching out the goods, treading upon them, and breaking them. It was sworn at their trial, that one of the mob brought three bottles out of Mr. Read's house, kneeled down by the Swan ale-house door, and drank the pretender's health, by the name of king James the Third. The evidence against these five rioters being very strong, they were all found guilty, and received sentence of death. The prince was very much inclined to shew mercy to one or two of the youngest of them; but the dangerous consequences of riots and tumults, in the heart of the metropolis, and the necessity of preventing the same, by exemplary punishment, being represented to the

prince, he acquiesced in the course of justice; which had the good effect that was foreseen and intended, the putting a stop to the desperate outrages of an enthusiastical multitude. The five rioters were executed on a gibbet, erected, on the 21st of September, at the end of Salisbury-court, near the place where the crimes, for which they died, were committed. George Purchase acknowledged himself 'greatly guilty, and his sentence just; praying God to forgive him this and all other his sins. This, he said, he rashly committed, not considering, then, the unlawfulness and dismal consequences of such a rebellious sedition, as that was, which so much tended, not only to the ruin of private persons, but to the great disturbance of, and dishonour to, the whole government.'

However, some party-zealots prosecuted Mr. Read for the death of Vaughan, who had led on the mob to destroy his house. The witnesses against him, at his trial, swore very strongly against him. John Bill deposed, That he believed, Vaughan did not belong to the mob in Salisbury-court, and had no stick in his hand. Charles Tuckey swore, That Vaughan had no stick. The same was sworn by Catherine Bennet. Joseph Harris deposed, That Vaughan told him, 'He would not be concerned, but go to work.' This being so directly contrary to the fact, known to so many hundreds

earl of Dorset, before noon, and at Tunbridge-Wells about five in the evening. From thence he went to Haland, in Suffex, the seat of the duke of Newcastle, where he lay, and came to Lewes about ten the next morning; and, about nine in the evening to Stansted, the earl of Scarborough's seat. The next morning he proceeded to Portsmouth, and, having viewed the fortifications, docks, yards, and magazines, reviewed the regiment there, and went on board the guard-ship and bomb-ship; dined at lieutenant-general Erle's, and returned in the evening to Stansted, where archdeacon Boucher, one of the canons residentiary of Chichester, accompanied by the prebendaries and vicars of that cathedral, with many of the neighbouring Clergy, were presented to him by the lord Lumley. On the 27th, about nine in the morning, the prince left Stansted, and, on a common near Rake, reviewed Wynn's dragoons. He came to Farnham about one, and near that place reviewed Evan's dragoons. In the evening, he arrived at Guilford; and, about eleven at night, returned to Hampton-Court. Two days after, the Venetian ambassador had a private audience, to notify the success of the arms of that republic against the Turks, and the raising the siege of Corfu, owing chiefly to the conduct of general Schuylenberg, commander of their army, though a Protestant, and brother to the dukes of Kendal.

In the beginning of November, the princess of Wales was in extreme danger, having been several days in labour, but at last was delivered of a dead prince, who was privately deposited in a vault in Henry VIII's chapel.

About the same time the duke of Marlborough was taken ill at Blenheim house. His distemper being apoplectic, the fit so far impaired his health, that he never after could be said to be perfectly recovered.

The duke of Marlborough taken ill.

The state prisoners that were in Edinburgh castle being removed to Carlisle, a commission was issued to try them at that place. The prisoners gave the court little trouble, al-

Rebel tried, and some executed.

dreds of spectators, and fully proved by several of them, the jury acquitted Mr. Read, who had 400*l.* paid him at the treasury, to make good his losses and charges: And Mr. Gill, at the Roebuck in Cheapside, had 200*l.* allowed him on the same

account, his house having been several times attacked by the mob, of whom, one, the apprentice of Mr. Heptinstal, a printer, was shot, pressing on, as Vaughan did, notwithstanding repeated warnings to keep off.

Geo. I. most all of them pleading guilty. Some were condemned, and the rest discharged; but, however, not one was executed. In December, brigadier Colin Campbel, the most obnoxious of all the prisoners, made his escape in disguise. The last of the rebels who were executed at Lancaster and Preston, were captain John Bruce, gentleman of the horse to the duke of Hamilton, Thomas Shuttleworth, John Minkley, George Hodgson, and William Charnley; these were hanged in October.

Accident at
the play-
house.

On the 6th of December, an accident happened, which gave occasion to various conjectures. The prince of Wales being in one of the stage-boxes at the Theatre in Drury-Lane, to see the Tragedy of Tamerlane, Mr. Freeman, a gentleman of Surrey, who had for some years past been troubled with fits of lunacy, came booted and spurred, and would have pressed into the stage-box, near the place where the prince was. Being in a mean riding habit, he was stopped by the box-keepers and a grenadier who was upon duty; whereupon he drew out a pistol, and shot the centinel in the shoulder. With great difficulty he was secured; and, being searched, two or three loaded pistols were found upon him; which, together with his man's waiting for him with two horses at the end of the play-house passage, did not a little increase the suspicion of a treasonable design against the prince. The report of the pistol, and the disturbance that followed it, occasioned a great alarm within the house, particularly among the ladies; and, none rightly knowing the cause of the confusion, the gentlemen and Officers about the prince, and almost throughout the house, drew their swords; so that the players were a considerable time at a stand. But Mr. Freeman being sent prisoner to the guard at St. James's, all was quiet again; the prince having all this while preserved a great presence of mind, and appeared to be under no apprehension. The soldier's wound did not prove mortal; but, Mr. Freeman's attempt of forcing the prince of Wales's guard coming within the statute of treason, after he had been examined before the council, he was committed to Newgate; the rather, because he was said to have either killed, or mortally wounded a man two days before, in the country.

Some changes in the
ministry.

A considerable change began now to be made in the ministry. The earl of Sunderland, who had gone beyond sea, under pretence of travelling for his health, had taken the opportunity of waiting upon the king at Hanover, and by his intrigues with the German ministers there, particularly the barons Bothmar and Bernodorff, and monsieur de Robethon,

bethon, infused a jealousy into him of the Lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole; so that, on the 11th of December, an express arrived in England from Hanover, and the next day it was publickly known, that lord Townshend was removed from his place of secretary of state. This was however softened with an account, that his lordship was to be advanced to the post of lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the duke of Grafton, first lord-justice of that kingdom, being appointed colonel of the royal regiment of horse-guards, lately commanded by the duke of Argyle; and the earl of Galway, the other lord-justice of Ireland, being to enjoy an honourable pension during life. Two days after, the duke of Roxburgh was made secretary of state, and keeper of the king's signet in Scotland. The lord Poleworth was appointed lord clerk register, in the room of the duke of Montrose, who was made keeper of the great seal of Scotland. The duke of Kingston was appointed keeper of the privy-seal, and the earl of Sunderland sole treasurer of Ireland for life.

In this disposition things remained till the king's return; and the lord Townshend's removal affected no more for the present than himself; though the divisions in the ministry seemed irreconcilable (d).

Du-

(d) The following particulars happened during the king's absence. Thomas D'Aeth and Matthew Decker were created baronets. The pension of 2500l. a year was taken from the earl of Nottingham.

Edward Southwell, James Vernon, and Andrew Carlton, were appointed commissioners of the privy-seal, in the absence of the earl of Sunderland.

Mr. Bruce, a Scotch prisoner, changing clothes with his sister, made his escape out of Newgate.

In August there blew so strong a westerly wind (which forced back the tide, and drove forward the ebbing water) that the Thames lay perfectly dry above and below bridge, except a nar-

row channel, about four feet deep, and twelve feet over.

Several of the school-masters of the charity-schools in London were removed for disaffection to the government; Dr. Welton, rector of White-Chapel, was deprived also for disaffection to the government, and was succeeded by Dr. Shippen, of Brazen-nose-College in Oxford.

Margaret, eldest daughter of the lord Coningsby, was created baroness and viscountess of Coningsby, of Hampton-Court, in Herefordshire, with limitation to her heirs male.

January the 4th, the triple league between Great Britain, France, and Holland, was signed at the Hague.

Three days after the king's return

Geo. I.
1716.

Complaints
of Spain
against the
emperor.

State of
France and
Spain.

During these transactions at home, the king was not idle abroad. One of the principal ends of the king's journey to Hanover, was to provide against any future attempts of the Jacobite party, by endeavouring to make alliances with all those powers from whence the pretender might expect any support. But this was an impossible undertaking, in the then situation of the affairs of Europe. The king of Spain pretending to have numberless complaints against the emperor. The evacuation of Catalonia had given great offence, as to the manner of doing it. A tribunal had been erected at Vienna for the affairs of Spain, and the estates of the Flemish, who had served king Philip, were confiscated. But these were slight grievances in comparison of what was now in agitation. Sicily had been granted to the duke of Savoy, by the Utrecht treaty, on condition of returning to Spain, in case of failure of heirs. The emperor had looked upon this grant with the utmost concern. He had almost persuaded the duke of Savoy to accept Sardinia in exchange, without the participation of the court of Madrid, and without any regard to the clause of reversion. To all these occasions of rupture were added the pretensions of the two courts to the succession of the Tuscan dominions.

As to France, with respect to Spain, the two nations were united, but their governors were not so. King Philip and the duke of Orleans were ready to contend for the crown of Lewis XV. in case death should remove him out of the world. Philip had renounced that crown, and upon that alone was founded the duke of Orleans's title. But, besides that, the renunciation was generally considered in France as of no force; the emperor's constant refusal to cease styling himself king of Spain, seemed entirely to annul it, as it was not reasonable that one contracting party should be obliged to stand to mutual engagements, to which the other refuses to submit. King George therefore could not be attached to France, without offending Spain, nor could he be united to Spain, without giving offence to both the others.

return, January the 22d, came on the famous trial of Francia the Jew, for corresponding with the king's enemies. He was acquitted.

Thirty of the Preston rebels having been put on board a ship to be transported, affidavits were

made before the mayor of Liverpool, that they had mastered the ship's crew, and carried the ship to France. One hundred of the same prisoners, who had been confined in the Savoy, were shipped off for the West-Indies.

The

The case was much the same with the northern powers, and its was still more difficult for king George to manage them, so as to draw none of them upon himself. Denmark and Sweden were at war: The czar had entered into a confederacy, which had taken from the Swede his German dominions: The princes of the empire beheld with regret the Russians in their country. It was the business of those who called them in, and made use of them, to send them away. The acquisition of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which king George had gained as elector of Hanover, had enraged king Charles of Sweden. He durst not, as king of Great-Britain, declare war against him (though he had done it as elector of Hanover) nor could he be reconciled with him, unless he restored the two duchies. The only way therefore was to compel that warlike prince to make peace. In this situation, it was necessary for king George to make alliances, and unite with those who could most annoy him, in case they became his enemies. Being sure of the good disposition of the regent of France, he trusted to his ministers the negotiation with that prince, and undertook himself the affairs of the north, where, it is plain, he knew some enterprize was contriving in favour of the pretender.

Geo. I.
1716.

Negotiation
with the
northern
princes.

The negotiation with France succeeded to his wish. The duke of Orleans, who had still more need of a support to mount the throne, in case of a vacancy, than the king had to maintain himself on that of Great-Britain, granted all that was desired. The States-General, who only aimed at peace and security, readily came into a treaty, which embroiled them with no power they were concerned to manage, and which laid upon them scarce any fresh obligation. General Cadogan, the abbot du Bois, and pensionary Heinsius, negotiated this affair with so much secrecy, that the treaty was finished almost before it was known to be in hand.

With France
and the
States,

By this treaty, the pretender, that his near abode might not encourage commotions in Great-Britain, was to depart immediately from Avignon, and go beyond the Alps; nor was he to be suffered at any time to come or return thither, or to pass through the French Territories, under pretence of going to Lorrain, or even to set his foot in any place within the dominions of France, much less to stay there on any pretence whatsoever. This was accompanied with the renewing of the promises made at Utrecht, of absolutely refusing protection to the chevalier de St. George, and of assisting him in any manner directly or indirectly. No refuge was to be given to the subjects of either party, who should be declared

The treaty
with France,

Geo. I. 1716. clared rebels. All that had been formerly agreed, concerning Dunkirk, was to be fully executed, and nothing was to be omitted that the king of Great Britain should think necessary for the intire demolition of the harbour, and for the removing all suspicion that a new harbour was intended to be made on the canal of Mardyke. This treaty referred to a memorial signed at London, in September, by monsieur Ibrville, resident of France, and the lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen, secretaries of state, containing the particulars required by king George to make him easy and cure his suspicions.

After these preliminaries (which might be considered as the purchase given by France for this alliance) it was added, that, the true design of this treaty being to strengthen the friendship established by the late treaties at Utrecht, the articles of those treaties, as far as they concerned the contracting parties, were confirmed and ratified, particularly, that the succession to the crown of Great Britain in the Protestant line, and to the crown of France in the family of Orleans, exclusive of the house of Anjou, should remain in full force. A mutual guarantee was also given for the performance of these, and all the other articles, and for the defence of the dominions possessed by the three powers at the time of signing the treaty. Then was settled the succours each should give the party attacked, after fair means had been used to induce the aggressor to desist from his enterprize. France and England were to furnish each eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse; and the States half that number. It was free to demand ships or money instead of troops; and, to prevent all occasion of dispute, it was agreed, that a thousand foot should be valued at ten thousand Dutch florins a month, and a thousand horse at 30,000. The succours at sea were to be valued in the same proportion.

The chief end of this treaty being to support the successions to the two crowns, that article was very largely explained. It was agreed, that, if the kingdoms, countries, or provinces of any of the allies were disturbed with intestine divisions, or by rebellions, on account of these successions, or any other pretence, the ally so disturbed should have a right to demand aid, as in case of being attacked by a foreign power; that this aid should be sent within two months after demand, and the necessary expences advanced by those of whom it was demanded, and no repayment to be required till a year after the troubles should cease. In case this aid should not be sufficient, it was added, the whole forces of the

the

the other parties should be employed, and if occasion required, war should be declared against the aggressors.

Geo. I.

1716.

As soon as this treaty was made public, it raised great murmurings, especially in France, where it was openly said, the regent sacrificed to his ambitious views the honour and advantage of the nation: The condescension hitherto shewn for England on account of the chevalier de St. George, had been too great, but the present proceedings were shameful and mean: The demolition of Mardyke would be an eternal monument of the subjection of France to England: Lewis XIV. would never have consented to it, and the unsettled state of Great-Britain did not put her in a condition to impose laws: A prince, who had no other interest but that of his people, would have taken the opportunity to finish a work so important and necessary: The expressions in the treaty, of doing 'whatever the king of Great-Britain shall judge necessary to remove his suspicions,' were of a very high strain, and derogatory to the sovereignty of the crown of France.

Murmurings against the treaty.

The king of Spain was highly offended at this alliance, and complained of it bitterly, affirming, it belonged to the states of the realm, not to foreigners, especially the English, perpetual enemies of France, to decide pretensions to the throne, in case God should, in his anger, call the young king to himself: And from that time he took measures to disconcert this alliance.

This strict alliance with France was found fault with even in England, where it was pretended, that the succession was sufficiently secured by the treaty of Utrecht, and there was no occasion for so many foreign troops, which might be called in on pretence of an invasion, and perhaps be used for different purposes. The king and regent disregarded these murmurs, being satisfied that their mutual interest would oblige them to an inviolable performance of their engagements. The character of these two princes had a great resemblance in many particulars. They had both great talents for government, and may be said to have equally had an occasion for them in their respective circumstances, which were much the same. Alike dissatisfied with the late administration of affairs, they observed the same conduct. None of the friends and creatures of Lewis XIV. were in favour with the duke of Orleans; as none of the friends and creatures of queen Anne were in favour with king George. The difference, in their manner of treating them, entirely flowed from the different usages of the nations they governed.

King

Geo. I. King George delivered himself up to the Whigs, who had
 1716. been persecuted in the late reign: The duke of Orleans
 seemed to give himself up to the Jansenists, whom Lewis XIV.
 had constantly ill used: They changed ministers almost as
 often one as the other: Their competitors inspired them
 with the same views, and almost the same precautions: They
 were alike even in their death, for both died suddenly. The
 duke of Orleans is said to have had a more prompt and ready
 genius: The multitude and difficulty of his affairs never hindered
 him from pursuing his pleasures; whereas king George was always
 attentive, always serious, and seemed an enemy to all amusements:
 and therefore he was, beyond comparison, more regular in his
 manners and conduct; besides, he was more constantly attached
 to the party he had espoused, and was never seen to waver between
 the Whigs and Tories, as did the duke of Orleans between the
 Jansenists and Molinists.

Negotia-
 tions in the
 north almost
 fruitless.

General Cadogan had much better success in his negotia-
 tions with France, than the king had in his with the nor-
 thern powers. Notwithstanding all his endeavours, he could
 engage them neither to be reconciled, nor even to suspend
 their resentments. He seemed, however, to have succeeded
 in spite of the king of Denmark's desire to preserve his ad-
 vantages, and the king of Sweden's eagerness to revenge and
 repair his losses. His Swedish majesty had presented to the
 emperor and the diet pacific memorials, and even sent plenipo-
 tentiaries to assist at the congress of Brunswick; but all these
 hopes quickly vanished. King George had, however, made
 that prince all the advances imaginable: Had strongly pres-
 sed the emperor, the kings of Denmark and Prussia, and
 even the czar himself, that the Russians might march out of
 the empire: Nay, it is said, he had proceeded so far towards
 a separate peace with the king of Sweden, as to offer to join
 with him against the Muscovite, on condition only that he
 would renounce all pretensions to the dutchies of Bremen
 and Verden. King Charles XII. was intractable; incensed
 at the war made against him, when he could not defend him-
 self; and still more at the peace, which they would compel
 him to make, on conditions, as he thought, both dishonou-
 rable and hard, he breathed nothing but revenge, and was
 as much offended with the king of Great-Britain, as with
 the czar and the king of Denmark.

As king George could not obtain the session he desired, he
 took the best measures to secure his new acquisitions, and
 compel the king of Sweden to remain quiet. It was given
 out

out, that the confederacy he had entered into, was formed purely for the sake of peace. It was agreed by the confederates, that each should furnish a certain number of forces and ships, not to make new conquests upon Sweden, but to oblige his Swedish majesty to sit easy under his losses, and not endeavour to recover them. This rupture with Sweden was not only detrimental to the trade of Great-Britain, but had like to have proved fatal to the king; for, whilst he was labouring for a peace in the north, in order to secure his German possessions, a scheme was contriving to deprive him of his British dominions.

The disaffected in England, still pursuing their designs in favour of the pretender, turned their eyes on the king of Sweden to accomplish it. They knew how exasperated he was against king George, and how glad he would be of a revenge: Count Gyllenburgh was the Swedish resident at London. The count was applied to, or perhaps made the first overtures. The affair was carried on not only at London, but by baron Gortz, the Swedish ambassador at the Hague, and by baron Sparre at Paris, with the English Jacobites there, and other friends of the pretender. Baron Gortz, who was the projector of this plot, went to France, in order to bring things to the point he desired, and because the secret could be kept better at Paris than at the Hague. The czar was also treated with, who was known to be offended with king George.

These Negotiations could not be so privately managed, but that they were suspected by the court of England. In April, when the septennial bill was in hand, intimations had been given that a second invasion was to be feared, and this apprehension was made one of the motives for continuing a house of commons, in which the king had so much reason to confide. These suspicions were indeed not very clear, but, in the situation of Europe at that time, it was not difficult to guess from what quarter the danger was to come. The good disposition of the duke of Orleans had removed all uneasiness with respect to France. The king of Spain, wholly intent on his projects against the emperor, could not be suspected of quarrelling with England. The north therefore was the only place from whence the storm could be thought to proceed: This conjecture, the only reasonable one that could be formed, determined king George to repair to Hanover, where he could best discover the intentions of his enemies. He succeeded in his design; at least the public was, in a few days
after

Geo. I. after his arrival at London, informed of the plot, by the
1716. seizing of count Gyllenburg.

The king, having finished all his affairs abroad, set out
1716-17. from Hanover the 19th of January, N. S. and in ten
The king's days landed at Margate, from whence he proceeded to Lon-
return to don.
England.

The Swe-
dish resident
seized.

It was expected, the parliament would have immediately met, but their meeting was put off for some time, on account of a surprising event. On the 29th of January, Mr. secretary Stanhope communicating to the privy-council, the informations the king had received of a conspiracy, which had for some time been carried on to excite a new rebellion, and to favour a foreign invasion. The same night, major Smith, an Irish officer, who was no longer in the service, and who, that very evening, had been playing at basset at the apartments in St. James's, was seized at his lodgings; and, about twelve o'clock, lieutenant colonel Blakeney, with a detachment of the foot-guards, secured the house of count Gyllenburg, the Swedish resident. Not long after, major-general Wade, attended by the colonel, went and knocked at the door of the Swedish minister, and being admitted, found him making up some dispatches. Having, in a few words, made him a compliment, and acquainted him with his commission to put a guard upon his person, and to secure his papers, he laid hold on such as were on the table, and demanded those that were in his scrutore. Count Gyllenburg's surprise raised in him an extraordinary emotion, which made him expostulate with some warmth about the law of nations being violated in his person; but, having somewhat recovered his temper, he desired leave to send for the marquis de Monteleone, the Spanish ambassador, that he might consult with him, how to act on such an occasion. But general Wade, having positive orders not to let him speak with any person, could not grant his request. On the other hand, the count's lady having refused the keys of the scrutore, upon pretence, that there was nothing in it but linen and plate, the general caused it to be broke open; and, having found in it a great many papers, he sealed them all up, and left a strong guard upon the resident. The same morning Charles Cæsar, formerly treasurer of the navy, and member of parliament for the borough of Hertford; and Sir Jacob Bancks, formerly member of parliament for Minehead, were apprehended, upon suspicion of being in confederacy with count Gyllenburg.

There

There were several conjectures as to the means of this important discovery. Some affirmed, the king had long before notice of the design from France; others, that the discovery was owing to an intercepted letter from count Gyllenburg to the lord Duffus, prisoner in the Tower: And others asserted, the lord Duffus accidentally revealed the conspiracy to an English lord, his fellow prisoner, who discovered it to the government, and thereby merited his pardon. Be this as it will, it is certain, that the king and his ministers had long before entertained suspicions of the count's clandestine practices; which were not a little increased upon the publication of a libel about September 1716, intitled, 'An English Merchant's Remarks upon a scandalous Jacobite Paper published in the Post-Boy, under the name of, A Memorial presented to the Chancery of Sweden, by the Resident of Great Britain.' Of which libel count Gyllenburg was suspected to be the author, as afterwards appeared by his letters.

The securing the person and papers of a public minister being an affair of an extraordinary nature, and some foreign ministers having expressed their resentments of it at court, they were given to understand, that in a day or two they should be acquainted with the reasons for proceeding against the Swedish minister in such a manner. Accordingly, the secretaries of state, Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Methuen, wrote a circular letter to the foreign ministers of their respective districts, who were pretty well reconciled to the proceedings of the court; only the marquis de Monteleone, the Spanish ambassador, said, in his answer to Mr. Stanhope: 'That he was sorry no other way could be found out, for preserving the peace of his majesty's dominions, without arresting the person of a public minister, and seizing all his papers, which are the sacred repositories of the secrets of his master; and, in whatever manner these two facts may seem to be understood, they seem very sensibly to wound the law of nations.'

Not many days after the seizing of count Gyllenburg, baron Gortz, minister and favourite of the king of Sweden, was likewise secured in Guelderland, in the following manner: Mr. Leathes, the British resident at the Hague, received the king's orders to desire the regents of that state to consent to the seizing of baron Gortz, with his two secretaries, M. Stambke and M. Gustavus Gyllenburg, the baron having for some time been concerned in carrying on a correspondence, and concerting measures with the British rebels in France, and with several persons in England, by means of

Baron Gortz
secured.

Geo. I. count Gyllenburg, for raising a rebellion in England, to
 1716-17. be supported by a foreign force. Mr. Leathes went im-
 mediately to Amsterdam, and disposed the magistrates of
 that place to consent to the securing of baron Gortz, in case
 he should come thither from France; and returned back to
 the Hague. The same night baron Gortz arrived there, hav-
 ing heard at Calais of count Gyllenburg's being put under
 arrest, which prevented his going over to England, as he in-
 tended. He had, on the 18th of February, a conference
 with the imperial minister, wherein he extolled the inclina-
 tion of the king of Sweden to peace, and insisted on a resolu-
 tion about his last propositions; but, the next day, he set
 out, a little before noon, in a post-chaise, accompanied by
 general Poniatowefski, having, as it is believed, had some
 notice, that orders were given to secure him, which indeed
 he narrowly escaped. For, upon Mr. Leathes's application,
 the council of the States of Holland met, and passed a resolu-
 tion for seizing the baron and his secretaries; but, before it
 could be executed, the baron and M. Stambke were gone
 that morning for Amsterdam; so that only Mr. Gyllenburg
 was then taken. A party of horse was immediately sent after
 the other two, and Mr. Leathes followed them to Amster-
 dam, and, learning where baron Gortz was lodged, he
 went, accompanied with the proper officers, to the house of
 M. Teitsen, a Swedish merchant, and searched it; but the
 baron had left it some hours before. However, a box was
 found, in which were twelve large packets of letters; and,
 informations being given which way the baron had taken,
 some persons were dispatched after him, who seized him and
 M. Stambke at Arnheim, by leave of the magistrates of that
 place, as they were taking coach to go on from thence.
 Mr. Leathes, being returned to the Hague, waited on the
 deputies of the province of Guelderland, who thought fit to
 write a letter to the magistrates of Arnheim, ordering them
 to cause the baron and M. Stambke to be kept in safe custody.
 On this occasion, all those of the regency, who were applied
 to, entered readily into the reasonableness of the king's de-
 mands, and gave all the assistance and dispatch, that was
 consistent with the known forms of proceeding in that coun-
 try. It is observable, that, when baron Gortz was seized,
 he owned himself to have been the projector of the intended
 invasion of Great Britain by the king of Sweden, and that he
 had actually provided ten thousand arms, and other necessa-
 ries for this service, valuing himself very much upon what
 he had done in this affair, as thinking it extremely for the
 interest

OF ENGLAND.

51

interest of his master, and a noble and glorious enter- prize (a).

Geo. I.
1716-17.

The parliament of Great Britain met on the 20th of February, according to their last prorogation; and the king being come to the house of peers with the usual solemnity, and delivering a speech into the lord chancellor's hands, it was by him read to both houses.

The second session of the fifth parliament of Great Britain.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" **I** Was in hopes, that the success which it pleased God to give us, in defeating the late rebellion, might have secured to the nation peace, plenty, and tranquillity.

" My endeavours have not been wanting, during your recess, to improve the happy prospect which was in view, by entering into such negotiations, as I judged most conducive to those good ends: And it is with pleasure I can acquaint you, that many defects in the treaties of Utrecht, which very nearly affected the trade, and even the security of these kingdoms, have been remedied by subsequent conventions, the happy consequences of which have already very sensibly appeared, by the flourishing condition of our trade and credit.

" By the alliance lately concluded with France and the States-General, we are soon to be eased of all future apprehensions from Dunkirk and Mardyke. The pretender is actually removed beyond the Alps: His adherents are deprived of all hopes of support and countenance from France; and even the assistance of that crown is stipulated to us in case of exigency.

The king's speech.
Pr. H. C.

" It seemed reasonable to expect, that such a situation of affairs at home and abroad should have recovered from their delusion all such of our subjects, as had unhappily been seduced by the craft and wickedness of desperate and ill-designing men, and thereby have afforded me the opportunity, which I desired, of following the natural bent

(a) To justify this invasion, it was urged, that king George, as elector of Hanover, had assisted the princes in confederacy against the king of Sweden, proclaimed war against him, aided the king of Denmark to take Bremen and Verden, and

afterwards purchased these two duchies of him: And this year had given instructions to Sir John Norris to join the Danish and Russian fleets in the Baltick; which the admiral did accordingly.

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" of

Geo. I. 1716-17. “ of my own inclinations to lenity, by opening this session with an act of grace. But such is the obstinate and inveterate rancour of a faction amongst us, that it hath again prompted them to animate and stir up foreign powers to disturb the peace of their native country : They will choose rather to make Britain a scene of blood and confusion, and to venture even the putting this kingdom under a foreign yoke, than give over their darling design of imposing a Popish pretender.

“ I have ordered to be laid before you copies of letters, which have passed between the Swedish ministers on this occasion, which contain a certain account of the projected invasion: And I promise myself from your experienced zeal and affection to my person and government, that you will come to such resolutions, as will enable me, by the blessing of God, to defeat all the designs of our enemies against us.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ I did hope, the putting an end to the late rebellion would have so far secured the peace and tranquillity of the nation, that I might, consistently with the safety of my people, have made a considerable reduction of the forces. But the preparations, which are making from abroad, to invade us, oblige me to ask such supplies, as you shall find absolutely necessary for the defence of the kingdom.

“ You are all sensible of the insupportable weight of the national debts, which the public became engaged for, from the necessity of the times, the pressures of a long and expensive war, and the languishing state of public credit. But, the scene being now so happily changed, if no new disturbances shall plunge us again into streights and difficulties, the general expectation seems to require of you, that you should turn your thoughts towards some method of extricating yourselves, by reducing, by degrees, the debts of the nation.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I have an intire confidence in you, and have therefore nothing to ask, but, that you would take such measures, as will best secure your religion and liberties. While you preserve those inestimable blessings, I shall sit easy and satisfied.

"on my throne, having no other view but the happiness and prosperity of my people" (b).

Geo. I.
1716-17.

Scheme of
an intended
invasion and
rebellion.

The king being withdrawn, and the commons returned to their house, Mr. secretary Stanhope laid before them copies of the letters which passed between count Gyllenburg, the barons Gortz and Sparre, and others, relating to a design of raising a rebellion in Great Britain, to be supported by an invasion from Sweden. By these letters it appeared, that a design was formed to dethrone king George, and conducted in such a manner, as almost to warrant success. Artful papers were published to foment and increase discontent and division; the apparent tranquillity enjoyed in Great Britain, was to be an occasion of requiring and obtaining the reduction of the national, and dismissal of the foreign forces; ships, bought at different places, were to assemble at Gottenburg by the end of March, when the east winds usually blow, on board of which eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse, were to embark, with artillery, ammunition, and arms for fifteen thousand men. The great number of the disaffected had been so far relied on, that the secret of the negotiation had been trusted in England but to very few persons; nothing was transacted in writing; no treaty was made; the mutual concern for the success of the undertaking

(b) Besides the treaty of commerce with Spain (by which the three articles tacked to the treaty of Utrecht were revoked, and all other grievances in trade removed) and the triple alliance between Great Britain, France, and the States, the king had concluded another treaty with the emperor, May 16, 1716, which he did not think fit to mention to the parliament. By this treaty there was to be perfect unity between them, and each was to reckon the advantages and losses of the other as his own. They were to defend one another in the possession of all their present kingdoms, provinces, and rights, and, in case either of them was attacked, the other was to assist with eight

thousand foot, and four thousand horse, or with ships in proportion. No prince was to be admitted without common consent; but the States were to be admitted, and even invited without delay, to accede to it. By a separate article this treaty was not to extend to the emperor's wars with the Turks.

The design of this alliance was to rouse the jealousy of France, and incline the regent to hasten a treaty with England. Accordingly, when he heard of this treaty, he resolved to enter into an alliance with Great Britain and Holland, and the treaty (as hath been said) was concluded at Hanover the beginning of the next year.

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was,

Geo. I. was, as it were, the warrant for the promises that were
 1716 17. given.

This method of treating prolonged the negotiation, but without was a security against the ill consequences of a discovery. Both sides were equally desirous of being concealed. The king of Sweden absolutely refused to appear in the affair, till the time of execution; and the pretender's friends, with whom count Gyllenburg treated at London, would not engage for any thing till they had his master's word. They did not care to labour in vain; but, as soon as they should have the assurance of his assistance, money should not be wanting, nor means to support the affair. Upon this, baron Gortz spoke out more plainly. He sent word, he had done nothing but upon the knowledge of his master's intentions, and had lately been impowered in form to prosecute the enterprize. He sent a copy of his full powers, which were unlimited, and it was visible they were so extensive, only because there might be no occasion to mention the affair, which was to be concealed from the ministers at Stockholm.

This assurance removed all uneasiness and irresolution; money was given; views were explained; means of subsisting the foreign troops were particularised; a person was procured, who was perfectly acquainted with the coasts where it was resolved they should land; ships of war were provided, from sixty to seventy guns; merchant-men, that were to carry corn to Gottenburg, were to serve for transports. The scheme was well laid, and the execution seemed infallible; especially, if the army had been reduced, and the Dutch forces sent home. Twelve thousand chosen Swedes, in a condition to receive those that were ready to join them, would have quickly formed a powerful army: Encouraged by such an army, the people would have risen on all sides: The Highlanders would have all been in arms: The torrent would have increased without ceasing, and a battle would have decided the affair. Thus much is certain, the project was infinitely better concerted than the last year's: The continual motions of the Swedish forces would have served to cover the true design, till it would have been too late to oppose it; a few days sufficed to convey them into Scotland or England. But a timely discovery confounded all these measures, and established king George on the throne (c).

The

(c) The reader may see all the following abstracts of the these particulars, at large, in letters,

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The letters, being read in both houses, raised the utmost indignation in all the well-affected to the government, and addressees were presented, full of the most lively expressions of loyalty and zeal, and of resentment against the proceedings of the late ministry. The lords, in their address, said, 'We

Geo. I.
1716-17.

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The first letter is from baron Sparre, to count Gyllenburg, dated at Paris, September 25, 1716; in which the baron acquaints the count, 'That, three days before, he was informed, that he [count Gyllenburg] had entered upon business with some lords of the chief of the pretender's party: That, they took it for granted, he was authorised to do so, by the king of Sweden; and, in a word, that he was inclined to believe, that his Swedish majesty would espouse the interests of that prince. In the first place, adds the baron, I will tell you, that I shall be charmed with it; and then, that it is not from a motive of curiosity, that I ask, whether what I have heard be true; but, that I may co-operate with you, though indirectly, till I have powers like yours, with which, you know, we are obliged to proceed very cautiously. Do me the friendship to let me know, what there is in this matter, as soon as possible. I flatter myself you will find your account in it.'

The next is a letter from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated London, Sept. 29, O. S. Octob. 9, N. S. 1716; which, being very material, deserves to be inserted at length. 'In answer to your excellency's letter (says the count) of the 22d past, I now do myself the

honour to acquaint you, that every body here is of opinion, that either France is extremely weak, or else, that the regent aims at the throne, and is desirous to purchase it of king George, at any rate; for, otherwise, it is thought impossible, that France could condescend to make so ignominious a sacrifice, as she does, of a work [Mardyke] which cost her so much, and for which the late king would have undergone a ten years war. People go so far here, as to lay wagers, that the young king of France will be dispatched, before a certain time. to make room for his uncle. But, if the report, which is current at present, proves true, that the young king is fallen ill of the small pox, it is very possible, that providence may confound his vast projects, which, among other things, tend to set up the court of Hanover to serve France, in our stead, as a balance against the power of the emperor: And it was with this view, that France already offered, last spring, to consent to guaranty to the Hanoverians the possession of the duchy of Bremen. If the emperor considers well the time, at which France takes these steps, and England is so forward to answer them, he will find, that his last advantage over the Turks has begot a jealousy in those

Geo. I. are sensible, that the gross defects and pernicious consequences of the late treaty of Utrecht could not have been remedied, but by your majesty's unwearied application for the good

those two powers, and has made them bethink themselves, in good time, of securing one another, mutually, against his power. I know not with what design it is done; but the ministry, at present, give out, that the peace of the north is actually in agitation, and that it will be concluded to the satisfaction of the king of Sweden. My friends would persuade me, that this is done, in order to quiet a little the minds of those, whose eyes my paper (*Remarks of an English Merchant, &c.*) has opened. Be that as it will, I can assure your excellency, that never any paper met with a more general approbation; and, if I might venture to give my opinion, I should think it would not be improper to cause it to be printed in French, in Dutch, and even in English, at the Hague. Your excellency may be assured, that, if these gentlemen here make any answer to it, I shall be ready to baffle them intirely, and that there is nothing in the world I should so much wish for.

Whether they do this, or not, I intend to have several pieces ready against the meeting of the parliament, and to publish them by a little at a time, the impatience of the people here not suffering them to read long deductions: And, if I had wherewithal to defray the expence, I would cause some of them to be printed immediately, and the papers to be conveyed into such

places, that it should not be in the power of this court to hinder the impression. The intimations, which have been made me, terminate in bringing in the pretender; but, as I cannot enter upon that affair, without an express order from the king, my master, I have avoided coming to particulars.

Ten thousand men, transported hither from Sweden, would do the business; and, I believe, we shall not be at a loss for money.

I send you, inclosed, the translation of the paper, which has been published here.'

Baron Gortz, in his answer, dated at the Hague, Octob. 1st, 1716, is of opinion, 'That, hitherto, they need not be much disturbed about the treaty between France and Great Britain;' and adds, 'That the count's printed piece deserves the approbation it meets with: That he has sent it to the king, and will take care to get translations of it into other languages printed. He desires to know the expence of printing the other pieces of the count's composing: Cautions him, not to make any mention, in his letters to the king, nor to his correspondents in Sweden, of what has been insinuated to him about the pretender: But that, in the mean time, he will run no risque, in acquainting him with all the particulars on that head; and that, above all, it will be necessary to make him clearly understand,

good of your subjects, and by that just regard, which is paid Geo. I. by foreign potentates to your known wisdom and integrity. 1716-17.
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derstand, how ten thousand men might do the business; that is to say, what scheme has been contrived, and what motive they propose to offer, to induce the king of Sweden to enter into this affair.'

Count Gyllenburg, in his answer, dated at London, October 12-23, 1716, tells baron Gortz, 'I say nothing to the alliance lately made by France. Last spring, France offered the Hanoverians their guaranty of the possession of Bremen, and I doubt not but they have now done it. How do we know, but this may produce good dispositions at Vienna towards us? It was in jest only that count Volkra told M. Petkum, that his master would enter into that alliance.

I am very glad, that my pamphlet meets with your excellency's approbation. I assure you, that to print the pieces, that will be necessary, will cost me, at least, sixty pounds. Printers must be bribed to it, for they run great risques, in printing any thing that displeases the government: But I will keep an exact account of every penny.

I would begin with our treaty, and make short remarks upon it*. Afterwards, I will print extracts from the custom-house, to shew the little necessity there is of the trade to Petersburg and Riga, especially this year. Then I will come to the Hanover declaration of war, and will examine it, if it be necessary. Af-

ter that, I will proceed to every one of our enemies, and I doubt not, but to undeceive the nation.'

To this letter count Gyllenburg subjoins this remarkable postscript:

'Your excellency will have seen, by my last to M. de Mullen, what I have written upon the subject in question. You will be pleased to send, or keep back, that letter, just as you shall judge convenient. However, I beg you would be pleased to inform me which you do.

There is no medium; either Bremen, or the Hanoverians, must be sacrificed. The latter is not so difficult, considering the general discontent. Ten thousand men would be sufficient. The malecontents require but a body of regular troops, to which they may join themselves. That body, being transported in the month of March, when the easterly winds reign, and when it will not in the least be dreamt on, will cause a general revolt. We must also have arms for between fifteen and twenty thousand men, and as many accoutrements as can be got; for, as to horses, we shall have them here.

Your excellency may easily judge of what advantage this will be to the king; and, in my poor opinion, we have no other course to take, unless we are willing to give up every thing. My friends are not in town, but I shall speak with them

This was done and sold privately.

Geo. I. It is with unspeakable satisfaction, that we see your majesty's
 1716-17. endeavours successful in such conventions, as have already
 given

them some day the next week ; and then your excellency may expect their scheme : In the mean time, I should be of opinion, that, if the business could be done, without making use of a great many English, there would be the less risque run ; for I do not know whether I ought to touch upon what the king must have further ; for, although they will endeavour to do every thing that I ask, yet, as it must be by a contribution raised among a great many, it may happen, that there may be a false brother. Our men once landed, I answer for the rest. In the mean time, I beg you would remember what I had the honour to write to you, last summer, concerning one N——. No body knows the sea and the coasts better than he, and he is a brave and honest man. In short it will be a glorious enterprise, which will put an end to all our misfortunes, by ruining those who are the authors of them. As to what I have to say of the time, the sooner the better, after the trade to Gottenburg is ended, or before it begins.

The next letter is from count Gyllenburg, to his brother Gustavus Gyllenburg, secretary to baron de Gortz, dated at London, October 16-27, 1716 ; in which the postscript to baron Gortz, is only material, which is as follows :

‘ I have since spoken with two of the principals, who have assured me, that there shall be

sixty thousand pounds sterling, ready, as soon as I shall shew them a line from the king, with assurances under his own hand, that he will assist them. As for the scheme, I shall have it within a few days. One of them, who is the chief promoter of the affair, assured me, that we had nothing to apprehend from the regent on this occasion.’

By a letter dated at the Hague, November 3, 1716. M. Gustavus Gyllenburg acquaints his brother, the count, that he has given baron Gortz his letter of the 16-27 of October, to read, as well as the note therein inclosed ; to which he made him the following answer : ‘ It is my repeated advice, to forbear speaking any thing at all of money ; but to hear people only, so as to learn clearly what they are able and disposed to do, and to acquaint me with it, without opening yourself to them.’

The next letter is from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated at London, November 4, 1716, as follows : ‘ In answer to what your excellency has done me the honour to write to me in the postscript to your letter of the 16-27 past, I grant there will be no harm in hearing the insinuations of this court, if they were made not only without my promising to make report of them to his majesty, but also my giving them hopes of his majesty's being resolved to be reconciled to the Hanoverians, and to sacrifice Bremen to them for some equivalent on the

given new life to our trade and credit; and particularly in Geo. I. the treaty lately concluded with France and the States-1716-17. general. —

the part of the czar. But as, without that, they will make no overtures, for fear we should make use of them to increase still more the distrust, which is between the northern allies, and so make an advantage of them; it is not in my power to get any thing particular out of them; nor am I able to say of what service to us their assistance against the czar would be; but if I were to guess by their discourse, who have been talking with me about it, as from themselves, though I easily perceived it was by order of the ministers, I should believe, that, if the preliminary concerning Bremen was settled, the English ministers would be very well pleased to retrieve the false step they have made, by talking loudly of the defensive treaty between us, and by persuading the nation to give us the succours therein stipulated, either in money or ships. I should fancy also, that we might come to an agreement in relation to what they ought to help us to take from the czar, by way of reprisal for our losses in Germany. On the other hand, and if we do not submit to them, your excellency may be assured, that, as well to justify their past actions, as to force us to a compliance, they will prevail upon the mercenary parliament, which they have at present, to take vigorous resolutions, and even to declare war against us. This is what we must expect. The English ministers do not mince the matter;

and they have already made it appear, that they will stick at nothing. They are all furious persons. Sunderland, who is, in a manner, at the head of affairs, and who has got all the interest he has with the king of England, by having consented to what has been done against us (being besides our enemy) is at present at Hanover, to take his instructions from the Germans, and your excellency may depend upon it, he will execute them with all the boldness [Esfronterie] imaginable. Your excellency will therefore find, we ought to make use of this opportunity to enter into measures against people, who certainly will not do things by halves. We must either ruin them, or be undone ourselves, that is, if it be in their power to bring it to pass.

Postscript. My friends are now in town. An express, which came to them yesterday from the pretender, will put them in a better condition for forming a plan. To-day they are going about it. There are only five or six of the most considerable persons consulted. They would know, in case we agree, whether the money must be paid here or elsewhere, or if it must be sent over to Sweden. They have also asked me, if we had any occasion for sea-officers, for then they could furnish us with good ones.

In another letter at London, November 13, 1716, count Gyllenburg made good his promise

Geo. I. general. As your majesty has, by this treaty, recovered to 1716-17. us, in so great a measure, those advantages, which might have

mise to baron Gortz, about giving him his sentiments about the business contained in the baron's last postscript. 'The sum thereof (says the count) is what I have already hinted, that we must determine one way or other, and that very speedily: We have not, in my humble opinion, any time to lose in consultations. If we do not take advantage of their present animosity, it will cool; for the court, that is to say, the prince's party, does all that is possible to gain them. With the most considerable, it would perhaps be necessary to go on roundly. They run the hazard of their lives and fortunes in declaring themselves, so that they will not speak but upon good security. And as to the people of the second rank, besides that it would perhaps be dangerous so much as to hearken to their proposals, these proposals of theirs are of so little consequence, and so confused, that we should not be able from them to form any idea of the affair. I should likewise be of opinion, that, till I receive fresh orders from your excellency, the safest way will be to avoid all conversations of that kind.'

The next letter is from M. Gustavus Gyllenburg to the count his brother, dated at the Hague, November 17, 1716, the substance of which is as follows: 'On Tuesday last arrived here a letter from baron Sparre, importing, That he had hopes of succeeding in his solicitation,

to have M. Lench sent to the king. In his letter was inclosed one from the duke of Ormond to baron Gortz, in which the duke says, That the king his master had ordered him to let him [Gortz] know, that he expects shortly a supply of money; that he will then remit sixty thousand pounds sterling to his Swedish majesty, leaving the disposal of it to him; and that he begs him to look upon this as an earnest of his good will to him. The bearer of this letter added, that the remittances might be made, either to —, or to —. M. Sparre has since told the baron, in confidence, of the men of war that we have bought in France, which will be ready and delivered. And that we are soliciting the court of France to send a person to the czar, to make advantage of the pacific disposition he is now in. But as this solicitation meets with many obstacles, and that, besides, France does not appear over forward to do any thing for us, unless it be in concert with England, M. Sparre takes notice, that my lord Mar has a cousin-german, named Erskine, with the czar, who is physician and privy-counsellor to that prince; which favourite has wrote letters to my lord Mar, giving a very particular account of the czar, viz. That the czar will not attempt any thing more against the king of Sweden; that he has fallen out with his allies; that he can never be friends with king George; that he

have been expected from a glorious and successful war, and Geo. I. were given up by a treacherous and dishonourable peace; 1716-17.
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he hates him mortally; that he is sensible of the just cause of the pretender; that he wishes for nothing more than a conjuncture, in which he may be able to restore him to his dominions; that the czar, having the advantage wholly on his side, cannot make the first step; but, if the king would make the least advance, there would be very soon an accommodation between them. The pretender has sent to desire baron Sparre to procure him leave to retire to Stockholm. M. Sparre has returned answer, that, as this would be the same thing as declaring war by sound of trumpet, it would absolutely spoil the business in hand.

In this letter, M. Gustavus Gyllenburg inclosed the copy of another letter from baron Gortz to baron Sparre, dated Novemb. 12, 1715, as follows: 'I still look upon the sending M. Lench as very uncertain, because, I am persuaded, that France will not take any step, that may give the least suspicion, or by which they may disgust England, before they had finished the treaty of alliance, that is now depending. Yet methinks they might venture to intimate to the court of England, that they have a mind to send a person to the king, to sound his Majesty's intentions more thoroughly touching a reconciliation, and in order to qualify themselves the better to do good offices.

As to the affair of England, and the duke of Ormond's letter to me, of which you have sent

me a copy, I cannot forbear telling you frankly, Sir, that, if my scheme upon it be not approved and complied with, I cannot enter at all into that affair. It is upon the foundation of my scheme, that I have actually opened the matter to the king; and it would be directly to spoil all to make me depart from it. Any reasonable man will easily comprehend the impossibility, in this case, of settling a treaty in form. Doubtless it would be running too great a hazard on both sides to depend upon its being kept secret. The best way is, to prepare on each side the materials necessary for the work before us. When all is ready for execution, it will then be time enough to make treaties, if it be judged requisite.

I do not know, even whether it would be right to do what is desired under the name of lending assistance; and I am very much inclined to think, that it would be better to avow openly our own interest, and the concern we have for maintaining the English liberties.

Your friends must place so much confidence in us, as to furnish us with what we want, to put ourselves into a condition of becoming useful to them. The sum required is not exorbitant: Three hundred thousand crowns may satisfy us at present, for we want nothing but to augment our naval force at Gottenburg.

I do not see what hazards
your

Geo. I. we beg leave to congratulate your majesty upon an alliance
 1716-17. which opens to us so fair a prospect of an undisturbed suc-
 cession;

your friends can run in this. I will give them sufficient security; and, from the humour all the world knows the king to be of, they may very safely conclude, that if his majesty should not be able to satisfy this loan by a real assistance, he would do all he possibly could to reimburse our friends, the rather, because his majesty would not have it known, that he had touched any money for such a purpose as this is lent.

These gentlemen might, however, the more to engage the king's affection, give their offer the turn expressed in my scheme; though, for my part, I will not accept it, on any conditions, that may distinguish it from a common loan. But all depends upon their determining speedily, and beginning forthwith, by furnishing the three hundred thousand crowns for the men of war, without which they must not flatter themselves that any thing can be done. I am upon the scent of getting a fourth hundred thousand even in England.

France cannot reproach us with this agreement, while no treaty or convention can be produced to prove it. What I said above of the cautious behaviour of the court of France towards England, is no doubt applicable likewise to the negotiating of an accommodation with the czar. It is probable, the court of France would not proceed in a negotiation of that kind, but by concert with Eng-

land; and you will grant me, that this would not by any means suit our interest. This reflection leads me into an opinion, that the canal of France is not at present the most commodious for us. It may suffice therefore to have offered to make use of that canal without pressing the matter further. Nor can M. Lench be the manager of this negotiation. For going to, and coming from Sweden at the season of the year we are now in, requires time; and, if we come to any agreement with the czar, we ought to conclude it within three months at the very farthest. The canal of my lord Mar seems to be alike inconvenient and impracticable, because of the length of time, which that circulation of correspondence would unavoidably take up. Yet I cannot but think, that, by the canal of the favourite physician, the good dispositions of the czar might be improved, if they are indeed such as have been represented. If the czar comes hither, and one can get a private conversation with the favourite, we might certainly carry things on far, supposing, as I said, that what the favourite has written be well founded. In the mean while I am contriving some other way.

If we fix upon a project, that is in any tolerable degree promising, I shall not be withheld by the difficulties and hardships of the voyage from being the bearer of it myself.

If in the mean time our
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cession, an equal balance of power, and a flourishing commerce. Geo. I.

1716-17.

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friends would enter into my scheme, I should be the more sure of bringing the king to a thoro' good liking of their business. But I will not venture to convey any thing of this to his majesty, otherwise than by word of mouth. It is satisfaction enough to me to know originally, that I am in no danger of giving offence to Sweden by the part I take upon me to act in this affair. The fancy of the pretender's retiring to Stockholm surprises me: It would be blazing abroad our secret intelligence by sound of trumpet.

On the 12th of November, 1716, baron Gortz wrote from the Hague the following letter to count Gyllenburg: 'I told you in my letter of Friday, that I deferred answering yours of the 13th, which I am now going to do. You say, Sir, that, as to the affair you are pressed about, it would be necessary to go roundly to work with the principals. I am intirely of the same opinion. The business then is to speak plainly. I believe, Sir, it will be thought a sufficient proof of our frankness, to declare, as you may do, that nothing is more natural, nor more sweet, than to revenge an affront one has received; but that, in point of prudence, it ought to be maturely considered, whether the passion of revenge can produce the desired effect. If your people do but make the least reflection upon this rule, they will undoubtedly perceive, that it is intirely their business

to make the success of the enterprise, which they desire, appear probable to us. After that it will be likewise proper, that they should help us in settling the necessary points, that is, that they should assist us with money. As I run no risque with you, Sir, I make no scruple of telling you in confidence, that the business in hand has for some time been part of my correspondence with ambassador Sparre.

The principal members of the present court of Avignon offer on part of their master 60,000l. sterling, to engage the king's affection. I remonstrated thereupon, that the delicacy of the conjuncture ought to caution us against closing too hastily with this offer; but that I proposed to treat upon the foot of a common loan; and that in that case, being furnished with the king's full power to negotiate money for his majesty's service, I might accept it, giving them assurances on the king's part for repayment, that, if at the same time they would communicate to me a plan of the principal affair, I would not fail to send it to the king; and that, in case his majesty should be unwilling to enter into the design in question, he would at least pique himself upon taking care, that the sum, which I should have borrowed in his name, should be punctually discharged; so that the lenders would run no risque of their money, but that, on the contrary, they would have put it out to a good advantage, and that,

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Geo. I. We return your majesty our most humble thanks, for
 1716-17. your majesty's most gracious condescension, in having laid
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in short, the offer being made upon the foot beforementioned, without stipulating any other conditions than being reimbursed, the king might be more effectually wrought upon by that mark of their good will, than by directly soliciting the succours they desire. I added to all these intimations, that, in case the king relished the project of a revolution to be brought about in England, it might perhaps do better to give this enterprise the turn of its being intended to revenge the unworthy proceedings of the king of England, and to maintain the English liberties.

You have herewith, Sir, the copy of a pecuniary contract, which I have just now settled with some private persons in this country. You will find by it, that there is a considerable advantage to be made, which it was necessary to allow to strangers, since no body in Sweden had courage enough for it. If your people had a mind to engage in it abstractedly from the grand affair, I would admit them forthwith as far as the sum of three hundred thousand crowns. The king's printed patent, whereof you have herewith a copy, sufficiently secures every individual person from all frauds with regard to the States bonds, upon which the money is advanced.

But they must determine speedily, or lay aside all hopes, as I have just now observed to ambassador Sparre, in a postscript, which I communicate to you.

If the thing be taken upon the foot beforementioned, it may go on; but otherwise nothing can be done. In a word, we must have money, and, after that, we must know what they are in a condition to do in England, and what part they expect the king should take, to put this design into motion, and to support it.'

In answer to baron Gortz, count Gyllenburg wrote to him the following very remarkable letter, dated at London, Decemb. 4, 1716: 'As soon as I had received your excellency's letter of the 23d past, I went to one of the principals at his own house, with whom I have had a long and intimate friendship. I shewed him your excellency's letter, which I enforced the best I could. Whereupon he asked me, Whether I had spoke of it to any one of his party? And, I telling him I had not, he desired me, for the love of God, not to do it. We were made to believe from Avignon, said he, that all went on currently: That baron Gortz had accepted our offer, and had given positive assurances on the part of the king of Sweden, of his assistance. We have been pressed on the affair of the money, and to form a scheme; and we have actually applied ourselves to both the one and the other. In the midst of all this, here are three posts arrived from Avignon, and no farther signs are shewn of so much haste. This change has very much perplexed us, we not knowing to what to impute it,

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before your parliament the discoveries concerning the intended invasion ; and cannot but regard, with the utmost horror

Geo. I.
1716-17.

ror

unless to the prince's indisposition. But all is now become clear. They were too sure of their point at Avignon ; they reckoned immediately on the assistance of the king of Sweden ; and now they are afraid, on one hand, of damping our courage, by owning frankly, that they had deceived themselves ; and, on the other, they dare not, upon an uncertainty, engage to supply them with money, being sensible, it is the last that we shall give them, if we should find it employed to any other purpose than we designed ; and without direct assurances first given of our having the succours we need. You see, therefore, (continued he) of what consequence it is, if you wish us well, that you do not make known, to any person, what I see our court of Avignon conceals with so much care. If you act otherwise, you will destroy the credit of the chevalier de St. George here, which perhaps will be of necessary use to you, and you will make his adherents your implacable enemies ; for, if their design fail, they will be regardless, whether Sweden perishes or not ; and yet you know, that it is they, who have hitherto defended your cause, as well in the country, as in the parliament of England, and who have obliged your enemies to act with more caution and reserve, than they would otherwise have done. You will still have occasion for their assistance in the next session of the parliament of Eng-

Vo L. XIX.

land, which your enemies are preparing to incense terribly against you, as well by pamphlets, which are already actually in the press, as by petitions of the merchants, who have lost their ships, and who now meet twice a week to consult. Now (said he) to return to baron Gortz's letter, give me leave to tell you freely, that, if the question was explicitly and simply, Whether we should assist the king of Sweden, and we consented, it might then be worth while to ask, What security we required, and what gain we insisted on ? But that is not the case at present, nor ever will be. For I must own to you ingenuously, that there are very few amongst us, who have any concern for the interests of foreign princes, any longer than while they affect our own, and that even very palpably : ' *Magnus nostræ oculatæ sunt ; credunt quod vident* : Our eyes are in our hands ; what they see we believe.' So that for you to flatter yourselves, that, out of respect or friendship, we should part with our money to any whatsoever, would be to know nothing of us. You can never alter our minds on that article ; so you must just take us as we are. As for gain, Can we hope for greater in any country, than what we have at home, without risking our money ? Do not we make seven or eight per cent. by the public funds ; and this upon the security of the parliament of England, and are

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paid

Geo. I. for and indignation, the malice and ingratitude of those, 1716-17. who have encouraged such an attempt against their king and country.

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paid punctually every quarter? That, this question being utterly unseasonable, it is necessary to form another; and let that be, Whether we are willing, by a pecuniary subsidy, to merit the assistance of the king of Sweden? To that I answer roundly, Let us but be assured on the part of his majesty, upon whose bare promise we will rely, more than on all the securities and engagements of others: I say, let us only be assured, that by our money we shall merit his help, and actually have it. After this, let us but know what you would have us to do, and we will make such efforts, that his majesty shall not repent of giving his royal word to assist us. But, Sir, (added he) What must we think, when, after a negotiation of three months or more, we are yet in uncertainty upon what ought to be the chief spring of all our undertakings, and are to merit by our money, not the help we ask, but barely an answer, whether we shall obtain it or not? How can we run into expence, expose our friends, and, in short, endanger our fortunes and lives, when perhaps his majesty's refusal may stop us short; subject, among other things, to the fear of being betrayed by those, who, seeing the ill success of our projects, and that there is nothing to be hoped for more on our side, may endeavour to make their fortune, by striking in with our enemies, and sacrificing us?

Let us examine all this, and yourself will acknowledge, we should hazard too much in following those, who leave us in such uncertainty. But, on the other hand, what does the king of Sweden risque? Is not our government his enemies in every respect; and will it not assist them more this ensuing year? What can be said against him, if, after the example of Scipio, he carries the war into their country, who have been desirous, and are still so, to carry it into his? This diversion will be so much the greater, as it will be unexpected; and there is the more reason to hope for success, because the whole country is disaffected. It is also probable, that half the army will be disbanded by the parliament of England; and it is certain great part of that army will desert on the approach of a sufficient body of troops.

But suppose this enterprise should not succeed, would this government be more bent upon the intire ruin of the king of Sweden than it was before? And, when king George's desire to have the country of Bremen is satisfied, will our government be less solicitous by what means to prevent the czar's aggrandizing himself? Let me beg you (said he) to represent all this to baron Gortz; and I am sure he will change his opinion: and that he will not let slip, by chaffering, an opportunity so beneficial for the king

We are sorry to find, that your majesty's lenity has been ineffectual towards reclaiming a faction, who have rendered themselves so obnoxious to your justice.' Geo. I.
1716-17.

When

of Sweden, and so glorious for himself. Tell him likewise, if you please, that there is nothing more proper than what he demands as to a scheme ; and the means of supporting the affair. But he must give us the encouragement to see, that we are not labouring in vain, and running all hazards without any fair prospect. One positive assurance given at Avignon will put all in motion ; but, without that, all will flag. As to the colour, which the king of Sweden may put upon his enterprize, I shall always have that opinion (said he) which baron Gortz himself would have me entertain of his scheme, namely, that the king of Sweden intends sincerely to restore the chevalier, But I am much afraid, that the rest of my party will take this affair in quite another light ; that is to say, that they will imagine, his Swedish majesty, having not given any promise to our chevalier, nor declared for him, will make no other use of this enterprize, than only to compass his own designs, exclusive of the chevalier, and to oblige king George to come to better terms. But in this he will find himself deceived ; for, the greatest part of the nation being at present inflamed with Jacobitism, and set a longing for the return of him, whom they believe their lawful sovereign, they will not join any person, who does not declare openly for him ; on the con-

trary, perceiving it is only a foreign quarrel, which draws the king of Sweden hither, vexed to see their expectations frustrated, and not knowing how far his majesty's resentments may go, and who will be exposed to his vengeance, or who be exempt from it, they will fall into the common humour of the nation, which is to unite all, notwithstanding their past feuds, against a foreign power.

This is so true (continued he) that if the chevalier de St. George had not an English father, and been born in England, all his pretensions would avail him nothing with the common people ; who, when the contest shall be only between foreigner and foreigner, will certainly declare for him in possession, without much regard to the justice of the cause.

For what remains (added he) I intirely agree, that the maintaining of the Church of England ought to be one topic in the king of Sweden's manifesto. This is the more necessary, because it would serve to settle the minds of such as are disturbed about the chevalier's religion. His majesty likewise would act in his known character, which is to be, on all occasions, solicitous for the welfare of the Protestant religion.

This Sir, is what was most material in my conversation with my friend, who, I assure your excellency, is a man of solid judgment, and so well in-

formed

Geo. I. When this address was reported to the house, a debate
1716-17. arose on account of the lord Coningsby's urging it very earnestly,

formed of what passes at Avignon, that he told me a long time ago what was negotiated there on our part, though I took no notice of it, while I saw nothing particular about it, either in your excellency's letters, or in those of monsieur Sparre. He even told me, that a certain relation of my lord Mar's was confident of doing us very good offices with the czar; and that it had been intimated to Baron Sparre. But, being tender of intruding into the provinces of others, I reckoned your excellency would be better informed of this the direct way.'

In answer to this letter, baron Gortz wrote the following letter, dated at the Hague, December 11, 1716, to count Gyllenburg: I have received your agreeable letter of the 4th instant. I shall have the honour to answer the contents of it, that, the stronger the reasons are, which are alledged to make us enter into the affair you know of, the more should people be persuaded of the true desire, that we have to undertake the thing. It is superfluous to suggest motives to us, and we have no need of a spur. As I run no risque with you, Sir, I will freely tell you, that, even before my departure from Sweden, we were already, on our side, disposed to this expedition. It is easy to believe, that those dispositions are since increased, in proportion as the animosity of the court, where you are, hath continued increasing. There is

therefore now no other question, but of the means to satisfy our just desire of revenge. We have in Sweden troops more than enough for that purpose; but what suspends our entering upon action, is that,

First, We have not the ships necessary as well for transporting the troops, as for the convey itself.

Secondly, We do not know how it is proposed to maintain the troops, when they shall be arrived at the place intended.

Thirdly, Horses must forthwith be found to mount the cavalry. It is well known, that, when one enters into an open country, the first impression must be made by the cavalry.

Fourthly, We must know the number of troops, that is thought requisite for this expedition, in order to regulate thereby the armament of the ships.

It is true, Sir, that, for several months last past, we have had some preliminary negotiation upon these matters with the court of Avignon. They have declared themselves very well satisfied with the manner, in which we have spoken to them, and have promised not only to give the necessary explanations upon the advances of money proposed, but also to furnish instantly wherewithal to prepare on our side, during this winter, every thing that concerns the first step; being themselves of opinion, that, if any thing be intended to be done, it must be entered

neftly, that the peace of Utrecht was treacherous and difhonourable. The bishop of London asserted the contrary, and Geo. I.
1716-17.
faid,

entered upon immediately after the obftacles, which a hard winter might bring to navigation, are removed; but hitherto all this has ended only in vain hopes. However, I have not, on my part, loft any time for this enterprize. I have beftirred myself to find out men of war: I have actually found out fome, and have even made bargains for purchafing fix of between fixty and feventy guns, all armed and rigged; and they are to be delivered at Gottenburg in the beginning of the month of March. The advance of money, which I asked from the court of Avignon, was only defigned for the purchafe of thofe fhips; and the fum did not exceed fixty thoufand pounds. If I have propofed the expedient of furnifhing us with this money upon the foot of a common loan, it was only done, Sir, with a view, the better to fecure thofe, that were concerned on both fides, from the danger of a difcovery, and thofe, that fhould give the money, againft the accidents, in cafe any fuch fhould be, that might render the defign impracticable. It is alfo the fear either of fome treachery or difappointment, which cannot be forefeen, that will hinder us from declaring before we come to the place, where we are to fhew ourfelves.

Our friends will have nothing to object againft this precaution, if they will but confider, that, if we throw off the mask too foon, and fhould afterwards mifs

our blow, we fhould give the Englifh minifters a very good argument to carry the nation into a war againft us, into which they would not have a great deal of trouble to draw Holland alfo.

This is a rifque of the laft confequence; and would they have us run into it, Sir, for a trifle? I do not know how elfe to file the money-bufinefs in queftion.

The naval armament at Gottenburg cannot be useful to us, unlefs for the defign, which they propofe to us; and the money we afk will not be fufficient even for that armament.

As to the reft, however juft and folid I allow your friend's reasoning in other matters, yet I cannot reconcile the opinion, which your friend feems to have of the good faith of the king, and his intereft, with the fear, which is nevertheless fhewn, that we have no other end than to procure for ourfelves the reftitution of the duchy of Bremen,

Pray, Sir, which way can the king of Sweden better fecure to himfelf the recovery and poffeffion of his faid duchy, than by reducing king George to be nothing more than an elector of the empire? By which means the king of Sweden will make himfelf be courted by the houfe of Lunenburg, as in former times. Can good faith and a man's word be put in the fcale againft fo folid and fo evident a reafon, after we have experi-

Geo. I. said, 'He himself drew up the instruments of that treaty; 1716-17. and, in his opinion, it was as good a peace as had been
con-

rienced how little account ought to be made of a security founded in words or in treaties? To be short, Sir, the question is with us an affair already decided; nothing remains but to consider the means.

As I understand the matter, those, that shall furnish the money, will be in no danger; they may give it under the name of Dutch merchants, and under pretext of the great gain, that is to be made in dealing with me. The better to colour the thing, they may even give commission to some English merchants, to make an agreement with me upon the foot of the contract, which I have had the honour to communicate to you. After this there would remain no other risque than that of losing the money, in case the design should not be executed; but, if they had the least confidence in the word of the king, this scruple would vanish immediately. His majesty piques himself too much upon performing his engagements, to leave any room to mistrust him. We have fresh proofs of this; notwithstanding the vast expence, that we are obliged to bear, his majesty would have the pretensions of Mr. Cook, and the other merchants in France, touching the money advanced to him in Turkey, satisfied, and I have actually paid those creditors.

To conclude, I must tell you again, Sir, that they must come to a resolution speedily, or think no more of the affair for all the next year.

It would also be necessary, that those, who mean us well, should labour to get half the troops, that are now on foot in England, broken, and to hinder any naval armament till the month of May.

It concerns us also to know, for our direction, what number of regular troops will remain, after they shall have got one half of them disbanded. I reckon, that we might employ from ten to twelve thousand Swedes in this expedition; amongst whom there should be four thousand horse.

When things shall be put upon the foot abovementioned, I intend to go into Sweden myself, to push on the execution; for I do not like to rely on the care of others in such a particular. I had also rather concert this affair directly, and with you, than by the other way, which I think too long.

My lord's relation hath indeed sent word, that the czar has some dispositions to peace, which we will not fail to make advantage of, that we may be in a condition the better to push on the affair in question. The czar is to be here very speedily. If it could be ordered, that the said relation of my lord Mar should speak to me, I should quickly perceive what might be done there. You will easily judge, Sir, that an agreement with the czar would give great weight to the other affair.'

In answer to this letter, count Gyllenburg, on the 18th of De-

concluded for these forty years past.' Lord Coningsby re- Geo. I.
plied, 'He did not intend any personal reflection on any per- 1716-17.
son ;

December N. S. 1716, wrote the following to baron Görtz :
'I received, two days ago, the letter your excellency did me the favour to write me of the 11th, and I have not deferred the execution of your orders one moment. I hope to be able to give you an account of them by the next mail. In the mean time, I shall have the honour to answer to your excellency's postscript, that I shall not fail to govern myself as you there direct. If I have hitherto done otherwise, it has been, that I might not be accused of not representing matters as they were on one side and the other, leaving it afterwards to our ministers to make choice of that, which they thought most proper. Your excellency, according to your wonted goodness, will forgive me, however, for saying, that, in my opinion, whatsoever resolution we take, it would, notwithstanding, be well to keep the people here in good humour ; that is, that we should seem not utterly to reject their proposals or otherwise they will be prying into the motives, which render us so intractable, and will perhaps discover the true one, in which case they will cause it to miscarry. Besides, a little hopes would make them put off longer the pushing the affair in parliament ; and I thin' that is what your excellency seems to desire. Methinks, to this end, it would be necessary, that your excellency should write Petkum an answer, who

complains of having received none to his letters, to shew your acknowledgment of the pains he has taken, and to desire him to go on, in order to keep the ministers in the same good way, till your excellency has received an answer to the account, which you have given his majesty of the whole affair ; and then we may act with more vigour. As Petkum generally shews all his letters to Townshend and Bothmar, I fancy they will thereby be easily persuaded to believe what they wish. If this letter comes before the arrival of king George, it will perhaps prevent the impression, which the Germans and Sunderland will be apt to make with their usual violence at their first coming over.

The two next letters relate principally to bills of exchange, shipping, corn, salt, &c. for Sweden ; but in one from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated at London, December 29, 1716, he writes as follows :

'I am once more obliged to defer the departure of my express till Friday, one of the principal of our friends being not yet returned to London ; but he will be here to-morrow. I have the letters ready for the physician, but dare not venture them by the post. While I am waiting for the principal of my friends, I shall dispatch to-morrow a gentleman to the czar, to endeavour to possess him with pacific thoughts. I have given him

Geo. I. son; but the venerable prelate who spoke last might remember, that, about two years ago, when the ministers who made

him letters for my brother, that he may introduce him to your excellency, who will give him such instructions, as you shall judge necessary. He is a Muscovite by birth, and having been a long time known to my friend, and perhaps even employed on the like messages, he assures me, that we may put intire confidence in him. I have intimated to him, that he may alledge, for the pretext of his voyage, his natural inclination to serve the czar, by which he was induced to discover to him, that king George is making all the offers imaginable to acquire Bremen of the king of Sweden, at the expence of the czar, who is to be the sacrifice of that acquisition. Your excellency will add what other hints you judge convenient. I should think, however, it might be proper, that this man should be kept ignorant of the canal of the physician. I have another letter for him, which may introduce my brother to his acquaintance; and then he may convey messages between your excellency and the physician, till your excellency shall think fit to have an interview with him. We are assured here, that king George will have none with the czar; and they seem to be very little satisfied with that prince.

Your excellency will have the goodness to remember what I had the honour to write to you in my last, about my lord Sunderland. I have learnt since, that that lord does all he can to

make those of his party fond of king George's project, to open a port at Harbourg; asserting, that England will gain more by it, than even by its West-India trade. One sees very well whether all this tends. I am working against it. A member of parliament has desired me to inform him of the situation and nature of that port.'

On the first of January, count Gyllenburg writes thus to baron Gortz, after a long account of private business, hiring of ships, &c. 'Since writing what goes before, my friend has been with me, and has told me, that the money, as far as twenty thousand pounds, was ready, if I would but give my acquittance, that I had received it for the use of the king my master; and this only, that he might have something to shew to those, who made this collection, supposing, that hereafter they should ask for it. I answered him, That I could not give any such acquittance, without your excellency's order, which I would write for this post. He told me likewise, That they had already, by order of the court of Avignon, remitted eight thousand pounds to baron Sparre.

Since writing these lines, the Dutch mail of the 25th is just come in, by which my brother advises me, that your excellency was setting out upon your journey. It will therefore be unnecessary to send the express, especially since the two letters intended are now become useless.

made the late peace were impeached, his lordship declared, Geo. I. he was kept in the dark, and scarce knew any thing of what 1716-17. was doing at Utrecht.'

The

I will, however, send a duplicate of this next Monday by the French post, together with the pieces abovementioned.

Your excellency will receive, this day, the copy of a letter, which M. Petkum writ yesterday to baron Sparre, the contents of which confirm the ill intentions of those warm men, into whose hands the management of affairs is going to be put; particularly if it be true, as M. Petkum has assured me, that my lord Townshend, to whom he read the said letter, owned, that what he had writ, in relation to our affairs, was true. All that we have to flatter ourselves with, is, that the misunderstanding, which there is among these gentlemen, may perhaps be of service to us. Thus much, at least, is certain, that, if we set ourselves in earnest about the great work, the success cannot possibly fail.'

The next is a letter from count Gyllenburg, to baron Gortz then at Paris, dated at London, January 7, 1716-17, as follows: 'Yesterday I received the letters your excellency did me the favour to write me of the 29th past. That concerning the conduct of this court came very seasonably. I gave it to read to one of the principal Whigs, with whom I have found means of contracting a friendship. As I am to dine with him to-morrow, I shall know what effect it has had. He is already in a good way,

and I question not but may be carried yet further by such just reasoning.

M. Petkum is charmed with your excellency's letter to him. He exclaims publicly against the Hanoverians for the gross falsehood they have told of him. I believe him innocent as to this fact. He has told me, he will write himself to your excellency by this post. Mr. Walpole's reply is remarkable. My friend, who is one of the companions of the Whigs, has told me the same thing. If it be not the effect of the present discontent, and the court does not find expedients to regain those people, I do not know whether the court will ever venture to bring that matter upon the stage; but I shall not be satisfied with that.

I am trying to get it brought into parliament my own way. My friend is labouring that point with me, and, to that end, is endeavouring to inform himself thoroughly of the whole. It was for him that I demanded the other day of your excellency the particulars of Harbourg; and it is likewise upon his request, that I beg your excellency will send me, as soon as may be, all that you shall be able to pick up in relation to the treaty concluded between Hanover and our enemies; particularly if you can procure the agreement, by which the assistance of an English force is stipulated to them. Your excellency sees hereby what I am now doing on one side

Geo. I. The commons, in their address, observed, ' That they
1716-17. could not, but with the highest resentment and indignation,
 look

side and the other ; that is to say, with regard to our friends, I can do nothing before I have received your excellency's orders upon my last.'

The following letter from baron Gortz, to count Gyllen- burg, is dated from Paris, January 8, 1717.

' I could not acquaint you before this day, that I am now authorized to enter into the affair which you know of ; and that I am allowed the liberty to do in it whatever I shall think convenient. You will be able to judge of this yourself by the inclosed copy of the full power that has been sent to me. Which way soever I turn this affair, I do not see, that we can engage in it upon any other foot, than that, which I proposed to you at first. As interest is the most certain security of treaties, and what we are solicited to undertake, is of so great importance to us, and the most expeditious means to re-establish our affairs, that can be devised ; no man can doubt, that we shall apply ourselves to it heartily and earnestly ; and that we could wish for nothing better, than to do it without the concurrent assistance of others, if the juncture of time would suffer us to dispense with that assistance.

The only thing I see wanting for our purpose, are men of war and transports. Of the first I can have two in Holland, and six in France, all rigged and armed ; and those who have

the disposal of them, oblige themselves to deliver them in that condition at Gottenburg in the month of March. The last we shall not want, but we must immediately put our hands to the work, which requires money. M. Sparre has assured me, that I should find an hundred thousand crowns ready here ; but I learnt at my arrival, that our friends, far from doing what they had promised, are now grown cool ; so that I thought best, Sir, to desire you to press your friends to a speedy resolution, whether on the foot proposed they will forthwith supply us with money, which we must have to purchase those men of war, or not. In case they will, it is necessary they should order it to be paid to me here as soon as possible, that I may put those, who are to furnish me with the ships, upon getting them ready. If they will not, this business ought to be broken off intirely, without thinking any further of it. To lose four weeks more would be losing all, for this year at least ; and afterwards the circumstances of affairs will so change, that there can be no thinking of it any longer.

For the rest, our intention was to transport twelve thousand men ; eight thousand of them infantry, and four thousand cavalry, of which five hundred mounted. We were to carry with us a sufficient train of artillery, arms for ten or twelve thousand men more, with requisite

look upon the obstinate and inveterate rancour of those, who Geo. I. were again endeavouring to embroil their native country in 1716-17. blood —

quisite stores of ammunition. We were to land at the places, whither we should be directed ; so that we should have carried with us all that is necessary, excepting horses, which we expected to find in the country ; and all might have been executed without the least umbrage being taken ; provided that on the other side the secret was kept. M. Sparre tells me, that the reason of the coolness of these gentlemen, in this country, is the treaty between this court and England, and the ensuing departure of the pretender out of this country. For my part, I take this reason to be a very weak one ; for as this treaty, and the departure of the pretender out of this country, must make the court of England think themselves in perfect safety, and deprive them of the pretext of keeping up their troops, our enterprize is become more easy, and more sure. And to imagine, that this court, at the bottom of their heart, would not be better pleased to have the pretender on the throne of England, than the elector of Hanover, especially if the first continued to carry himself well towards this court, is to have a wrong notion of its interest, and of the private sentiments of the duke regent.

M. Sparre tells me further, that our friends here think we shall not have occasion for any more men of war than those eight, which we have at Gottenburg ; but they are to

know, that those ships are but of forty guns each ; so that it would be hazarding too much, and exposing a body of chosen troops (for such we should take on this expedition) for three or four large ships would be sufficient to give them chace, and to take them all. But, when we shall have the eight ships, which carry from sixty to seventy guns, nothing less than a squadron could oppose them ; and, before they could be fitted out, the blow would be struck.

To conclude, Sir, I wait here for a speedy yea or no ; and I continue to advise you not to send any account of this matter to the court ; for our ministers themselves are ignorant of it, and know not for what intent they have been obliged to give the turn they have to the full power which they dispatched, ' Aut nunc aut nunquam : Now ' or never ; ' as well for our friends as our enemies.

When you have fixed this affair, at least for what relates to the men of war here, I am very desirous you should come over to meet me in Holland, under pretext of being ordered thither ; and that you should put the court in hopes of returning with some acceptable offer, to the end we might concert together all that remains for our enterprize ; after which I would set out myself for Sweden, to order every thing for making sure of the execution. I communicate to you the subjoined copy of the Full Power, which
his

Geo. I. blood and confusion : And that it was astonishing to find, 1716-17. that any, who called themselves Protestants, could be so inflexible

his majesty has been graciously pleased to give me :

We Charles, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, great prince of Finland, duke of Schonen, Estonia, Livonia, Carelia, Bremen, Verden, Stetin, Pomerania, Cassabia, and Vandalia, prince of Rugen, lord of Ingria and Wismar, palatine of the Rhine, duke of Bavaria, Juliers, Cleves, and Bergues, &c. do hereby make known, and attest, that whereas we have committed to the fidelity and dexterity of the most illustrious, and noble, our intirely-beloved baron Gortz, privy counsellor of the most serene duke of Holstein, and chief marshal of his court, various affairs for our service, to be transacted in those places, where he shall reside : And whereas the present circumstances of the times and affairs do not easily permit, that we should be able to furnish him with particular credential letters (commonly called a Full Power) for every several transaction : To prevent therefore all delay, which might thence arise, we have judged it necessary, to constitute by these presents, him the said baron Gortz our minister plenipotentiary, and to grant him full power, as by virtue of these presents we do grant him full power, to treat and conclude, in our name, with all and singular persons of what condition soever, all matters, which may relate to our service, and be for our interest ; promising on our royal word,

that we will approve and ratify, and put intirely in execution, whatever the said baron Gortz shall so transact and conclude. In sure testimony whereof, we have caused our seal to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with our own hand.

Given at Lund, in Schonen, the 23d day of October, 1716.

CAROLUS.
(L. S.)

H. G. de Mullern,

On the 13th of January, N. S. 1717, baron Gortz wrote from Paris the following letter to count Gyllenburg :

‘ I am to acquaint you, that our friends here are charmed with my scheme. They have caused one hundred thousand livres to be paid me down, and have promised to get the rest paid to me in Holland, to the sum of one million of guilders. I will go therefore, and give orders for working with all possible dispatch on the men of war, and for providing and bringing together all necessaries. I shall also go back with all expedition to Holland ; whence you will have further advice from me. I shall wait there with impatience the coming of your express, and of the person who is to speak to the physician.’

At the same time M. Gustavus Gyllenburg wrote to the count his brother the following note :

‘ After the baron had signed his letter to you, he ordered me,

flexible and restless in their endeavours to impose upon us a Geo. I. Popish pretender, and rather venture to subject the kingdom 1716-17. to ———

me to tell you in his name, that it is absolutely necessary our friends should determine speedily, and cause the money to be remitted, and paid to us, without any delay; for otherwise we cannot have the men of war from this country time enough.

Upon the receipt of baron Gortz's letter of the 8th of January, with the king of Sweden's full power, count Gyllenburg wrote an answer to the baron at Paris, dated at London, January 15, 1717, wherein he begs leave to know, 'Whether his excellency would have him, for the future, add the title of Plenipotentiary to the direction of his letters. As to our affair (continues he) I went immediately to the house of one of the principal of my friends, and, without taking notice of any coldness of the gentlemen in France, I told him, in order to engage him to speak, that I had just received your excellency's orders to give such an acquittance, as had been demanded of me. He seemed very well pleased, and told me in answer, that he, who had the direction of the whole affair, being gone again into the country, and being not to return before Saturday next, nothing could be done till Monday; but that then he questioned not but I should be satisfied. We shall see what that gentleman will say at his return; and unless the gentlemen in France have made my friends here alter their opinions (which I do not yet find they

have) I hope all will go as we would have it; and, in case that should not happen so, I am very much of your excellency's opinion, that we shall leave all those gentlemen to their ill destiny, and go another way to work.

My Whig friend was charmed with your excellency's letter, which he read over and over. Many others of the same party begin to change their language in our favour. I send my brother a little piece, which is just published at my charge, and writ in a pretty moderate stile. There is something in it of my own. What is said in the postscript, in praise of the prince, is in order to gain the prince's party, which is already well inclined towards us.

If your excellency thinks it proper to order me to Holland, I should be of opinion, that you should send the like orders to monsieur Petkum, on pretence, that you would receive information from us both together, concerning the posture of affairs here with regard to our common interests. That would not give any umbrage, and one might easily find out ways of amusing M. Petkum.

Before this letter reached baron Gortz, he writ another to count Gyllenburg, dated at Paris, January 16, 1717, N. S. as follows:

'I have just now received here, your letters of the 1st, 2d, 4th, and 7th. You may depend upon it, Sir, and assure
your

Geo. I. to a foreign yoke, than depart from their darling and avowed
 1716-17. design of altering and subverting the present happy establish-
 ment

your friends, that the expedition to England does at present take up all our thoughts and attention. It will depend but upon two things; one is the procuring four or five ships of war; and the other is money. I know where to get the former, but I can do nothing without the other. I cannot sign the contracts that are offered me. Your friends must take care to remove that obstacle, and to provide for the other squadron. There is not a moment to lose: The time is very short: Our friends on this side have assured me, that the money should be ready forthwith. By your letters I am to believe, there are 20,000*l.* ready. I herewith send you the acquittance, which I have given here, that you may draw yours conformably to it, which you will exchange hereafter for mine, which I will send you, after you have let me know the names of the creditors, and that you have received the money. We are here agreed upon the plan of our enterprise; and I am promised a man to be sent to Holland, who will bring me what farther informations may be wanting. You may likewise assure your friends, that our prince will certainly be of the party, but I conjure you to give nothing in writing about this negotiation, except what relates to the acquittance upon the foot abovementioned.

I do not expect to hear from you any more here, but in Holland; and, if your man should

have been got thither in my absence, he would have found Stambke fully instructed.

I herewith send you back the contracts signed according to your desire. The positive promise of letting them have iron puts me under some difficulty, because I had no thoughts of preparing for so great a quantity. As to your money, you may keep an account of what you shall receive, four thousand crowns. I have not yet proposed to the king that augmentation; but I am in hopes of obtaining it for you.

In the mean time, employ all your skill, in order to give the court all the trouble that is possible, in the next session, in relation to their conduct in the affairs of the north; and tell me from whence proceeds the good disposition wherein Walpole seems to be.

The form of the acquittance mentioned and inclosed in this letter of baron Gortz to count Gyllenburg, is as follows: I, the underwritten plenipotentiary of his majesty the king of Sweden, acknowledge to have received of _____ for the service of his Swedish majesty, the sum of _____ which the said _____ has found means of lending to his said majesty; which sum of _____ I promise, on the part of his majesty, in virtue of the full power, which I have from his said majesty, and which I have produced in due form, to cause to be repaid to the said _____ or his order.

ment in the Protestant succession.' They conclude, ' We Geo. I. are all but too sensible of the insupportable weight of the 1716-17. na. —————

der, in the space of two years, to commence from the date of this acquittance : so that every four months there shall be paid a sixth part of the principal, together with interest at the rate of one half per cent. by the month, and so on, to the full payment of the total sum. In virtue and token whereof, I have signed these presents, the eleventh of January, 1717.

The baron de Gortz.'

The next letter is from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated at London, January 18, 1717. N. S. as follows :

My friend, that directs the whole affair, came back from the country last Saturday night, as I had the honour to acquaint your excellency that he would, in my last. He hath this day let me know, that upon a letter, which he received from my lord Mar, to remit forthwith 20,000*l.* into France, to the queen dowager of England, who was to pay it to us, he had actually remitted that money, which he hoped was already paid to your excellency. He asked my pardon for not having communicated this to me sooner, having been obliged to go into the country the moment the affair was dispatched. He added, that he had desired further orders from my lord Mar, with respect to the place, where the rest of the money should be paid. I doubt not but that baron Sparre has already had ad-

vice of all this, and that he has acquainted your excellency with it; which, however, I beg you would forthwith let me know, that I may quiet the minds of my friends here, who imagine, that the said baron doth not act in concert with your excellency in an affair, wherein the least misunderstanding might do a great deal of mischief. I have told them, that your excellency designed, that I should come to you in Holland, to concert every thing with you; with which they were very well satisfied. But I have told them, that I will not go thither with empty hands, and that they ought at least to get 10000*l.* ready for me to carry with me. I have also desired them to get me a letter from the brother of the czar's physician, which might serve to introduce me to him, if your excellency thinks fit to employ me to speak to him. I cannot express to your excellency my concern, that the affair above-mentioned should have taken a turn, which I did not expect; and which, for aught I know, may not be pleasing to your excellency. Even my friends are dissatisfied at it, every thing being done unknown to them. But, as they are obliged to have great regard for the director of the affair, who is a person of very great consequence, they must seem to be satisfied. If your excellency, after this, thinks it necessary for me to come to Holland, I beg your orders therein

Geo. I. national debts, and therefore will not neglect to apply ourselves, with all possible diligence and attention, to the great and

therein as soon as possible, that I may take my measures.

After I had written these lines, I received the favour of your excellency's of the 13th, from whence I perceive, with a great deal of pleasure, that our affair is begun. I read it to one of my friends, who told me, that that was the sum, of which he had spoken to me some days ago, and which I mentioned in one of my former; that he then believed it to be 8,000*l*. but that it was but 6,500*l* which exactly answers that, which has been paid to your excellency, and which makes part of the 20,000*l*. that has been remitted. He has promised me to hasten the rest, but I should think, that it would be necessary, that our friends in France, from whom they expect the orders, should pray them to dispatch it with all haste. He has given me hopes, that I shall have a good sum with me, when I go to Holland.'

The next letter is of count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated at London, January 23, 1717, in which he writes thus :

The day before yesterday, I received the favour of your excellency's of the 16th. The inclosed triplicate of that which I had the honour to write your excellency by the last post, will shew you the train, that our affairs are in. In the mean time, I have told our friends, that your excellency thought my voyage to Holland absolutely necessary, in order to concert

with me the necessary measures for the enterprize; but, that your excellency would by no means have me stir from hence, without carrying with me what money should be necessary. That it therefore lay upon them now to make the best use of the time, which was so precious to us, and to put me in a condition of going with the first opportunity.

They promised me to do their best that my voyage might not be deferred longer than the end of the next week. In case I can by that means bring them to hasten their disbursement, it will afterwards depend upon your excellency's pleasure, whether I shall go to pay my respects to you or not.

Your excellency may be assured, that I do all in my power to traverse the ill designs of our enemies. The printed piece inclosed, wherein I have spoken intirely as as Englishman, is a small specimen of what is to follow. I do not know whether Mr. Walpole's expressions were the effect of his first rage, on account of his brother-in-law my lord Townshend's being removed, or whether they came from his heart. We shall be better able to judge of those gentlemen after the king's arrival, when it shall appear, if they have reason to be satisfied; for it is from thence, that they will form their scheme of politics.

It is strongly reported here, that your excellency has made a de-

and necessary work of reducing and lessening, by degrees, this heavy burden, which may prove the most effectual means of preserving to the public funds a real and certain security.' Geo. I. 1716-17.

The convocation also presented a very loyal address, wherein was the following paragraph: 'We have seen, in the late declarations of some of these men, who, nevertheless, call themselves by the name of Protestants, what we must look for, should a Popish prince ever sit upon the throne of these kingdoms. Whilst they allow us no better a character than that of Schismatics and Heretics, of men cut off from the communion of Christ's church, and all the hopes of salvation, What can be expected from professed Papists, who account no better of them (however they may flatter themselves) than they do of us; but that both they and we shall be utterly destroyed by them?' Address of the convocation.

declaration, that the king, having waved all preliminary demands, has accepted the emperor's mediation, and agreed to send his plenipotentiaries to Brunswick, I most humbly beg your excellency will let me know what truth there is in it.'

The next letter is from baron Gortz to count Gyllenburg, dated at Paris, January 27, 1717, N. S. wherein he says: Yours of the 18th, with the duplicate, is come safe to my hands. Your friends are in the wrong to imagine, that M. Sparre and I do not act in concert in this affair.

He has communicated every thing to me with the greatest exactness, and not being authorized himself to enter upon this affair, nor to receive the money, he has left all to my disposal. I have even put into his hands acquittances, where the sum is left in blanks, that he may make use of them in my absence, as soon as the money is come. The friends, which are in France, shall be writ to, to press those

in England, to furnish, as soon as possible, the million of Dutch guilders, which we have agreed on; and I must needs tell you, that I cannot take the least step in relation to the ships, which are absolutely necessary to us for carrying on this enterprize, before I am in possession of that whole sum; for, if I should begin, and the money afterwards not come in, the sum employed upon this occasion would be lost; not to speak of the disgrace it would be for me to have entered upon an affair, without being able to go through with it.

As for your voyage into Holland, that likewise depends on the payment of this money. When you have secured that point, you will do me a pleasure in coming over to me, furnished with all the informations tending to the execution of our design, which may still be wanting. I will write next post to Petkum, to come along with you.'

F

But

Geo. I. But the university of Oxford did not shew themselves for
 1716-17. loyal ; for, at the meeting of the vice-chancellor, and other
 heads of the university, Dr. Dunster, warden of Wadham-
 college, having made a motion for an address to the king,
 and being supported by Dr. Wynne, bishop of St. Asaph,
 and by the warden of Merton-college ; Dr. Smalridge, bi-
 shop of bristol, desired to know the subject of the address.
 Bishop Wynne readily answered, That they might address
 upon these three heads : ‘ 1. The suppression of the late un-
 natural rebellion : 2. The king’s safe return : 3. The fa-
 vour shewn by the court to the university, in granting their
 late request,’ that the officers of Sterne’s regiment, quartered
 at Oxford, should not burn publicly, on the day of his ma-
 jesty’s arrival, the effigies of the devil, pope, pretender, Or-
 mond, Mar, and others.’

Debate at
 Oxford a-
 bout an ad-
 dress.

The bishop, Smalridge, replied, ‘ The rebellion had been
 suppressed long before ; a thanksgiving had already been ob-
 served for it, and therefore he thought it now too late to
 address upon that subject.’ As to the second, ‘ There would
 be no end of addresses, if they made one upon such an occa-
 sion.’ And as for the third, ‘ The late favour they had re-
 ceived was overbalanced, by having a whole regiment quar-
 tered upon them.’ Dr. Charlett, the master of University-
 college, urged, ‘ That there was no precedent for addressing
 a king, who returned from his German territories.’ Dr. Gar-
 diner was against addressing, to save charges, on pretence,
 that ‘ they were out of cash.’ Dr. Cobb, and others, made
 other objections, and so the motion for addressing dropped.
 But the university of Cambridge did not follow their example,
 but presented a loyal address, wherein they owned the king
 to be their only rightful and lawful sovereign (a).

Three

(a) These addresses were fol-
 lowed by a long one from the
 dissenting ministers, in which
 they said :

‘ We think it the particular
 honour of the Protestant Dissen-
 ters, that their strict adherence
 to the interest of your illustrious
 family, before your majesty’s
 accession, and their loyalty to it
 since, have drawn upon them so
 much of the fury of their fellow-
 subjects ; we are not conscious

what else could render us ob-
 noxious to them ; our principles
 being, as we hope, the most
 friendly to mankind, and a-
 mounting to no more than those
 of a general Toleration to all
 peaceable subjects, universal
 love and charity for all Chri-
 stians, and to act always in mat-
 ters of religion, as God shall
 give us light into his will about
 them.

We do not so much as expect
 or

Three or four days after their address, the commons passed a bill for prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, as long as the king should think it necessary for the safety and peace of the nation. The bill was approved by the lords, and received the royal assent. The trade with Sweden was of great moment to the merchants, but the indignation was so general in both houses, that the bill met with little opposition. Before the supplies were settled, the commons voted ten thousand seamen for the year 1717. Then they took into consideration the estimates of the land-forces. In the debate, the Tories alledged, that, the late rebellion being suppressed, and the Swedish conspiracy seasonably discovered, there was reason to hope, the counties would be soon eased of the grievous burden of quartering soldiers; but, if it appeared that the king of Sweden persisted in his design to invade Great Britain, they would all readily give their votes for keeping the present forces on foot. The contrary party urged the necessity of taking speedy and vigorous resolutions in relation to the army. At length it was resolved, without dividing, that the sum of 959,943 l. should be granted, for maintaining the guards, garrisons, and land-forces, for the ensuing year. Not long after, they passed the mutiny and desertion bill, by which the soldiers were exempted from arrests for debts. When this bill was before the lords, the licentiousness of the army, and the disorders committed by the soldiery, particularly at Oxford, were complained of, and a motion was made, that, before they passed a bill in their favour, they should inquire into the riot, which happened in that city on the prince of Wales's birth-day. The court insisted on the necessity of passing the bill without delay; but readily consented, that the Oxford riot should be inquired into. Some lords of the other side, who were apprehensive, that the university would get no credit by such an examination, endeavoured to wave it, by proposing a general inquiry into the conduct of the army. This was opposed by the court lords, who observed, that they ought not to arraign a considerable body of men, against whom there was no legal complaint; and that such a proceeding could not but be disagreeable, and even injurious to

Geo. I.
1716-17.A bill to
prohibit
commerce
with Swe-
den.Debate a-
bout the
land-forces.Debate a-
bout the
mutiny-bill.Debate a-
bout the
Oxford riot.

or desire any thing that ought to give any one the least disturbance; we only wish, that under your majesty, as the common father of all your loyal people, those of our persuasion

might not want capacity, as we hope your majesty will find they never want an inclination, to promote the true interest of the Protestant religion, and of their country.'

Geo. I. the king, who, by his prerogative, has the command of the
 1716-17. army; and, if any abuses and disorders are committed by the
 soldiers, the complaints ought first to be laid before him. But, since it had been moved to inquire into the Oxford riots, which had indeed made a great noise, and been examined in council, they ought to address his majesty, that he would be pleased to cause all the papers relating to that affair to be laid before the house. The address was resolved and presented, and, the papers being laid before the lords, there arose a great debate. The archbishop of York and the bishops of Rochester and Chester endeavoured to justify the university, alledging, among other things, 'That for forty years past they had not paid any regard to the birth-day of any prince of Wales, or even of the prince sitting on the throne, by making public rejoicings: That the university had a method of expressing their loyalty more consistent with the dignity of their founders, and the characters of their persons, than illuminations, bonfires, and firing of guns: That, as for the mayor and magistrates of the city of Oxford, they had this to plead for their excuse, that they were ignorant it was the prince's birth-day: That, the several affidavits and informations, upon which the mayor and magistrates grounded their complaints, having been sent up to court, copies of the same were returned to the officers of the regiment quartered at Oxford, in order to give them an opportunity to justify their proceedings; which produced another set of affidavits and depositions in behalf of the officers: That the magistrates had no opportunity to make any replication in their own defence; and therefore it was moved, that the house would come to no resolution, upon the foot of the two sets of affidavits; but that they would adjourn the further proceedings, and appoint a day, when they would hear the persons concerned in those informations. They insisted upon this method, because nothing could set this matter in a truer light, than the cross-examining and confronting the evidences on each side; urging, that this method, their lordships very well knew, was the constant practice of the courts below, and even of all the hearings at the bar of their lordships house; and that their lordships had never yet refused to admit of a replication: That as to the disrespect to the prince regent, charged upon the university for their neglect of ringing the bells on his royal highness's birth-day, of the sixteen colleges in the university, only three had any bells to ring: And that it appeared plainly by the affidavits taken before the mayor and magistrates, that the riotous proceedings were occasioned by the insolence

and

and rude behaviour of the soldiers, encouraged by several members of the university, calling themselves the Constitution-Club; and by the neglect of the commanding officers of the regiment, in not issuing proper orders to suppress the disturbance.' The duke of Bucks, the earl of Abingdon, the lords Harcourt, Trevor, North and Grey, and some others, spoke also in favour of the university and magistrates of Oxford.

The lord Coningsby, who spoke first on the other side, said, ' That he knew the usage of the university to have been otherwise than had been represented; and gave a short account of their behaviour in the reigns of king Charles II. and James II; and distinguished between their past and present loyalty.' He owned, ' That, in these two reigns, they had expressed their loyalty in a most extraordinary manner, and had made such great advances to countenance an unlimited power in the prince, that, if providence had not miraculously interposed, they had, as far as in them lay, destroyed the liberties of their country, which would have involved the university in certain ruin.' The lord chancellor, the duke of Kingston, the earl of Sunderland, the lord Parker, the lord Townshend, the lord Cadogan, and some other peers, who spoke on the same side, observed in general, ' That the disrespect to the prince regent, charged upon the university and city of Oxford, was manifest, because the major of the regiment did, about ten o'clock in the morning, go to the mayor, and complained, that he had shewed no regard to the prince's birth-day, by ringing the bells; to which the mayor returned a shuffling answer, pretending, he did not know it to be the prince regent's birth-day. That upon this the major told him, He would draw out the regiment to celebrate the day, with proper rejoicings, which he did accordingly; but that the mayor, instead of joining in the rejoicings, with a vast mob after him, filled up the public streets; and some of his attendants insulted the soldiers on their march, and gave them opprobrious language, crying out, Down with the Roundheads.' That they proceeded so far in their insults, as to throw dirt and stones at the soldiers, and even attempted to disarm some of them. That the house, wherein the officers of the regiment, and some of the collegians met to celebrate the festival, was, in an insolent manner, assaulted, and the windows broke by stones thrown from the opposite house of one Hurst, an ironmonger, upon which the soldiers, to revenge the affront, began likewise to break windows, of which the major was no

Geo. I. sooner informed, but he immediately went out and bid them
 1716-17. desist. That it was indeed affirmed in some of the affidavits
 produced in behalf of the university and magistrates, that a
 certain collegian went round the bonfire, and encouraged the
 soldiers to break the windows of Hurst, and all that were not
 illuminated; but, that the same was contradicted by no less
 than five or six persons, who upon oath declared, that the
 collegian was from seven till ten that evening in their com-
 pany, and had not stirred from the house all that time. That,
 upon the mayor's applying to the major of the regiment, the
 latter gave immediate orders for patrols to go through the
 city, and send home to their quarters all the soldiers they
 should find in the streets. And that, the patrols being in-
 sulted by some of the mayor's attendants, two or three of the
 soldiers fired, but with powder only, pursuant to the orders
 given them.' During this debate, the earl of Abingdon of-
 fered a petition from the vice-chancellor, and the mayor, and
 magistrates of Oxford, praying to be heard; and insisted,
 that it should be received and read: But it was urged on the
 other side, that, the house being in a grand committee, the
 receiving any petitions was irregular. Then it was moved,
 that the chairman should leave the chair; which being carried
 in the negative, the debate was resumed, and about six
 o'clock in the evening the two following resolutions were
 agreed to by a majority of sixty-five against thirty-three.

I. Resolved, 'That the heads of the university, and mayor
 of the city, neglected to make any public rejoicings on the
 prince's birth-day; but, some of the collegians, with the of-
 ficers, being met to celebrate the day, the house, where they
 were, was assaulted, and the windows were broken by the
 rabble; which was the beginning and occasion of the riots
 that ensued, as well from the soldiers as the scholars and
 townsmen; and that the conduct of the major seemed well
 justified by the affidavits produced on his part.

II. Resolved, That the printing and publishing the deposi-
 tions, upon which the complaints relating to the riots at Ox-
 ford were founded, while that matter was under the examina-
 tion of the lords of the committee of council, and before
 they had time to come to any resolution touching the same,
 was irregular, disrespectful to his royal highness, and tending
 to sedition.'

Debates a-
 bout the
 supplies.

The commons, proceeding upon the supplies, among other
 things, granted 24,000 l. for the payment of our battalions of
 Munster, and two of Saxe-Gotha, which the king had taken
 into his service, to supply the place of such as, during the
 rebellion,

rebellion, should be drawn from the garrisons of the States-general to the assistance of England. This occasioned a great debate. It was said, as these troops did not serve, they ought not to be paid. It was replied, by the treaties, it was agreed that they should be paid whether they served or not, and the circumstances of the times made such an agreement necessary. It was moved, and the question put for an address to the king, that the instructions, given to those who transacted the treaties for the six battalions, might be laid before the house, but it passed in the negative by a majority of one hundred and sixty-five against thirty-eight. It was believed these treaties were called for, and the address moved by some gentlemen, with a design to bring a censure on the German ministers. About 5,500 l. was also granted to make good the damages and losses sustained by the tumultuous and rebellious proceedings in several counties, particularly the demolishing of the meeting-houses. The money voted for the army, navy, and other particulars, amounted to above two millions and a half.

To raise these supplies, the commons granted a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and the malt-tax. While these things were transacting, Mr. secretary Stanhope delivered to the house the following message from the king:

A message from the king for an extraordinary supply.

‘His majesty being desirous, above all things, not only to secure his kingdoms against the present danger, with which they are threatened from Sweden, but likewise to prevent, as far as possible, the like apprehensions for the future, thinks it necessary, that such measures should be early concerted, as may conduce most effectually to this end.

And, as this may require some expence, his majesty hopes, that his commons will, by their assistance at this juncture, enable him to make good such engagements, as may ease his people of all future charge and apprehensions upon this account.’

The consideration of this unexpected message was deferred till the next day, when Mr. secretary Stanhope made a motion, ‘That a supply be granted to enable his majesty to concert such measures with foreign princes and states, as may prevent any charge or apprehensions from the designs of Sweden for the future.’ He urged the advantage and security, that would arise to the nation, by enabling his majesty to reduce the king of Sweden; and what confidence they ought to repose in the king’s honour, wisdom, and œconomy, in the management of what money should be thought necessary for that service. Mr. Shippen replied, ‘That it was a great

Debates on it.

mis-

Geo. I. 1717. misfortune, that so wise and excellent a prince as his majesty, was as little acquainted with the usage and forms of parliamentary proceedings, as with the language of our country. That, if he knew either, he would not have sent such a message, which, he was sure, was unparliamentary and unprecedented; and therefore it was his opinion, that the same was penned by some foreign minister, and then translated into English. That, since the king's accession to the throne, there had been many reflections cast in that house upon the last ministry, as if they had betrayed the interest of their country. That, on the contrary, they had often been told, that his majesty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the nation, the effects of which had already appeared in the flourishing condition of trade. That, after all this, he could not but be very much surprised to find a motion made for a supply of money to enable his majesty to enter into new measures, to secure his kingdoms against any future apprehensions from the Swedes. That the necessity, that was urged for this, seemed to be inconsistent with the account of those glorious advantages, which his majesty had obtained for us. And he could not help being of the opinion, that if the new alliances and measures to be concerted were such, as were to be obtained purely by the force of our money, that ever the happiness or the security of the nation could be the consequence of such counsels; for, whenever foreigners come to taste the sweetness of English money, we might depend upon it, that their adherence to our interest would last no longer than we continued to supply their necessities.' Mr. Hungerford, who seconded Mr. Shippen, said, among other particulars, 'That, for his part, he could not understand what occasion there was for new alliances; much less, that they should be purchased with money. That it must needs be very surprising to the whole world, that a nation, not long ago the terror of France and Spain, should now seem to fear so inconsiderable an enemy as the king of Sweden; especially when we had so good a fleet at sea, and so great an army on land.' Some other speeches were made on the same side, which gave Mr. Stanhope occasion to say, 'That he was sorry to find gentlemen grow so warm upon a subject of this nature: That the king was a prince of that integrity and honour, and had already given such convincing proofs of his tender care for the true interest of the nation, that they might intirely depend upon his wisdom in this matter: And therefore he was of opinion, that none would refuse compliance with this message, but such as either were not the king's friends,

Geo. I.
1717.

friends, or who distrusted the honesty of his ministers.' This gave offence to several members; and Mr. Lawson, one of the knights of the shire for Cumberland, replied, ' That he was very much surprised to find such unguarded expressions fall from that worthy and honourable gentleman, for whom, he was sure, the whole house had a very great regard. But, since he had thought fit to speak so openly, he hoped he might well be justified in saying, that if every member of this house, that used freedom of speech on any subject of debate, must be accounted an enemy to the king, when he happens not to fall in with his ministers, he knew no service they were capable of doing for their country in that house; and therefore it was his opinion, that they had nothing else to do but to retire to their country-seats, and leave the king and his ministers to take what they pleased.' Mr. Boscawen, comptroller of the household, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Mr. Horace Walpole, and some other gentlemen, backed Mr. Stanhope's motion; but Mr. Grimstone, member for St. Alban's, and some other Whig members, spoke against it, on the other side; and what was still more observable, was the silence of Mr. Walpole, first commissioner of the treasury. However, it was moved and resolved, that the house would in a committee consider, on the 8th of April, of Mr. Stanhope's motion for a supply. Mean time the king was addressed for a copy of the treaty made by king William, with the king of Sweden, in 1700, which was read and examined. With the treaty there was printed, and delivered to the members, an account of the damages sustained by the British subject in ships and lading, confiscated in Sweden, amounting to above 69,000 l. and of the losses sustained by the Muscovite company, amounting to above 45,000 l.

It was now obvious, that there was a misunderstanding among the king's ministers, and that the Whigs were divided. This more plainly appeared, in the course of the debate about Mr. Stanhope's motion for a supply against Sweden. For, when it came to be resumed on the day appointed, it was urged by those who opposed it, ' That it was unparliamentary to grant a supply, before the occasion was known, and an estimate of the expence was laid before the house. That the king's message about this matter was so unprecedented, that his ministers seemed to be divided about it; and that it was a great misfortune such divisions should happen among the ministry; for then a parliament cannot have a true information of things. That they could not easily apprehend, what occasion there was to make new alliances,

since

Division among the Whigs.

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1717.

since we had a standing army in Great Britain, and a considerable fleet at sea, which sufficiently secured his majesty's kingdoms against any dangers from Sweden. That if we designed to make an offensive war against that crown, Why did we not send part of our forces on board our fleet; especially, since we were now secure at home, both by the suppression of the late rebellion, and by the conclusion of the triple alliance, which the regent of France had begun faithfully to perform, by causing the pretender to pass the Alps? However, if the court insisted on the necessity of entering into new engagements against Sweden, they thought it proper to address his majesty, to acquaint the house with the nature of those engagements, and the sum, that was requisite to make them good.' To this it was answered by Mr. Stanhope, and some others, 'That the discovery of the late conspiracy, carried on by the Swedish ministers, in conjunction with the discontented party at home, sufficiently evinced the necessity of a standing army in Great Britain. That the treaty of triple alliance seemed indeed to secure us against any danger on the part of France; but it was to be observed, that treaty had met with so great opposition at the French court, that, had not the regent stickled strenuously for it, the same would have infallibly miscarried: And, though hitherto we had all the reason imaginable to commend the honesty and candour of that prince, yet in good policy we ought not to depend on that treaty any longer, than it shall be the interest of France to observe it.' And, as for the address, 'the same would be injurious to the king's prerogative of entering into such alliances as his majesty thinks necessary for the security of his dominions, without communicating the same to his parliament: Which prerogative was grounded on very good reasons; for, if the crown was obliged to impart the secret of affairs to so great a number of persons, the most important negotiations might thereby miscarry.' Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who spoke on the same side, mentioned the great losses and damages, which the British subjects had sustained by their ships being made prize, and confiscated in Sweden; and, besides those contained in the printed account, which was that day delivered to the members, produced a list of other losses; concluding, that the king of Sweden having several times refused to make satisfaction for the same, and, on the contrary, his ministers having endeavoured to raise a new rebellion in his majesty's dominions, there was a ground to declare war against him. To this Mr. Gould replied, 'That, the Dutch having sustained as great losses by the

Swedes,

Swedes, they had an equal concern with Great Britain to Geo. I.
declare war against them; and therefore it would be proper, 1717.
before we proceeded further, to engage Holland, in the first
place, to prohibit all commerce with Sweden, as we had
done.' Mr. Stanhope said, 'He made no doubt but the
States would readily come into any measures, that should
appear necessary for the good of both nations in general, and
to obtain satisfaction for the late depredations of the Swedes
in particular. That they had lately given signal instances of
their firm adherence to the crown of Great Britain, in
causing the Swedish ministers to be seized in their dominions
upon his majesty's desire: But that the form and constitution
of their government, and the good of their subjects, who
mostly subsist by trade, did not permit them to take such vi-
gorous and speedy resolutions, as could be wished; and
therefore it would not be fair to exact the same from them.'
Mr. Craggs pressed the necessity of making new alliances
against Sweden, from the late doubtful conduct of a northern
potentate (meaning the czar of Muscovy) who, by his in-
activity against Sweden, and the posts some of his troops had
taken, gave great umbrage to the empire.' On the other
hand, to the great surprize of the generality of the as-
sembly, the speaker, and Mr. Smith, one of the tellers
of the exchequer, declared, That, though they were
not against the supply, they were against demanding and
granting it in such an unparliamentary manner: And the
speaker proposed, That part of the army should be disbanded,
and the money, thereby saved, applied towards the making
good such new engagements, as were thought necessary to
be entered into. But general Mordaunt, and some others,
shewed how unsafe and impolitic it would be, at this junc-
ture, to disband any of those troops. Mr. Caswell closed the
debate with observing, 'That he had rather pay others for
fighting than fight himself: That he thought it more advan-
tagious for Great Britain to carry the war abroad, and enjoy
peace at home, in order to improve our trade, and reduce
our public debts: And, as the employing foreigners against
Sweden would be a far less expence than national troops,
he therefore was for complying with his majesty's message.'
At last the question was put, and it was carried for a supply,
by a majority of fifteen voices only; one hundred and sixty-
four against one hundred and forty-nine.

The next day, this resolution being reported to the house,
a short debate arose. The asking and granting supplies
without an estimate of the expence was insisted on again as
un-

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unparliamentary, and it was proposed, either to present an address to the king, to assure him, that the house would effectually make good all the engagements he should think proper to enter into; or that the king be desired to disband part of the army, and apply the savings towards the new alliances. Both these expedients were rejected by the speakers on the other side, and Mr. Hampden, in particular, said, 'He remembered, that, about ten or eleven years before, a great man in that house made a motion for allowing and providing for about nine hundred thousand pounds, which the government had expended, without laying any estimate before the commons.' To this the speaker, who was the person meant, said, he wondered that gentleman would bring in, as a precedent, a business, that was transacted so many years ago, and which was not parallel to the present case. Mr. Hampden replied, 'He did not mean to reflect upon Mr. speaker, since he had the honour to vote with him upon that occasion.' After some other speeches, the resolution for granting a supply was agreed to, though by a majority only of four votes, one hundred and fifty-three against one hundred and forty-nine.

Changes in
the ministry.

The carrying of this vote, by so small a majority, could not but give the king some uneasiness; and it being evident, that the great opposition, which the court found on this occasion in the house of commons, chiefly proceeded from a party of which the lord Townshend was said to be the head; Mr. Stanhope wrote, that very evening, by the king's command, a letter to acquaint him, that his majesty returned him thanks for his past services, but had no farther occasion for him as lord lieutenant of Ireland.

The next morning Mr. Walpole waited upon the king to resign his places of first commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer. The king shewed great regret to part with him, and with many kind expressions endeavoured to persuade him to keep his posts; but though Mr. Walpole assured him, that he would never swerve from his duty to so good and gracious a master; yet, at the same time he represented, how impossible it was for him to serve him in the present circumstances of affairs. Mr. Methuen and Mr. Pulteney, secretary at war, followed Mr. Walpole's example, and the same morning resigned their respective places.

On the twelfth of April, the commons, in a committee of the house, considered of the supply against Sweden; and, Mr. Stanhope having made a motion for granting to the king

king 250,000*l.* to enable him to concert measures against Sweden, there was for a minute or two a great silence in the house. Mr. Pulteney, who broke it first, expressed his surprise at it; and added, 'He had not yet said any thing to this matter, because he thought it inconsistent with decency to oppose a motion, that came from the court, while he had the honour to be his majesty's immediate servant; but that, having resigned his place, that he might act with the freedom becoming an Englishman, he could not forbear declaring against granting a supply, in a manner altogether unparliamentary and unprecedented. That he could not persuade himself, that any Englishman advised his majesty to send such a message; but he doubted not, the resolution of a British parliament would make a German ministry tremble.' The lord Finch seconded Mr. Pulteney, and objected to some steps, which had been taken in relation to the affairs of the north, alledging, 'That it appeared by the memorial presented by the Russian minister, and by the answer, which had been returned to the same, that such measures were pursued, as were likely to engage us in a quarrel with the czar.' Mr. Stanhope, in a long speech, vindicated the king and his ministers, in relation both to the czar and the king of Sweden. With respect to the czar, he observed, 'That hitherto he had been obliged to be silent; but he was now at liberty to set this matter in a clear light, and to acquaint the house, that the coldness, which appeared of late between the king and the czar, proceeded from his majesty's refusing to become guarantee of his czarish majesty's conquests; and from his soliciting the czar to withdraw his troops from the duchy of Mecklenburg. That, as to the first, his majesty's conduct deserved the applause and thanks of a British parliament, since it appeared, that his majesty was tender not to engage the nation in foreign quarrels. That this indeed had been his principal care since his happy accession to the throne; and he might assure them, that Great-Britain was intirely free from any engagements, and at liberty to follow such measures, as best suit with her interest. That as for the instances, which his majesty has caused to be made with the czar, and the measures he may have concerted to get the Russian troops out of the duchy of Mecklenburg, his majesty has acted in all this as elector and prince of the empire. That he was persuaded, all the gentlemen there would agree with him, that the king's dignity, as king of Great-Britain, was never understood to tie up his hands with respect to his interests in Germany, and as prince of the empire: But, besides,

Geo. I. 1717. besides, he must desire gentlemen to consider, that, long before his majesty's accession to the crown, Great Britain was in strict union with the emperor and empire; so that if, by virtue of ancient alliances, the emperor should require Great-Britain to use these instances with the czar, which the king has made only as elector of Hanover, Great-Britain could not avoid complying with his request. That, in relation to Sweden, the king's conduct was not only blameless and unspotted, but worthy of the highest commendations. That, in the late queen's time, Great-Britain interposed to procure a neutrality in the north, whereby the king of Sweden might have preserved his possessions in the empire. That the regency at Stockholm agreed to this overture; but that the king of Sweden rejected it with haughtiness, and the utmost scorn, declaring, he would use those as his enemies, who should pretend to impose such a neutrality upon him.

That, during the whole course of that negotiation, the king, then elector of Hanover, used all friendly offers in favour of Sweden. That the same having proved ineffectual, through the king of Sweden's obstinacy; and the king of Denmark having, by the fortune of war, reconquered the duchies of Bremen and Verden; his majesty, as elector of Hanover, had purchased the same with his own money for a valuable consideration. That although it was never in his majesty's thoughts to engage Great-Britain in a war to support that acquisition; yet, if gentlemen would give themselves the trouble to cast their eyes upon the map, and see where Bremen and Verden lie, he hoped they would not be indifferent as to the possessor of those two duchies, but would agree with him, that their being in the king's hands suits far better with the interest of Great-Britain, than if they were in the hands either of the czar, who gives already but too much jealousy in the empire, or of the king of Sweden, who endeavoured to raise a new rebellion in Great-Britain, and harbours our fugitive rebels.

This speech made a great impression upon the majority. However, Mr. Smith thought fit to answer Mr. Stanhope, and said, 'He had already declared his reasons for opposing the granting this supply in such an extraordinary manner; and some expressions, that had escaped a gentleman in the ministry, instead of making him alter his opinion, rather confirmed him in it. That he did not pretend to be thoroughly acquainted with affairs abroad; but, having had the honour to sit so long in that house, where so great a variety of business, both foreign and domestic, had often been de-

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bated, he might presume to have some knowledge of them. That, however, he would not say any thing to what had been advanced by the honourable member who spoke last; but, if an estimate of the conduct of the ministry, in relation to affairs abroad, was to be made by a comparison of their conduct at home, he was sure they would not appear altogether so faultless, as they were represented. Was it not a mistake (added he) not to preserve the peace at home, after the king was come to the throne, with the universal applause and joyful acclamations of all his subjects? Was it not a mistake, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, not to issue a proclamation, to offer pardon to such, as should return home peaceable, as had ever been practised before upon such occasions? Was it not a mistake, after the suppression of the rebellion, and the trial and execution of the principal authors of it, to keep up animosities, and drive people to despair, by not passing an act of indemnity and grace, by keeping so many persons under hard and tedious confinement, and by granting pardons to some, without leaving them any means to subsist? Is it not a mistake not to trust to a vote of parliament for making good such engagements as his majesty shall think proper to enter into; and, instead of that, to insist on the granting of this supply in such an extraordinary manner? Is it not a mistake to take this opportunity to create divisions, and render some of the king's best friends suspected and obnoxious? Is it not a mistake, in short, to form Parties and Cabals, in order to bring in a 'bill to repeal the act against occasional conformity?' To this speech Mr. Stanhope replied, 'That he had the honour to serve his majesty since his happy accession to the throne, but, as there were other persons (some of them in, and others out of place) who had a greater share than himself in the administration of affairs, he left it to them to justify themselves. That, however, he would clear a principal point, by assuring the assembly, that he had some time ago the king's orders to draw up an Act of Indemnity (b).'

Mr.

(b) Mr. Barrington Shute answered Mr. Smith more at large, and said, 'That the king was indeed come to the throne with the joyful acclamations of most of his subjects; but that the disaffection, that appeared soon after, did not proceed from the

ill conduct of his ministers, but solely from the removal of some persons in great employments. That, nevertheless, in the changes that were then made, his majesty had followed the rules of prudence, justice, and gratitude, since he advanced those

who

Geo. I. Mr. William Young, son of Sir Walter Young, said,
 1717. ' That some days before he had been against the motion for
 granting

who in the worst of times had given undoubted proofs of their affection and attachment to his interest, in the room of those, who had been preferred in the last reign, as the fittest instruments to destroy the Protestant succession, even before it took place, and who had since been in open rebellion against his majesty. That, as for the other mistakes charged upon the administration, they might be reduced to these two, The not passing the Act of Indemnity, and the design to repeal the Occasional Bill. That, as to the first, there were various opinions about it; and, considering the restless spirit of the discontented party, it was hard to determine, whether an Indemnity was a proper way to reduce them, since it was notorious, that the repeated instances of clemency, which his majesty had given since his accession, have been abused and despised. That, as to the repeal of the act against the Dissenters, nothing, in his opinion, was either more just or reasonable; and he could not but wonder, that a gentleman, who had been turned out of his employment in the last reign, and restored since the king's coming to the crown, should account it a mistake, on the other hand, to make his majesty's undoubted friends easy.' Mr. Smith, after an explanation demanded and given, about his being turned out of place and restored, replied to the last part of Mr. Shute's speech, ' That

he ever was for allowing liberty of conscience to the Dissenters, and had even voted against the Occasional Bill: But that, the same being passed into a law, it was his opinion, that it could not be repealed without disquieting the whole nation.' The design mentioned in these speeches, of repealing the Schism and Occasional Conformity acts, took its rise from hence: Mr. Hillersden, member for Bedfordshire, and Mr. Tuckfield, member of Ashburton, happening to meet at a tavern, and complaining to each other of the breach of court promises, with regard to the Dissenters, came to a resolution each of them to invite three members to meet the next night at the same place. When these met, they all entered into the same way of thinking; and, when they parted, every one agreed to invite their friends. In a little time, the number increased to above two hundred members of the house of commons, who, on the 26th of March, had a meeting at the Rose Tavern, near Temple-Bar, in order to consult together, ' Whether a bill for repealing the act against Occasional Conformity should be brought in? The lord Moleworth, Mr. Jessop, Sir Richard Steele, and some others, made speeches, to shew the reasonableness and justice of easing the Dissenters of those hardships, which had been put upon them in the last reign, chiefly upon account of their zeal and affection for the Protestant

granting a supply upon the king's message, because he thought it unparliamentary; and it was then his opinion to address the king to enter into such engagements, as his majesty should think proper; and that the commons would make good the same. But that, since the majority of the house had determined to grant a supply, they had brought themselves into this dilemma, either to grant what was asked as necessary for the service, or to tell the king, that service must remain unperformed, which they, in a manner, determined to be necessary, by granting a supply. This speech was supported by Sir John Brownlow, and Mr. Gould, who owned, 'That we could not carry on our trade to the Baltic, without bringing the king of Sweden to reason; and therefore he was for granting the supply.'

testant succession, and of putting them in a capacity to serve their king and country; urging, that they had reason to believe, that such a bill would be very acceptable to the king. The majority of the assembly inclined to this opinion: But Mr. Tuffnel, who had consulted a person in a high post, and found, that the court were apprehensive, such a bill would meet with strong opposition in the house of peers, made a speech, wherein he said, That, as for his own part, he had already so often declared against the Occasional Act, that he hoped no-body would suspect him of entertaining any doubt concerning its repeal. For, besides the reasonableness and justice of it, they ought, out of gratitude, to take off a mark of infamy, which the enemies of the Protestant succession had put on them, who appeared most zealous for it. But that, in his opinion, the question now before them was not, whether the repeal of the act was reasonable and just,

for he hoped, the whole assembly were satisfied as to that; but whether the bringing of it in ought not to be put off till a more favourable opportunity? Several members were of a contrary opinion; but, Mr. Stanhope having declared for it, the assembly agreed to meet again about a week after, and debate on the affair. At the meeting, the Lord Molesworth was chosen chairman. Several speeches were made to shew the necessity as well as reasonableness and justice of bringing in the bill for a repeal at this juncture; and a minister of state having sent an intimation, that most of the obstacles that might have obstructed its passage were removed, it was resolved to consider further of the affair. But though the debate was again resumed, and though it was reported, that six or seven bishops, being made sensible of the hardships put on the Dissenters by these acts, had promised not to oppose the repeal, yet the matter took not effect at this time.

Geo. I. Mr. Walpole, who closed the debate, said, 'That, having already spoken of the supply, he would not refuse the court his vote; and, the sum being named, he was for granting it (a).' Upon this, most of the Tory members, who were divided among themselves as to the sum, going out of the house, it was carried, 'That a sum not exceeding 250,000*l.* be granted, to enable his majesty to concert such measures with foreign princes and states, as may prevent any charge or apprehensions from the designs of Sweden for the future.' Which resolution was afterwards passed in form.

Changes in
the ministry.

By this time there was almost a total change in the ministry. The earl of Sunderland was appointed secretary of state, as was also Mr. Joseph Addison: Mr. Stanhope was made first commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Torrington, Mr. Wallop, Mr. Baillie of Jerwiswood, and Mr. Micklethwaite, were the other commissioners of the treasury; Sir William St. Quintin, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Edgecombe, being removed, Mr. Craggs was declared secretary at war; Mr. Charles Stanhope, coadjutor to Mr. Lowndes, secretary to the treasury; and Mr. Joseph Micklethwaite, secretary to Mr. Stanhope, as chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer. The earl of Orford resigned his place of first commissioner of the admiralty, which was given to the earl of Berkley. The rest of the commissioners of the admiralty were, Mr. Aylmer, Sir George Byng, Mr. Cockburne, and Mr. Chetwynd. The duke of Bolton was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and his place of lord chamberlain of the household was bestowed on the duke of Newcastle. The duke of Devonshire resigned his place of president of the council.

A fleet sent
to the Baltic.

The commons, having been adjourned during these changes, met again the 6th of May. All the expedition possible had been used to fit out a fleet for the Baltic, consisting of twenty-one ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. This fleet, under the command of Sir George Byng, arrived at Copenhagen the 11th of April, in order to sail into the Baltic, to observe the motions of the Swedes.

(a) Mr. Walpole, upon bringing in a bill concerning the window-tax, just after the resigning his places, told the house, 'He now presented the bill as a country gentleman, but

hoped it would not fare the worse for having two fathers, and that his successor would take care to bring it to perfection.'
Pr. H. C.

An exprefs of his arrival in the Sound came juft before the meeting of the parliament. The king thought proper to acquaint the parliament with the news, which, as it was unexpected, could not but agreeably furprife both houfes. To this end he came to the houfe of lords, and delivered to the chancellor the following fpeech :

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“ My Lords and gentlemen,

“ **I**T is with great fatisfaction, that, after this fhort recess, I can acquaint you with the certain advice I have received, that my fleet is fafely arrived in the Sound, which, by the bleffing of Almighty God, will fecure these kingdoms againft any immediate danger of an invasion.

The king's
fpeech to
both houfes.
May 6.
Pr. H. C.

“ I have, by this means, an opportunity, which is very acceptable to me, of making a confiderable reduction in our land-forces, having eftablifhed it as a rule with myfelf, to confult the eafe of my people in every thing, fo far as is confiftent with their fafety. And, for my own part, as I fhall always place my greatnefs in the profperity of my fubjects, fo I fhall always defire that my power may be founded in their affections.

“ It is upon thefe confiderations that I have given orders for the immediate reducing of ten thoufand men.

“ That nothing may be wanting in me to quiet the minds of all my fubjects, I have likewise given directions to prepare an act of grace ; and, however it may be received by thofe, who are obftinately bent on the ruin of their country, I promife myfelf, that it will raife a due fenfe of gratitude in all fuch, as have been artfully mifled into treasonable practices againft my perfon and government, and preferve them from ftanding in need of the like mercy for the future, when fuch an inftance of clemency may not be fo expedient for the public welfare, as it would be agreeable to my own inclinations.

“ Gentlemen of the houfe of commons,

“ I thank you for your readinefs to fupport me in the prefent juncture of affairs, and for the fupplies, which you have given me ; and do promife you, that they

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“ fhall

Geo. I. " shall be employed for the uses, to which you designed
1717. " them.

" I shall order such faithful accounts to be laid before you
" the next session, as will make it appear, there was no other
" view in asking any particular supply, than to prevent a
" much greater expence, which the nation must have un-
" avoidably incurred without it.

" I must recommend to you, as I did at the begin-
" ning of the session, to take all proper methods for reduce-
" ing the public debts, with a just regard to parliamentary
" credit.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" The year being so far advanced, I hope you will go
" through the public business with all possible dispatch and
" unanimity; it being my intention to meet you early the
" next winter, that the sitting of parliament may be brought
" into the more usual and convenient season."

Addresses of
thanks from
both houses.

The lords immediately voted an address of thanks, which they presented the next day. The like address being moved for in the house of commons, and reported, Mr. Shippen proposed an amendment. Instead of, 'The reducing such a body of land-forces is the most acceptable pledge you could give your people of your tenderness for them,' he proposed to say, 'That nothing could more endear his majesty to all his subjects, than the reducing the land-forces to the old establishment of guards and garrisons, such as his majesty found it at his accession to the crown.' To support this motion, he represented the danger of a standing army, urging, that in Cromwell's time, a force, much less than what will remain in Great Britain, had, after the intended reduction, overturned the monarchy, abolished Episcopacy, put down the house of peers, and drove the commons from their seats. He was seconded by Mr. Bromley and supported by Mr. Herne and general Ross; but they were answered by Mr. Stanhope, who said, 'That the member, who spoke first, could not pitch upon a proper juncture to move for the disbanding of the army, especially if the news was true, that the pretender designed to come incognito to Paris, to confer with a certain prince;' meaning the czar of Muscovy, who was now arrived at Paris. To this purpose it may be observed, that the very day before

Ibbetson

Ibberville received advice from France, that the pretender was arrived at Basil, in Swisserland, and had a few days after been seen at Old Brisac; upon notice whereof, the regent of France had sent orders to all the governors of the frontier towns, not to suffer him to enter the kingdom of France; But it was soon after known, that the pretender had not stirred from Italy. However, Mr. Stanhope, to the great surprize of the opposite side, was supported by Mr. Walpole, and also by Mr. Pulteney, who declared, 'That, before the discovery of the late Swedish conspiracy, while he had the honour to serve as secretary at war, he had received such directions, as shewed his majesty's intentions, at that time, to reduce still a greater number of forces than at present: And therefore he did not doubt but his majesty would do it, as soon as the safety of his kingdoms would admit of it.' Adding, 'That, in his opinion, the nation had no reason to fear any thing from an army, who, for near thirty years past, had given signal proofs of their firm adherence to the Protestant Interest, and of their zeal to maintain the liberties of their country; and, if there was any danger at present, it was only from foreign counsels.' The question being put upon Mr. Shippen's amendment, it was rejected by a majority of one hundred and eighty-eight against eighty-three; and the commons, with their speaker, presented their address to the king.

In order to pass a censure on lord Cadogan, Mr. Pulteney acquainted the commons, that he was apprehensive of some mismanagements and embezzlement of public monies in relation to the six thousand Dutch troops, and the service in North-Britain. Upon this it was resolved to address for an account of the money given for the pay and transportation of these forces; and of the distribution of the extraordinaries and contingencies for service performed in Scotland during the rebellion. But, after all the inquiry into the affair, by Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Walpole, and others, nothing material was found against the lord Cadogan. In the last day's debate, Mr. Lechmere urged, 'That the inquiry was altogether frivolous and groundless: That, as it was the result of party pique and malice, so it had no other view, than to blacken and asperse a person, whose greatest crime was, that he had real bright qualities, that eclipsed the tinsel merit of others: That this inquiry was of the same nature with those, that had formerly been set on foot against the duke of Marlborough, the lord Townshend, and an honourable member of

Inquiry about the Dutch forces in Scotland. P. H. C.

Geo. I.
1717.

that house ; and he hoped would have the same end : That it looked very strange, that the persons, who now appeared the hottest in this inquiry, should have been silent about these pretended frauds, while they were in place. But that it was still more surprizing to hear them exclaim, with so much rancour and bitterness, against a noble lord, of whom they had been heard to say, that the speedy suppressing of the rebellion in Scotland was, under God, owing to his activity and indefatigableness ; and that, if another general had had the management of that affair, he would have made it a ten years war.' After both parties had maintained the debate several hours, Mr. Stanhope moved, ' That the chairman leave the chair.' Which was carried in the affirmative by two hundred and four voices against one hundred and ninety-four. This was looked upon as a great victory on the court-side ; for, had the Tories and their New Allies, as Mr. Shippen called them, gained their point, it was apprehended, that they designed, not only to have passed a censure on lord Cadogan, but also to have carried the inquiry further, that they might have an opportunity of returning thanks to the duke of Argyle, his rival in the business of Scotland. Most of the Scots members voted for lord Cadogan ; but, though Mr. Hungerford spoke in his favour, yet he voted with his enemies ; and the lord Finch and Sir Thomas Hanmer were absent from the house that day.

Measures
for reducing
the public
debts.

The principal business of this session was, the reduction of the national debts, which the king had earnestly recommended to the commons in his speeches from the throne. The national debt, by means of long and expensive wars, carried on in support of the revolution, and consequently in defence of the religion, laws, and liberties of Great-Britain, was become very large and heavy. And therefore the circumstances of time, high credit, and low price of money, prompted those, whose province it was, to consider of proper means to make use of that favourable opportunity, that the public might share in the common advantage of the flourishing state of public credit. For it was thought just and reasonable, that the public should have the same liberty, every private man has, to pay off his debts when he is able ; or to reduce the high interest, which necessity had subjected him to, as soon as he could borrow the money elsewhere at more easy rates ; unless his creditors would consent to accept of the common rate of interest upon good security. This method

of redemption, among the many schemes that were proposed for reduction of the public debts, was chosen by those who had the management of the affair. Geo. I.
1717.

The national debt was considered under two heads, Redeemable and Irredeemable Debts. The Redeemable, or such debts as had been provided for by parliament with a redeemable interest of so much per cent. the public had a right and power to pay off whenever they were able, either by providing money for such proprietors as insisted upon money, or by offering new terms, in discharge of all former conditions, which offer, if accepted by the proprietors, was to be deemed an actual redemption of the first debt, as if it had been paid off in ready money.

As for the Irredeemable debts, or the Long and Short Annuities, (so called from the greater or lesser number of years they were granted for) nothing could be done without the absolute consent of the proprietors. The only method therefore to treat with them, was to offer them such conditions as they should think it their interest to accept.

Upon these principles (as will presently be seen) were founded the resolutions taken by the commons with relation to the public debts.

Mr. Walpole, who was then at the head of the treasury, and chief projector of the scheme, gave the first hint of it by a motion in the house of commons, which was agreed to, 'That whoever shall advance or lend any sum, not exceeding 600,000 l. for the service of the public by sea or land, shall be repaid the same with interest at 4 l. per cent. out of the first aid to be granted this session of parliament.' The putting the interest of this intended loan so low as four per cent. gave reason to surmise, that those, who had the management of the treasury, designed to put on the same foot the interests of all public funds: Whereupon Mr. Lechmere made a long speech, observing, 'That several schemes and proposals for reducing the national debts had been printed and dispersed; which gave the persons, concerned in the public securities, the greater uneasiness, because there was reason to apprehend, those schemes came abroad with the privity and countenance of men in great places: That the general alarm which this had occasioned among monied men, might very sensibly affect public credit, and be, at this juncture, of very dangerous consequence. To prevent which he thought it necessary, and therefore moved, that the house would come to a resolution, 'effectually to make good all parliamentary

Geo. I. engagements.' To this unexpected motion Mr. Walpole replied, 'That his majesty having, with great tenderness, recommended to them, from the throne, 'the reducing, by degrees, the debts of the nation;' and the commons having, in their address, promised 'to apply themselves, with all possible diligence and attention, to that great and necessary work, they ought to exert themselves to make good that promise, and appoint a day to take that important matter into consideration. And he did not doubt but the commons would then shew all possible regard to justice and public faith. He owned, there had been indeed several schemes published relating to the reduction of the national debts; but that the same were made by private persons; and he durst assure the house, without the participation of any of his majesty's ministers; and therefore not to be regarded; but that, in a short time, such proposals would be laid before the house, as he hoped, would give them satisfaction, and meet with their approbation.' He therefore moved, that Mr. Lechmere's motion might be thus altered, 'That this house will effectually make good the deficiencies of all parliamentary engagements;' which, after a short debate, was approved, and a day was appointed to consider of the national debt.

By this time the surmise, that force would be used in the reduction of the public debts, had heightened the uneasiness of monied men and stock-jobbers, in some, to a degree of extravagance and madness; in others, of sullen discontent, so that many did not scruple to inveigh against the present administration, as if the public debts were to be sponged off, and all seemed combined to distress the government, by not advancing any money towards its support; by which means, in three days, not above 45,000 l. was subscribed to the loan of 600,000 l. in the land-tax. This disappointment, at so critical and dangerous a juncture, furnished Mr. Lechmere with matter for another speech on the 8th of March, when, the commons being in a grand committee on the supply, he told them, 'He was sorry he was obliged to take notice, that their late vote for a loan, at four per cent. interest, was like to prove ineffectual; and, as the present exigency required a speedy supply, so he thought it necessary, and therefore moved, that a day be appointed to consider further of that matter.' Mr. Robert Walpole declared, 'That he seconded this motion, there being the greater necessity for it, because he was informed, that some stock-jobbers, in order to deter the parliament from pursuing the design of reducing the

the public debts, had formed a combination to distress the government, and ruin public credit, which was the occasion, that the late vote for borrowing 600,000 l. at four per cent. had not the desired effect.' To this Mr. Lechmere answered, 'That as none but the most wicked of men could enter into such a combination against the good of their country; so the honourable member, who spoke last, would do well to name them, that the honest might shew the utmost resentment and indignation against them. But that, in his opinion, the ill success of the loan was rather occasioned by some reflections on the monied men and stock-jobbers, and by certain maxims lately advanced, That the parliament may exert its authority to extricate themselves, by reducing the national debts: That such maxims could not but alarm any persons concerned in the public securities; and the more, when they saw, that a slur had been put upon the motion made three days before, 'That all parliamentary engagements should effectually be made good.' That he still thought such a vote absolutely necessary, both to remove people's fears and jealousies, and to vindicate the honour and justice of the nation: That the same was intirely agreeable to his majesty's sentiments, who, in his first speech to this parliament, had been pleased to recommend to the commons, in a particular manner, 'the strict observance of all parliamentary engagements, than which nothing could more contribute to the support of the credit of the nation:' With which opinion of his majesty the commons did intirely concur; and that he could not believe any of his majesty's ministers could be so regardless of his honour, and known equity, or put so hard a thing upon him, as to make him, in the least, contradict what he had, in so solemn a manner, declared from the throne. 'He added, That, the commons having already appointed a day, to consider the state of the nation with relation to the public debts, he would not anticipate that important affair: But he could not forbear declaring, on this occasion, his private opinion, that it would be the greatest ingratitude, as well as injustice, in the least to wrong those persons, who had supported the government in the most pressing exigencies, and most perilous junctures, and who, on all occasions, had shewn their zeal and affection for the Protestant succession. That he had nothing to say as to such public securities, as were redeemable by parliament; but, as to annuities granted for terms of years, he would be positive, that they could not be meddled with, without breaking in upon parliamentary engagements, and

Geo. I. and violating the public faith ; since those annuities were not
1717. to be looked upon as debts, but as a sale of annual rents for
 a valuable consideration, of which contract the parliament
 had proposed and made the terms and conditions, and the
 rentees became purchasers upon the parliamentary faith and
 security. And that, besides the injustice of breaking through
 a national contract, those annuities could not be touched
 without occasioning great confusion and dispute in private fa-
 milies, by reason that most of these annuities had been settled
 for portions, jointures, and the like.' Upon this Mr. Wal-
 pole declared, there never had been a design to use any com-
 pulsion with relation to the annuities : That, indeed, an al-
 terative might be offered to the proprietors of the same ; but
 it should be in their choice, either to accept or refuse it.
 And, as for such funds as were redeemable, nothing would
 be proposed, that should not intirely consist with justice and
 public faith (b).

State of the
 public debts,

Three days after, the commons ordered to be laid before
 the house, an account of the public debts at the exchequer,
 distinguishing what the funds were, when granted ; what
 term remained ; how much the original money was ; how
 much had been paid off, and how much unpaid ; and what
 the annual interest was, that was payable for the sums ad-
 vanced. This was done accordingly in manner follow-
 ing :

(b) The commons having per cent. the whole loan of
 ordered, that the sums advan- 600,000 l. was immediately fil-
 ced for the service of the pub- led up.
 lic should be repaid with 5 l.

LOTTERIES.

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 LOTTERIES.

101. LOTTERY, Michaelmas, anno 1710, by way of annuity.

Act of the 8th of queen Anne, 9l. per cent.

Charges a duty of 3s. per chaldron on coals, and an additional duty on windows, for the term of 32 years.

101. LOTTERY, Michaelmas, anno 1711.

Act of the 9th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid.

Charges a subsidy of tonnage and poundage upon exported goods from the 8th of March, 1710, a duty of 2s. a chaldron on coals from the 8th of March, 1710, an additional duty of a halfpenny a pound on tallow candles, and 4d. a pound on wax candles, from the 25th of March, 1711, for the term of 32 years.

Clafs LOTTERY, Michaelmas, anno 1711.

Another act of the 9th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid.

Charges 700l. a week out of the post-office, from Michaelmas 1711; the duty on leather, &c. 1d. a pound, from the 24th of June 1711; new stamp duty on bills of lading, almanacks, licences, and certificates, from the first of August 1711; duty of 5s. a week on eight hundred hackney-coaches, from the 24th of June 1711; and 10s. per ann. on two hundred hackney-chairs, from the 24th of June 1711; and a duty of 6d. a pack on cards, and 5d. a pair on dice, from the 11th of June 1711: All for the term of 32 years.

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Geo. I.
1717.

The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
1500000		1500000	135000
1928570	262500	1666070	135000
2602200	76230	2525970	186670

LOT.

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LOTTERIES.

101. LOTTERY, Christmas, anno 1712

Act of the 10th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid.

Charges the duty of 1 d. a pound on soap, from the 10th of June 1712; 15 s. per centum ad valorem on foreign printed, painted, or stained linnen, 6 d. a yard on filks, 3 d. a yard on callicoes, and 2 d. a yard on linnen and stuffs printed, painted, and stained in Britain, from the 20th of July 1712; several duties on paper, pasteboard, and books, from the 24th of June 1712; a new stamp duty on surrenders, 2 s. 3 d. on every transfer of stock in any company, and the stamp-duty on news-papers, &c. from the 1st of August 1712; all for the term of 32 years.

Class LOTTERY, Michaelmas, anno 1712.

Another act of the 10th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent, and the principal to be repaid.

Charges the additional duty of a half-penny a pound on leather, from the 1st of August 1712; 1 s. a pound on coffee, 2 s. a pound on tea, and 20l. per cent. ad valorem on drugs, from the 1st of August 1712; duty of 8 d. an ounce on gilt, wire, and 6 d. an ounce on silver wire imported, from the 1st of July 1712; and a duty of 2 s. 4 d. upon policies of insurance, &c. all for the term of 32 years.

Civil List LOTTERY, Michaelmas, anno 1713.

By letters patents of the 13th of October 1713, and by an act of the 11th of queen Anne, 4l. per cent. the principal to be repaid.

Charges the civil list revenues with the annual sums of 35000l. for the term of 32 years.

LOTTERY act, Michaelmas, anno 1714.

Act of the 12th of queen Anne, and 1st of king George.

Blanks, 5 per cent.	1157360
Prizes, 4 per cent.	719040

1876400

and the principal to be repaid.

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III
Geo. I.
1717.

The principal money.	how much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
2341740	83220	2258520	168003
2341990	29925	2312005	168003
633010	33820	599190	35000

Charges

Charges a duty of 1d a pound on foreign soap, and a half-penny a pound on soap made in Great Britain, from the 2d of August 1714; additional duty on paper, &c. from the same time, coals exported on foreign bottoms, 5 s. a chaldron, and on British bottoms, 3 s. a chaldron, and the deficiency to be yearly computed at Michaelmas, and to be made good out of any unappropriated money, for the term of 32 years.

For the bank upon their annuities.

Act of the 5th and 6th of King William and queen Mary.

Charges five seventh parts of the second additional 9 d. per barrel excise, for raising 1200000 l. granting to all persons liberty to subscribe any sum, not exceeding 2000 l. in one name, for which an annuity of 100000 l. shall be paid, and the subscribers be incorporated by the name of the governor and company of the bank of England, from the 1st of August 1694, to the 1st of August 1705; when, upon a year's notice, and repayment of the capital, the corporation to cease.

And by an act of the 7th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent.

The bank lent 400000 l. more without any additional interest (that is to say) they reduced the interest of their primitive stock from 8l. to 6l. per cent. which, with 4000 l. per ann. for management, fills up the original 100000 l. annuity, this 400000 l. and the 1200000 l. to be repaid before the corporation be dissolved.

Act of the 5th of queen Anne, 4l. 10s. per cent.

Charges the duty upon houses or windows, from the first of August 1710, for ever, for raising 1500000 l. by issuing Exchequer bills to that value; by this act the bank undertook to circulate those bills, upon the consideration of 4l. 10s. per cent. per annum, and Exchequer bills to be issued for the interest, till the fund commences. The bank to remain a corporation till the bills be redeemed.

OF ENGLAND.

113
Geo. I.
1717.

The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
1876400	64300	1812100	116573 15
1600000		1600000	100000
1775027 17 10 $\frac{1}{2}$		1775027 17 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	106501 17 6

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And by another act of the 7th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent.

It was enacted, That the bank should pay off and cancel all the exchequer bills before extant, which amounted to 1775027l. 17s. 10½d. upon allowing 6l. per cent. interest for that sum; to which purpose, an annuity was established of 106501l. 17s. 6d. to be paid to the bank out of the duty aforesaid, until the principal be paid off upon a year's notice.

The bank for exchequer bills.

Several acts of the 7th and 12th of queen Anne.

Grant 4676812l. 10s. by issuing exchequer bills

Act of the 1st of king George, 7l. 4s. 0¾d. per cent.

The fund for these exchequer bills in the general or aggregate funds.

East-India company.

Two acts of the 9th of king William.

Grant additional duties on stamp paper and parchment, from the 1st of August 1698; and a duty of 2s. 4d. per bushel on salt, from 1698 and 1699, for ever; both these duties are given for 160000l. per annum, to raise by subscriptions 200000l. at 8l. per cent. per annum, the subscribers to have the sole liberty of trading to the East-Indies, redeemable upon payment of the principal, and three years notice after Michaelmas 1711.

By an act of the 6th of queen Anne, 5l. per cent.

It is enacted, That the East-India company shall pay into the exchequer 1200000l. to have their 8l. per cent. granted them in the 9th of king William, reduced to 5l. per cent per annum, and to have the trade to India continued to them solely to Lady-day 1726; this, together with the former sum advanced, with all arrears of the 160000l. to be repaid before the company should be determined.

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115
Geo. I.
1717.

The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
4676812 10	115787 10	4561025	328561 18 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
3200000		3200000	160000

H 2

LOT-

THE HISTORY

LOTTERIES.

By the act of the 10th of queen Anne.

The corporation of the East-India company, and their sole trade made perpetual, but the fund may be redeemed upon three years notice, after the 25th of March 1733, upon repayment, by parliament, what is due to such companies as shall be then intitled thereunto.

South-Sea Company.

Two acts of the 9th and 10th of queen Anne, and one act of the 1st of king George, 6l. per cent.

600000l per annum is charged upon several duties, impositions, &c. to the South-Sea company, and 8000l. per annum for management, for paying the interest of 10000000l. at 6 per cent. per ann. the company to continue for ever, but the annual sum of 608000l. to cease upon a year's notice after the 25th of December 1716, repaying what shall then be due to the company.

ANNUITIES.

ANNUITIES, 14l. per cent. Jan. 25, 1692, afterwards turned into a certain term of 99 years.

Years purchase. Act of the 4th of king William and queen Mary, and of the 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th, of king William, and 1st of queen Anne, 11 years and a half, 12 years, 11 years, and 15 years.

Grants 9d. per barrel excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for the term of 99 years.

SURVIVORS.

Act of the 4th of king William and queen Mary, 7l. per cent.

The same 9d. is charged with a further sum on the benefit of survivorship, till the number of survivors be reduced to seven, and then the share or 7th part of each of them as they die to revert to the crown.

OF ENGLAND.

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Geo. I.
1717.

The principal money.	how much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
10000000		10000000	608000
1491639 6 10		1491639 6 10	124866
108100		108100	7567

H 3

A'N N U-

THE HISTORY

ANNUITIES.

ANNUITIES on the 27th excise.

Act of the 5th of king William and queen Mary, and of the 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th of king William, and 1st of queen Anne.

Grants two seventh parts of a 9d. per barrel excise to subscribers for raising 300000 l. in annuities, from the 29th of September 1694, at the rate of 14 per cent. on one life, 12 per cent. on two lives, or 10 per cent. on three lives, which was thus advanced:

	Principal money	Annual interest
On 1 life	107847 13 9	15098 13 6
2 lives	170917 2 3	20510 1 0
3 lives	21235 4 0	2123 10 4

300000 0 0 ——— 37733 4 10

A half, 12 years, 11 years, and 11 years.

Afterwards, by subsequent acts the full term of 96 years is given to the purchasers, and accordingly the reversion of 1 life was made up to that term, for which there was paid

61229 8

The contributors of the 2 and 3 lives did not purchase the remainder. And in the year 1702 it appeared, there was fallen into the crown, of the 2 and 3 lives, 565 l. per annum, which, by an act then passed, were sold for 15 years purchase, which produced

8475

369704 8 0 37733 4 10

There are so many of the contributors dead of the 2 and 3 lives, which abates the annual charge

1662 2 7

So the present annual charge for all these annuities is

36070 2 3

OF ENGLAND.

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Geo. I.
1717.

The principal money.	how much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
369704 8		369704 8	36070 2 3

H 4

AN-

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Geo. I.
1717.

THE HISTORY

ANNUITIES.

ANNUITIES on 3700 l. per week excise, Lady-Day, 1704.

Act of the 2d of queen Anne, 15 years.

Charges the 3700 l. a week, issuing out of the hereditary and temporary excise, for the term of 99 years

Act of the 3d of queen Anne, 15 years.

Charges the same 3700 l. a week excise, for 99 years.

Act of the 12th of king William, 6 l. per cent.

Charges the same 3700 l. a week excise, with bankers annuities, redeemable by parliament, on payment of a moiety of the said principal, which is

ANNUITIES, March 25, anno 1706.

Act of the 4th of queen Anne, 15 years and a half.

Grants one third additional customs of tonnage and poundage, and the third additional 9 d. per barrel excise upon beer, ale, &c. for 99 years

ANNUITIES, March 25, anno 1707.

Act of the 5th of queen Anne, 16 years.

Grants duties on low wines, from the 23d of June 1710, for 96 years; additional duty on stamp paper and vellum, from the last of July 1710, for 96 years; duty on hawkers and pedlars, from the 23d of June, 1710, for 96 years; duty on sweets for 99 years, from the 24th of March 1707; and the additional customs of tonnage and poundage, granted in the 4th of the queen, for 98 years, continued one year more after that term; the overplus of the annuity fund, granted in the 4th of the queen, computed at Lady-Day yearly, or within 6 days after, for 99 years.

OF ENGLAND.

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Geo. I.
1717.

The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
1569664 18 6		1569664 18 6	104745 10 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
690000		690000	46000
664263		664263	39855 16 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
2855761		2855761	184242 14
1155000		1155000	72187 10

ANNU.

THE HISTORY

ANNUITIES.

40000 l. per anum ANNUITIES, March 25, anno 1708.

Act of the 6th of queen Anne, 16 years.

Charges the overplus of the annuity funds before-mentioned, granted in the 4th and 5th of the queen, to be computed at Lady-Day yearly; as also the overplus of the first 9d. excise, granted from the 25th of January 1692, after the 29th of September 1710, to be computed at Midsummer yearly for 99 years.

80000 l. per annum ANNUITIES, June 24, anno 1708.

Another act of the 6th of queen Anne, 16 years.

Charges one moiety, or half part of the old subsidy of tonnage and poundage upon wines, goods, and merchandizes, for 96 years, from the 31st of July 1712; the intermediate interest was supplied out of the purchase-money, and also, by an act of the 10th of the queen, out of several appropriated branches of the revenue for 99 years.

ANNUITIES at 9 l. per cent. March 25, anno 1710.

Act of the 8th of queen Anne, 9 l. per cent.

Charges 3 d. a barrel on beer, ale, and other liquors; 18 d. a pound on pepper; 5 s. per 100 lb. weight on raisins; a double duty on nutmegs and other spices; 3 s. a pound on snuff, from the 6th of February 1709; and, if there be a deficiency, to be supplied out of the duty on coals and window-tax, for 32 years.

Bank ANNUITIES.

Two acts of the 1st of king George, 5 l. per cent.

Charges the general or aggregate fund, after the interest and allowances, to Exchequer bills, and after 120000 l. for his majesty's civil government, with these annuities payable at the bank of England at 5 l. per cent, per annum, redeemable by parliament.

OF ENGLAND.

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Geo. I.
1716-17.

The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains	Annual sums.
640000		640000	40000
1280000		1280000	80000
900000		900000	81000
1069000		1069000	54600
47268883 I 2½	665782 10	46603100 11 2½	3118448 0 10½

A B-

THE HISTORY A B S T R A C T.

By Lotteries	_____	_____	_____
Bank	} By Annuities By Exchequer bills	_____	_____
East-India Company		_____	_____
South-Sea Company		_____	_____
Annuities		_____	_____

Exchequer, March 14, 1716.
JOS. FOX.

Resolutions
about the
national
debts,
Mar. 23.
Pr. H. C.

On the day appointed to consider of the national debt, Mr. Walpole, having in his hand the account of the public debts at the Exchequer, made proper remarks on them, and then communicated his scheme, both for paying off, or reducing the interest of redeemable funds, and for offering an alternative to the proprietors of annuities; which was generally approved. After which, the commons came to the following resolutions: 'I. That all the public funds redeemable by law, that do now exceed 5 l. per cent. per annum, be redeemed according to their respective provisos or clauses of redemption, contained in the acts of parliament for that purpose, or (with consent of the proprietors) be converted into an interest or annuity, not exceeding 5 l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament. II. That his majesty be inabled to borrow of any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, such sum or sums of money, as shall be requisite to redeem the said redeemable funds, at any rate not exceeding 5 l. per cent. per annum, and to secure the same upon the funds so to be redeemed. III. That the annuity of of 106,501 l. 13 s. 5 d. per annum, payable to the governor and company of the bank, out of the house-money, by virtue of several acts of parliament in that behalf, for the principal sum of 1,775,027 l. 17 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ by them advanced, be redeemed, or (by consent of the said governor and company) converted into an interest or annuity, not to exceed 5 l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament. IV. That so much of the fund, commonly called the Aggregate Fund, settled by an act of parliament, in the first year of the reign of his present majesty, as is applicable to the interest, circulation, exchanging or cancelling the present Exchequer bills, be also redeemed. V. That his majesty be enabled to authorise the

high-

The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
13223910	549995	12673915	944249 12
3375027 17 10 $\frac{1}{2}$		3375027.17 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	206501 17 6
4676812 10	115787 10	4561025	328561 18 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
3200000		3200000	160000
10000000		10000000	608000
12793132 13 4		12793132 13 4	871134 12 10
47268883 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	665782 10	46603100 11 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3118448 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

high-treasurer, or the commissioners of the treasury for the time being, to treat and agree with any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, for circulating such a number of Exchequer bills, at a rate not exceeding 4 l. 10 s. per cent. per annum for interest, exchanging, and circulation, as may be charged and secured upon that part of the said aggregate fund to be so redeemed. VI. That the annuities of 600,000 l. and 8000 l. per annum, payable to the governor and company of merchants of Great Britain trading to the South Sea, be also redeemed. VII. That the annuities payable by an act of parliament of the twelfth year of the reign of king William (of glorious memory) to certain patentees therein named, their heirs and assigns, out of the weekly sum of 3700 l. charged on the excise, be also redeemed. VIII. That the several terms of years remaining in the duties appropriated by the two lottery acts, made and passed in the ninth year of the reign of her late majesty queen Anne (of blessed memory) and by the two lottery acts, made and passed in the 10th year of her said late majesty's reign, be made perpetual. IX. That the said duties, comprehended in the said four lottery acts, be made one general fund for the future. X. That the proprietors of the orders, grounded on the said lottery acts, do, within a limited time, make their elections, either to accept annuities after the rate of 5 l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament, out of such general fund, or be paid so much as remains due to them on their orders respectively. XI. That, in all cases where the proprietors shall chuse to have their principal, the 5 l. per cent. per annum saved thereby, be made another fund, towards answering such sums of money, as shall be advanced (towards discharging the said principal) by loans, or other securities, as shall be thought proper

Geo. I.
1717.

proper. XII. That his majesty be enabled to give power for receiving voluntary subscriptions from any person or persons, intitled to any of the annuities issuing out of the public funds, for the residue of the respective terms of 99, 96, 89, or 32 years, formerly purchased therein, (not being subject to redemption) who shall be willing to accept, in lieu thereof, perpetual annuities, redeemable by parliament, to allow for remaining terms in the said annuities, which were purchased for 99, 96, or 89 years, (at the election of the respective subscribers) either so much as the same annuities shall amount to at 19 years purchase, to be made good by new annuities of 4 l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament, or 17 years and a half purchase, to be made good by new annuities of 5 l. per cent. per annum, to be redeemable in like manner; and to allow for the remaining terms in the said annuities, which were purchased for 32 years (at the election of the respective subscribers) either so much as the same annuities shall amount to at 14 years and a half's purchase, to be made good by new annuities of 4 l. per cent. per ann. redeemable by parliament, or 13 years and a half's purchase, to be made good by annuities of 5 l. per cent. per ann. redeemable in like manner; and that the said annuities shall be settled and secured accordingly. XIII. That all savings, that shall arise upon any of the present funds, by the proposed redemptions or reductions, be reserved and applied, after all deficiencies, that may happen upon any of the said funds, are made good, towards discharging and reducing the debts of the national debt. XIV. That all the said duties now in being, or to be continued, shall immediately cease and determine, after the said national debt, and all interest, due thereupon, is discharged and paid off.' These resolutions being approved of in form, bills were ordered to be brought in upon them.

Before these bills were presented, there happened a change in the administration, which occasioned the new officers of the revenue to think some alterations in the measures likewise necessary: But, however, they were forced to build upon Mr. Walpole's foundation, who had now resigned his post, and who, believing these variations detrimental to the public, made some opposition to them.

As the foundation of the scheme for reducing the national debts was built upon paying off or satisfying the public creditors, many conferences had been held with the money-corporations, in order to provide money for such as should be willing to receive their principal and interest in ready money. For this purpose, the bank agreed to furnish two millions and

a half, and the South-Sea two millions, or as much as should be called for; and, for the money advanced, these companies were to have annuities of 5 l. per cent. Geo. I.
1717.

The proposals of the bank and South-Sea being agreed to (a), three bills were brought in, upon the resolutions that had

(a) In the debates on these proposals, a quarrel had like to arise between Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Walpole. Mr. Pulteney having said, 'He did not know what Private Advantage some persons might have for accepting the proposal of the South-Sea Company.' Mr. Stanhope (who thought the reflection of Private Advantage was chiefly levelled against him) vindicated himself, and began with owning his incapacity for the affairs of the treasury, which were so remote from his studies and inclination: That therefore he would willingly have kept the employment he had before, which was both more easy, and more profitable to him; but, that he thought it his duty to obey the king's commands. That, however, he would endeavour to make up, by application, honesty, and disinterestedness, what he wanted in abilities and experience. That he would content himself with the salary and lawful perquisites of his office; and, though he had quitted a better place, he would not quarter himself upon any body to make it up: That he had no brothers, nor other relations to provide for; and that, upon his first entering into the treasury, he had made a standing order against the late practice of granting reversions of places.' Mr. Walpole, being touched with these innuendoes, complained in the first

place of breach of friendship, and betraying private conversation. He frankly owned, 'That, while he was in employment, he had endeavoured to serve his friends and relations; than which, in his opinion, nothing was more reasonable and just. That, as to the granting reversions, he was willing to acquaint the house with the meaning of it. That he had no objections against the German ministers, whom his majesty brought with him from Hanover, and who, as far as he had observed, had all along behaved themselves like men of honour; but, that there was a mean fellow, of what nation he could not tell, who took upon him to dispose of employments: That this man, having obtained the grant of a reversion, which he designed for his son (Mr. Walpole) thought it too good for him, and thereupon kept it for his own son. That thereupon the foreigner was so saucy as to demand of him the sum of 2500 l. under pretence, that he had been offered so much for the reversion; but that he was wiser than to comply with his demand. And that one of the chief reasons, that made him resign his places, was, because he would not connive at some things that were carrying on.' Mr. Stanhope answered; Mr. Walpole replied; and, some severe expressions having escaped them

in

Geo. I. had been made in relation to the public debts, and all three
1717. passed into laws; namely, the General Fund Act, the Bank
Act, and the South-Sea Act.

The General
Fund
Act.

The General Fund Act recites the several acts of parliament for establishing the four lotteries of the ninth and tenth years of queen Anne, the terms of years for which those revenues were granted, and states the annual produce of the several funds; namely, 135000 l. 186670 l. 168003 l. 168003 l. which, together with the banker's debt, 39855 l. 15 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$, and another small sum of about 27317 l. 11 s. 3 d. amounting in all to 724849 l. 6 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{2}$, which is the General Fund, the deficiency whereof is to be made good annually, out of the first aids granted by parliament. And to the end that a sure and sufficient security may be settled for the regular payment of all such annuities, as shall be payable by this act; all the duties and the revenues, mentioned therein, shall continue for ever. With a proviso, that the revenues, by this act made perpetual, shall be subject to redemption.

Proprietors, who are willing to accept 5 l. per cent. redeemable annuities, in lieu of their Lottery Orders, shall signify their option by subscribing.

in the heat of the dispute, Mr. Hungerford said, 'That he was sorry to see those two great men fall foul upon one another. However (says he) in my opinion, we must still look upon them as patriots, and fathers of their country; and, since they have, by mischance, discovered their nakedness. we ought, according to the custom of the east, as the scripture tells us, to cover it by turning our backs upon them.' He added, 'That this unlucky accident had, however, produced some good, in that it had revealed a piece of secret history, the scandalous practice of selling places and reversions.' And therefore he moved, 'That the honourable member who made the discovery, might be called upon to name the person.' But no-body

seconded this motion. Mr. Boscawen, comptroller of the household, acted the part of a common friend between Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Walpole, saying, 'That it was melancholy to see, that any difference should happen between those two worthy members, unbecoming their own characters, and the dignity of that assembly; but that it would still be a greater misfortune, if they should go out with any resentment: And therefore he moved, That the house would lay their commands upon them, that no farther notice be taken of what had passed.' Mr. Methuen seconded Mr. comptroller, whose motion being unanimously applauded, the speaker put it immediately in execution.

And

And such as are willing to receive their principal and interest in ready money, shall likewise declare their option in writing. Geo. I.
1717.

As for the Bank Act, it must be observed, the bank at that time, as proprietors of Redeemable debts, were entitled to an annuity of 106,501 l. 13 s. 5 d. per annum, in lieu of Exchequer bills formerly cancelled, amounting to 1,775,027 l. 17 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. And the Exchequer bills standing out, on the 22d of March 1716, are stated at 4,561,025 l. over and above the charge of circulation which was then due to the bank. The bank, by virtue of their contracts for circulating and exchanging these bills for ready money, were entitled to 3 l. per cent. for all these bills, and the bills carried an interest of 2 d. a day, which together made 6 l. per cent. or the whole sum of 4,561,025 l. of Exchequer bills. There were also granted, on the change of queen Anne's ministry, the sums of 45,000 l. and 8,000 l. a year, which make together 7 l. 4 s. 0 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon all the Exchequer bills. The annuity payable to the bank for the cancelled Exchequer bills, together with the whole charge to the public for circulating the Exchequer bills then standing, amounted to above 435,000 l. a year. In these circumstances the Bank Act says, 'The governor and company of the bank are willing to accept one annuity of 88751 l. 7 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{2}$, being after the rate of 5 l. per cent. per ann. or the principal of 1,775,027 l. 17 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{2}$, in lieu of the present annuity or sum of 106,501 l. 13 s. 5 d. per ann. In the same manner the act goes on, and declares the bank willing to discharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many Exchequer bills as amount to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of 100,000 l. being after the rate of 5 l. per cent. redeemable after one year's notice, to circulate the remaining Exchequer bills at 3 l. per cent. and 1 d. a day, the former allowances to be continued to Christmas 1717; and, after that, the bank to have, for circulating the 2,561,025 l. remaining Exchequer bills, an annuity of 76,830 l. 15 s. at the rate of 3 l. per cent. till redeemed, over and above the 1 d. a day for interest. The bank is then required to advance a sum not exceeding 2,500,000 l. towards discharging the national debts, if wanted, and to have 5 l. per cent. for as much as they advance, redeemable by parliament.

As for the South-Sea Act, the original stock of the South-Sea was 9,471,325 l. but, as the funds granted were sufficient to answer the interest of ten millions, at 6 l. per cent. in the year 1716, the South-Sea company advanced to the government 528,675 l. which compleats the sum of ten mil-

lions,

Geo. I. lions, for which they received an interest or annuity of 600,000l. and likewise 8,000l. a year for management. 1717. Now by this act the governor and company declare, they are willing to accept an annuity of 500,000l. in lieu of the 600,000l. with 8,000l. a year for management. The company are to continue a corporation till their annuity is redeemed, towards which, not less than a million is to be paid at a time. The company is also required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions, towards discharging the principal and interest due on the four lottery funds, of the 9th and 10th years of queen Anne.

Pursuant to these acts, the bank, which was in possession of receipts out of the Exchequer, amounting to 435,063l. 16s. 0d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per ann. accept voluntarily of three annuities, amounting to about 304,531l. 1s. 3. $\frac{3}{4}$, whereby the saving to the public was 130,532l. 14s. 8d. $\frac{1}{4}$ a year.

The proprietors of the Lottery Orders, amounting to above nine millions, subscribed their orders at the bank, and accepted bank annuities in lieu of the same.

Thus, though the bank and South-Sea had agreed to advance four millions and a half towards the payment of those that should demand ready money, not one farthing was ever demanded in money, except very small sums, amounting in the whole to 471l. 4s. (a). All the annuities that were settled by virtue of these three acts, were Redeemable Perpetuities granted at the rate of 5l. per cent. per annum, upon a principal of about 25,869,247l. the amount of the national debt at that time redeemed or reduced.

The sinking fund constituted.

In the General Fund Act is the clause that establishes the Sinking Fund, as the reduction of the interest to 5l. per cent. would make a surplus or excess upon the appropriated funds, the act declares, 'That all the monies arising from time to time, as well for the surplus by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the bank and of the South-Sea company, as also for the surplus of the duties and revenues by this act ap-

(a) 101. Lottery, 1711.

Banker's Annuity.

Principal.				l. s.
	l. s.	David Marshal	—	150
Margaret Woolrich	— 20	William Harrison and	}	71 4
Roger Altham, D. D.	— 100	Fr. Osborne		
		George Bloodworth	—	70

101. Lottery, 1712.

Roger Altham, D. D. — 60

appropriated

appropriated to make good the General Fund, and the over-plus monies of the General Fund, shall be appropriated and employed for the discharging the principal and interest of such national debts as were incurred before the 25th of December, 1716, in such manner as shall be directed or appointed by any future act of parliament, to be discharged out of the same, and for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.' This clause constitutes the Sinking Fund, and shews of what it consists, and to what uses it is appropriated. Though there had been Sinking Funds before this time for the payment of particular debts (b), yet a Sinking Fund, for discharging the national debt in general, was first projected and formed in the year 1716, and till that time unheard of.

(b) In most of the funds that were granted for circulating and exchanging Exchequer bills, there was a surplus of the fund itself, computed to be sufficient to cancel and discharge annually some part of the bills: And, in the Aggregate Fund Act of the first of king George, there was a sum of 270,999 l. 7s. directed to be paid annually towards discharging the Exchequer bills.

In all short annuities likewise granted for thirty two years, the principal being to be sunk at the end of the term granted, this may be looked upon as a Sinking Fund, attending those particular debts. But the first mention that ever was made in parliament of a Sinking Fund, for discharging the national debt in general was in this session.

THE HISTORY
BOOK XXXI. CHAP. II.

A motion in favour of Dr. Snape carried by the Tories.
—Proceedings in the convocation against the bishop of Bangor.—Affairs in the north.—The czar's memorial.—Marriage proposed between the pretender and the czar's daughter.—Trial of the earl of Oxford.—The Session ends.—Account of the act of grace.—Value of the forfeited estates in Scotland.—Prince Eugene defeats the Turks near Belgrade.—Great preparations in Spain. Measures concerted between France and England to reconcile Spain and the emperor.—The earl of Peterborough seized at Bologna.—Difference between the king and prince.—Third session of king George's first parliament.—Debates about the army.—Attempt to lower the gold coins.—Design against the king's life by James Shepherd.—The king accepts the government of the South-Sea company.—Debates in both houses about the mutiny bill.—A bill about the forfeited estates.—The session ends.—Changes in the ministry.—Great preparations in Spain.—Quadruple alliance.—Sir George Byng sent with a strong fleet to the Mediterranean.—His instructions.—He defeats the Spanish fleet.—His proceedings after the battle.—Complaints of Spain.—

A motion in favour of Dr. Snape carried by the Tories.

AS the change in the ministry had caused a division among the Whigs, some adhering to those that were in, and others to those that were out of place, an opposition was formed by those last in conjunction with the Tories on several occasions. This evidently appeared when Sir William Windham (who had been discharged) moved, that Dr. Snape should be appointed to preach on the restoration of king Charles. The doctor was one of the king's chaplains, and master of Eaton-School, but was of High-Church principles, and had lately attacked the bishop of Bangor. Sir William's motion was seconded by Mr. Shippen, and supported, not only by several Tories, but also by all the Whigs, who had lately resigned their employments. Mr. Horace Walpole, who spoke after Mr. Shippen, said, 'That it was unusual,

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unusual, on such occasions, to put the negative on any man, whom a member of that house had thought fit to name; and that Dr. Snape was not only a person of merit, and great learning, but had likewise the honour to be one of his majesty's chaplains.' To these commendations Mr. Robert Walpole added, 'That he knew Dr. Snape to be both a very learned, and a very honest man: That he had not only intrusted him with the education of his own children, but also recommended the sons of the duke of Devonshire and lord Townshend to his care; and therefore he could not but think, that he might be trusted with preaching a sermon before that assembly. Mr. Lechmere observed, 'That he could not but wonder, that a member, who had been one of the managers against Dr. Sacheverel, should now speak in behalf of a divine, who had asserted the same notions of passive-obedience and non-resistance, for which the other had been prosecuted; and who had lately attacked a worthy champion of the revolution and Protestant succession.' Mr. Aislaby answered, 'That he gave his vote to Dr. Snape, because he looked upon him as a learned and honest man: And, as for his having written against the bishop of Bangor's sermon, he did not think it a sufficient reason to put upon him a negative, which would be prejudging of a controversy, that did not properly belong to their cognisance.' The lord Guernsey spoke with still more vehemence in behalf of the doctor, so that, the motion being thus strongly supported, he was appointed to preach by a majority of one hundred and forty-one against one hundred and thirty-one.

The controversy, mentioned in this debate between the bishop of Bangor and Dr. Snape, was occasioned in this manner: Dr. Benjamin Hoadley (the present bishop of Winchester) famous for his steady adherence at all times to the principles of the revolution (for which he had been recommended to the throne by the house of commons, and advanced to the see of Bangor) had lately published, 'A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors;' and, soon after *, preached a sermon before the king, which was printed under the title of, 'The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ(c).' To this sermon Dr. Snape published an answer; and, presently after, the lower house of convocation (as they had before done with regard to Dr. Samuel Clarke's Scripture-Doctrine) entered upon the subject, both of the bishop of Bangor's sermon, and of his Preservative. They appointed a committee of six of their members,

Proceedings
of the con-
vocation
against the
bishop of
Bangor.

* Mar. 31.

(c) The text was, 'My kingdom is not of this world.'

Geo. I. Dr. Moss, Dr. Sherlock, Dr. Friend, Dr. Sprat, Dr. Cannon, and Dr. Biss, to examine them, and make their report to the house. The committee sat and drew up a representation, in which both the Preservative and Sermon were censured, as tending,

‘ I. To subvert all government and discipline in the Church of Christ, and to reduce his kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion.’ And,

‘ II. To impugn and impeach the regal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature, to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions.’

This charge was supported by passages taken out of the Preservative and sermon (d), and the whole drawn up in the form

(d) The bishop, in the conclusion of his answer to this representation, has confronted the passages, on which the charge

against him was founded, with the opposite doctrines, which must be true, if his are false.

The propositions contained in those passages of my sermon and preservative, which are made the foundation of the charge in the representation :

The propositions contradictory to them: Which, therefore, must be maintained to be true and Christian, by all who condemn the others :

1. Christ himself is king in his own kingdom.
2. Christ is the sole law-giver and sole judge of his subjects, in all points relating to the favour, or displeasure of Almighty God. In other words,
3. No one of his subjects is law-giver and judge over others of them, in matters relating to salvation. In other words thus,
4. No men upon earth have a right to make any of their own declarations or decisions to concern and affect the state of Christ's subjects, with regard to the favour of God.
5. The more close and immediate the regard of men to

1. Christ himself is not king in his own kingdom.
2. Christ is not the sole law-giver and sole judge of his subjects, in all points relating to the favour, or displeasure of Almighty God.
3. Some of his subjects are law-givers and judges over others of them, in matters relating to salvation.
4. There is a right in some men to make their own declarations and decisions to concern and affect the state of Christ's subjects, with regard to the favour of God.
5. A close and immediate regard to Christ himself, is not for

Christ

form of a report, to be laid before the convocation. But the government, out of regard to the interest of the constitution

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1717.

Christ is, the more certainly and evidently true it is, that they are of his kingdom.

6. It is worthy of all Christians to live and act as becomes those who wait for the appearance of an all-knowing and impartial judge; and in such a behaviour to be without fear of man's judgment, who is both ignorant of many things necessary to form that judgment, and partial in forming it.

7. We must not frame our ideas, from the kingdoms of this world, to what ought to be, in a visible and sensible manner, in Christ's kingdom.

8. Our title to God's favour depends upon our real sincerity in the conduct of our consciences, and of our own actions under them.

9. Human benedictions—absolutions—denunciations—excommunications—do not determine either God's favour, or anger towards Christians: And therefore are vain words, when they pretend so to do,

10. Whoever has a right to add sanctions to Christ's laws, is so far king, and has so far regal power in Christ's kingdom.

11. The sanctions of Christ's laws, appointed by himself, are not the rewards of this world; not the offices or glories of this state; not the pains of prisons,

certain and evident a mark of being of his kingdom, as a close and immediate regard and respect to frail men, subordinate to him.

6. It is not worthy of all Christians to live and act as becomes those who wait for the appearance of an all-knowing and impartial judge; but it becomes them, at the same time that they live and act thus, to be under a fear of man's judgment, who neither has capacity nor authority to determine their condition; and who, in very many cases, contradicts the judgment which Christ will make.

7. We must frame our ideas, from the kingdoms of this world, to what ought to be, in a visible and sensible manner, in Christ's kingdom.

8. Our title to God's favour doth not depend upon our real sincerity in the conduct of our consciences, and of our own actions under them; but upon our actual being in the right.

9. Human benedictions—absolutions—denunciations—excommunications—do determine God's favour and anger towards Christians: And therefore are not vain words, when they pretend so to do.

10. Men may have a right to add sanctions to Christ's laws, without having any part of regal power in his kingdom.

11. The sanctions of Christ's laws, appointed by himself, are the rewards of this world; the offices and glories of this state; the pains of prisons, banishments,

Geo. I. stitution in church and state, thought proper to put a stop to
 1717. these proceedings, by a prorogation to the 22d of November.

ments, fines, or any lesser and more moderate penalties ; nay, not the much lesser negative discouragements that belong to human society. He was far from thinking that these could be the instruments of such a persuasion, as he knew to be acceptable to God.

12. Christ chose the motives which are not of this world, to support a kingdom which is not of this world.

13. The maxims, opposite to the maxims upon which Christ founded his kingdom, are contrary to the interests of true religion.

14. To apply worldly force or worldly flattery, worldly pleasure or worldly pain, to the case of religion ; is a method opposite to the maxims upon which Christ founded his kingdom : And, therefore, contrary to the interests of true religion.

15. Christ knew the nature of his own kingdom, or church, better than any since his time.

16. Christ left no such matters to be decided against himself, and his own express professions.

17. To teach Christians that they must either profess, or be silent, against their own consciences, because of the authority of others over them, is to sound that authority upon the

fines, or other lesser and more moderate penalties ; or the much lesser negative discouragements that belong to human society. These he thought the proper instruments of such a persuasion, as he knew to be acceptable to God.

12. Christ did not chuse the motives which are not of this world, to support a kingdom not of this world.

13. The maxims, opposite to the maxims upon which Christ founded his kingdom, are agreeable and helpful to the interests of true religion.

14. To apply worldly force or worldly flattery, worldly pleasure or worldly pain, to the case of religion ; is not opposite to the maxims upon which Christ founded his kingdom : Or, is not contrary to the interests of true religion, though it be contrary to our blessed lord's maxims relating to it.

15. Christ did not know the nature of his own kingdom, or church, better than his professed followers do, since his time.

16. Christ did leave the nature of his own kingdom, and the maxims of supporting it, to be decided, by others after him, against himself, and against his own express professions.

17. To teach Christians that they must either profess, or be silent, against their own consciences, in regard to the authority of others, is a very good doctrine ; very consistent
 ruins

ber. As this was industriously represented to be the effect of Geo. I. the bishop's sollicitation, and an argument of his fear, he 1717. pub-

ruins of sincerity and common honesty; to teach a doctrine which would have prevented the reformation, and the being of the Church of England; which divests Christ of his empire in his own kingdom, and leads his people to prostitute their consciences at the feet of men.

18. Christ never interposeth, since his first promulgation of his law, either to convey infallibility, or to assert the true interpretation of it.

After this, the bishop adds a particular view of those principles, which ought to be the measures of judging in such important matters:

1. Christ has the supreme authority of legislator, and judge, with respect to all Christians.

2. No authority, therefore, can be justly claimed by any Christians, of what rank soever, in any Christian church, which destroys the supreme authority of Christ.

3. The will of Christ is delivered to all Christians for the conduct of their lives.

4. No human, fallible authority, therefore, can determine Christians in points of religion, which they themselves do not judge to be agreeable to the will of Christ.

5. Whatsoever equally concerns the salvation of all Christians, is equally proposed to the understandings of all.

with the sincerity and honesty becoming Christians; very useful for the justification of the reformation, and Church of England; perfectly consistent with Christians regard to Christ as their king; and not at all leading them to prostitute their consciences at the feet of weak men.

18. Christ does interpose, since the first promulgation of his law, to convey infallibility to some of those who interpret it; or to assert the true interpretation of it.

6. There can, therefore, be no such thing as submitting our understandings, out of humility or out of laziness, to any other men whatsoever, in points relating to eternal salvation; without either supposing that Christ did not deliver his will for us, in things which concern us; or did not deliver it plainly enough for us to find it out (with the aids and means he has put in our power) in those points which concern our eternal salvation, and therefore require all sufficient plainness: Though the taking in the advice and assistance of others, and attending to their arguments, is perfectly consistent with the foregoing proposition.

7. No argument can be admitted by Protestants, which destroys the very essence of Protestantism: Nor can any reasoning conclude justly in favour of any powers amongst them, which

Geo. I. publicly declared before the world, that the prorogation was ordered, not only without his seeking, but without so much as his knowledge or even suspicion of any such design till it was resolved. It must be observed, that the representation was never approved of by the lower house, so as to be made the act of it: Though many have been led to think it was, by the artifice made use of in the title-page to the printed copy of it.

The prorogation of the convocation did not put an end to the controversy. For several of the members, since they could not attack the bishop, as a public assembly, resolved to take up the cause in a private capacity. Dr. Sherlock, who was one of the committee who drew up the report, seconded Dr. Snape, and these two were followed by many others, insomuch that the tracts published on this occasion, on both sides, are said to be about seventy (e).

Du-

which they constantly and strongly condemn in the church of Rome.

8. No authority, therefore, can be claimed by any reformed church, which was justly condemned and opposed, in order to the reformation itself. Consequently,

9. No submission in religious affairs can justly be demanded from Protestants, by Protestants, upon any such foundation, as would have absolutely prevented the reformation itself.

10. Whatsoever was true at the time of the reformation, is true still.

11. Whatsoever principles are true and just, when urged against Papists, are likewise so amongst Protestants.

12. Whatever principles and conduct, are unjustifiable in Papists, are equally so in all Protestants.

13. Whatsoever was the foundation of the reformed Church of England then, is so still: And whatsoever was necessary

to justify it at first, is necessary to defend it now.

14. Nothing therefore, which contradicts the main principle of the reformation; and that, without which the Church of England itself could not justly have been in being; can be for the true interest of this church, as it is, a Protestant church.

15. As it is a Christian church, nothing can be supposed either to support or defend its interest, which, admitted as true, would have prevented even the reception of Christianity itself; or which contradicts the main design of the Gospel.

16. The principles therefore, which alone can justly and unexceptionably support it, are such as are uniformly and consistently Christian and Protestant.

(e) Dr. Snape, on the 26th of June, published, 'A second letter to the bishop of Bangor,' being a reply to the bishop's answer to his first, wherein the doctor

During these proceedings, the ministers were no less employed than the parliament. Negotiations were carrying on, Geo. I.
1717.
par-

doctor puts the following queries to the bishop :

' I pray recollect yourself, and put these questions home to your own conscience, whether your Absolutely's and Properly's, and such evasive words, were not omitted in your sermon, as it was originally composed? Whether you did not, before it was preached, shew it to a certain person without such limitations? And whether you was not with difficulty prevailed upon by him to insert them by way of caution? If you think fit to answer in the negative, I engage a person of as high a station as your lordship will charge himself with the proof of the affirmative.'

The bishop two days after, in an advertisement, solemnly denies all this, and challenges the doctor to name his author.

The doctor, pressed by the solemnity of the challenge, names the bishop of Carlisle, who, being called upon to prove what he had asserted, disputed a while with Dr. Snape, affirming he had not said, the words were put in before the sermon was preached, but before it was published; owning withal, that he knew there was such a person in the world who had averred the same. The bishop of Carlisle, being pressed to name him, names Dr. White Kennet, and writes to him of what had passed, telling him, he did not question but he would own his own words. Dr. Kennet positively denied the fact, saying, ' I never affirmed, never suggested

' to any mortal that the late sermon of the bishop of Bangor was preached with my knowledge, or submitted to my correction.' Notwithstanding this, the bishop of Carlisle asserted in print, that Dr. Kennet was the man that told him he had prevailed with the bishop of Bangor to put in the forementioned words. In short, the bishop of Carlisle pledges his eternal salvation, that Dr. Kennet did say so : Dr. Kennet, in one of his papers, says, God so help him, and judge him, if he did. They went on advertising against each other, till the bishop of Carlisle resolved to give no more answers to whatever should be said. However, the bishop of Bangor, resolving that calumny should lie where it ought to lie, published a long advertisement, as Dr. Kennet did another, to fix the fact upon the bishop of Carlisle, and to convict him of forgetfulness at least, in charging a fact upon the bishop of Bangor, which was not true; and quoting a witness for it who knew nothing of the matter. In a word, after lying dormant some months, this controversy was revived in October following, on account of the bishop's entertaining in his house Francis de la Pilonere, who had been a Jesuit, but had now renounced the Popish religion. The bishop's three principal adversaries were dean Sherlock, Dr. Snape, and Dr. Cannon, whom the bishop seemed to outdo in reason and argument

Geo. I. particularly to oblige the king of Sweden to make peace.
 1717. The czar had, the last year, married his niece, the princess Catharina, to the duke of Mecklenburg Swerin, and resolved to procure the possession of Wismar for him. To that end he had sent first twelve thousand Russians (which were afterwards increased to twenty-six thousand) to assist at the taking of that place, then besieged by the Prussians, Hanoverians, and Danes. But, the town having surrendered before the arrival of his army, his project fell to the ground, nor would the allies suffer any of his troops to be garrisoned there. The czar was vexed at this disappointment, and from hence may be dated several memorable events, particularly the misunderstanding between him and the court of Hanover.

Soon after this, a descent on Schonen was concerted between the kings of Prussia and Denmark, and the czar, in order to oblige the king of Sweden to quit Norway, where he had penetrated with an army of twenty thousand men, and was advancing towards Christianstadt, the capital of that kingdom. The czar seemed the most forward in this expedition, and took upon him the command of the united fleets of England, Holland, Denmark, and Russia, in order to drive the Swedish fleet into port. But this was all outward show. For the appearance of the British fleet under admiral Norris could not be very agreeable to the czar, as it prevented the designs he had formed against Denmark itself, after his disappointment at Wismar. And therefore when, in a council of war between him and the king of Denmark, all things were settled for the descent in Schonen, and the troops ordered to embark, on a sudden the orders were countermanded, and the project, which was to reduce the king of Sweden to such terms as the allies should think proper to impose on him, was laid aside, after the great expence the

ment as far as they did him in virulence, personal reflections, and reproachful language. He was painted in the most odious colours, both from the press and the pulpit, and all for asserting, that Christ is the sole law-giver, and sole judge in his kingdom, in all points relating to the favour or displeasure of God; a proposition as evident as the sun at noon-day. Dr. Cannon vindicated the convocation, and dean Sherlock attacked the bi-

shop upon a popular point, the repeal of the Test Act, which he asserted to be the design of the bishop's sermon. The dean ended his treatise with a most unjust and reproachful reflection, which the bishop immediately answered, by setting the matter in a clear light. In November, Dr. Sherlock and Dr. Snape were both removed from being king's chaplains; nor has the convocation sat to do any business ever since.

Danes

Danes had been at for the transportation of the forces, and other preparations. The czar pretended the season was too far advanced, and that it would be better to defer the expedition till the spring. This was strongly remonstrated against in a long manifesto by the king of Denmark, to which the czar, knowing his own secret motives, returned no answer. The czar had for some time been discontented with the allies, who were all for preventing his having any footing in Germany, so jealous were they of his power; and this discontent of the czar was probably what hindered the utter ruin of the king of Sweden, and was now like to reconcile him to his most powerful enemy, if baron Gortz succeeded in his project of making a peace between them, of which not only Denmark, Prussia, and Poland, but England itself was to feel the effects (f). The first step to this reconciliation was by the means of Dr. Erskine to sound prince Menzikoff, who, pleased with the design, soon brought the czar into it. But it will presently be seen, how desirous he was to clear himself from such an imputation.

The czar, having sent his forces into Mecklenburgh, resolved to take a tour to France. He arrived at Amsterdam in December, where he expected the czarina, who attended him in his travels; but she, being big with child, happened to be delivered of a prince, as she was preparing to set out from Wesel, and came not to Amsterdam till the 10th of February. The czar remained there and at the Hague till the 4th of April. When king George passed through Holland, in his way from Hanover, the czar was there, and, had they desired it, might have had an interview, but the czar excused himself on pretence of an indisposition. During the czar's stay in Holland, the letters of baron Gortz and count Gyllenburg were published in England by the

(f) The czar's laying aside the descent upon Schonen was said to be brought about by the secret management of baron Gortz, who was become chief minister and favourite of the king of Sweden. As there was no likelihood of the czar's making a peace with the king of Sweden, unless the provinces he had conquered on the east and north of the Baltic were yielded to him, Gortz persuaded the

king of Sweden that he would have ample amends made him for relinquishing those conquests of the czar, by having the honour of replacing Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, setting the crown of England on the head of the chevalier de St. George, and by restoring the duke of Holstein to his dukedom. Besides, that, being united with the czar, there was nothing they might not undertake.

king's

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1717.

Geo. I. king's special command. In these letters, there were some passages relating not only to Dr. Erskine the czar's physician, but to the czar himself, reflecting on his conduct in regard to king George. Upon this the czar ordered Wesselouski to present a long memorial to king George, wherein he expresses a surprize at the malice of his enemies, to make him a party concerned in the conspiracy in favour of the pretender: Shews the improbability of it, as the pretender would not fail (should he succeed) of assisting the king of Sweden against him: Mentions his offering, the last year, to guarantee the succession of the crown of Great Britain in the house of Hanover, though he had observed several disagreeable steps taken by the British ministers at the courts of Vienna, Prussia, and Denmark, and even at the diet of Ratisbon; and though he had been informed that the court of England was privately treating of a separate peace with the king of Sweden, promising him assistance on his yielding up Bremen, as too plainly appeared by count Gyllenburgh's letters: Offers, however, to establish the ancient good understanding between them, and to concert measures for the vigorous prosecution of the war against the common enemy: Concludes with saying, he could not but be very much concerned at the king's causing to be printed the malicious insinuations of his enemies, which wounded his honour, without a previous communication of the same, or demanding an explanation of those passages, as a good ally should have done.

As some articles of this memorial related to the king as elector of Hanover, there were two answers given to it, one by Mr. Stanhope, the other by the chancery of Hanover. The king says, he is very far from suspecting the czar of entering into any engagements in favour of the pretender: Owns (as nothing can lessen the good understanding between them, but the continuance of the Russian troops in the empire) he caused instances to be made to the courts of Vienna, Denmark, and Prussia, for uniting their endeavours to persuade him to remove them: Hopes the czar will have a due regard thereto, and speedily withdraw his troops, since the continuance of them in the empire intimates a design quite contrary to the acting against Sweden, and creates such distrust and jealousies as cannot be otherwise removed. As for the publication of the letters, it was impossible (says the memorial) to omit the passages concerning the czar, because the king had weighty reasons to impart to the parliament the letters entire as they were found. The answer concluded with

with assuring the czar, that he should have reason to be satisfied, provided he would remove the only obstacle to their mutual good understanding, the continuance of the Russian troops in the empire.

These memorials did not reconcile the two princes: The distance of their dominions, the interests of their subjects with regard to commerce, suspended their resentments, but they were enemies the rest of their life. The czar, curious as he was, would not have failed of visiting England in his progress, had the two monarchs been upon good terms.

The czar, after having spent three months in Holland, resolved upon a tour to the court of France, with design to enter into a confederacy with the regent of France. He offered to pour a numerous army into the empire, which should be at the disposal of the regent, provided he would pay him the subsidies he demanded, which were very large. But his offer was rejected, and communicated by the regent to king George. However, the czar, during his stay at Paris, concluded a treaty of friendship with France, in which the king of Prussia was included, and, being pressed by the regent, he promised to withdraw his forces from Mecklenburg. The czar, at his return to Amsterdam, admitted baron Gortz (who had been set at liberty the day before his arrival) with great privacy to an interview at Loo (g). Gortz undertook to adjust all differences between the czar and the king of Sweden, within three months, and the czar engaged to suspend all operations against Sweden till the end of that term.

This interview having been complained of by the British resident at Petersburg, the czar's ministers at first denied it,

(g) It may here be observed, that the duke of Orleans had interposed to bring the king of Sweden to a peace, and had sent the count de la March to him as his ambassador. But the king of Sweden would hearken to no proposals till baron Gortz and count Gyllenburg were set at liberty. The regent, upon this, orders d'Ibberville to assure his Britannic majesty, that the king of Sweden had declared, he had yet no intention to trouble the tranquillity of Great Britain, nor had entered into any of the

designs attributed to his ministers, and should consider, as a great injury to him, the suspicion of his having had any concern in their projects. After this declaration on the part of the king of Sweden, the regent hoped, that the king would send back count Gyllenburg to his master, and give his consent that baron Gortz should be also released. This was accordingly done, and count Gyllenburg was exchanged for Mr. resident Jackson, who had been detained at Stockholm.

but

Geo. I. but soon after were obliged to own it The late duke of Ormond, with one Mr. Jernegan, a Roman Catholic, was
 1717. come to Mittau in Courland to propose a marriage between one of the czar's daughters and the pretender, and to offer to go and persuade the king of Sweden to make peace with the czar, and assist in setting the pretender on the throne of Great Britain; but the proposal of the marriage interfered with baron Gortz's scheme, who had long intended that princess for the duke of Holstein, to whom she was afterwards married. Mr. Jernegan was sent to Sweden for leave that the duke of Ormond might come there as the pretender's minister. The answer he brought to the duke was, that the king of Sweden had strong reasons for not admitting him. He was soon after sent from Mittau, and Jernegan was left to manage the business at Petersburg, with all possible secrecy. Mean while a congress was formed at Abo, between the Swedish and Russian ministers, which was afterwards removed to Aland.

The czar's chief aim was to keep not only Ingria, and part of Carelia, but also Revel, with Estonia, and Riga, with Livonia, and to restore to Sweden only Finland, and the rest of Carelia. Baron Gortz flattered the czar with the hopes of the king of Sweden's consent to these cessions, in consideration of his assisting him in restoring Stanislaus, and retaking what Denmark and England had conquered upon Sweden. The king of Prussia was to be included in the treaty, and the czar, the better to make his own terms, engaged to prevail with him to restore Stetin for an equivalent somewhere else. Upon these foundations baron Gortz and M. Osterman, the czar's plenipotentiary, concerted the plan of a peace between the czar and the king of Sweden. By this plan the conquest of Norway was designed. The czar was obliged to assist his Swedish majesty in that expedition, and both promised to unite all their forces against the king of Great Britain, in case he should interpose. This seemed to have a view to the interest of the pretender, and a design of an invasion in Scotland, after the conquest of Norway.

When baron Gortz set out from Aland with the plan of peace, in order to obtain his master's consent, the king of Sweden was with his army before Frederickstadt, in Norway, where he was killed in the night, between the 29th and 30th of November, 1718. Baron Gortz, not being informed of his death, was arrested on the road, and having drawn upon himself the hatred of the nation, and resentment of the nobles, whom he had treated with haughtiness, he was by them
 condemned

condemned to the scaffold, where he died with great resolution. By the king of Sweden's death the face of affairs in the north was entirely changed: Sweden was forced to submit; the czar, king of Denmark, and king George, as elector of Hanover, remained in possession of what they had acquired. These affairs, though not ended till the following year, have been related at once to prevent any farther recourse to them. But to return to England.

The earl of Oxford had now been confined in the Tower almost two years, and, finding the session was like to end without entering upon his case, he caused a petition to be presented to the house of lords, wherein he submitted his case to their lordships consideration, praying, that his imprisonment might not be indefinite. The lord Trevor, who presented his petition, made a long speech in his favour, as did also the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Nottingham and Abingdon, and the lords Harcourt and North and Grey. It was insisted in the earl's behalf, that the impeachment was destroyed and determined, since he was not brought to his trial the same session, in which he was impeached; and that the prorogation superseded the whole proceedings. The earl of Nottingham, who, in 1715, when in favour, had been one of the most zealous against the ministers of the late queen, strenuously insisted upon the impeachment's being superseded by the prorogation, and demanded leave to enter his protestation against the vote passed to the contrary, by a majority of eighty-seven to forty-five (a).

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1717.

The trial of
the earl of
Oxford.
Pr. H. L.
Pr. H. C.

This

(a) His protest was as follows:

Dissentient

I. Because there seems to be no difference in law between a prorogation and a dissolution of the parliament, which, in constant practice, have had the same effect as to determination, both of judicial and legislative proceedings; and consequently this vote may tend to weaken the resolution of this house, May 22, 1685, which was founded upon the law and practice of parliament.

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ment in all ages, without one precedent to the contrary, except in cases which happened after the order made the 19th of March, 1678, which was reversed and annulled in 1685; and in pursuance hereof the earl of Salisbury was discharged in 1690.

II. Because this can never be extended to any but peers, for by the statute 4 Edw. III. no commoner can be impeached for any capital crime; and it is hard to conceive, why the peers should be distinguished and deprived of the benefit of all the

K

laws

Geo. I. 1717. This being rejected, the duke of Buckingham moved to appoint a day for the earl's trial, which, after some debates, and appointing a committee to search for precedents, was fixed and appointed. It is remarkable, that the appointing a day did not occasion so long a debate as the shortening the day, and that the earl's friends pressed the house to appoint a short day, while the other side pleaded for time. Accordingly, the duke of Buckingham, who had made the motion, declared in a speech for a short day, and named the 6th of June. But the earl of Sunderland and the lord Coningsby were for sending a message to the commons, to know whether they were ready, or to appoint the 13th of June for the trial. After some debate, the 13th was appointed by a majority of eighty-five against forty-four, and a message was sent to the commons to acquaint them with the same.

This message caused no less debates among the commons. They saw the face of their affairs a little changed: Some, who had been active in this prosecution when it was first begun, and upon whom the house might be said in some measure to depend for carrying it on, seemed to look coldly upon the matter, and to decline the work, or at least to have less of that confidence, the house usually shewed them before. This caused a vote to appoint a committee to inquire into the state of the earl of Oxford's impeachment. The committee found, upon inquiry, that several members of the Secret Committee (who begun the prosecution) had been called up to the house of peers, as the lords Onslow, Coningsby, and Marham, and that others seemed remiss, or were absent. Therefore the house was moved, and did agree, that Mr. Carter, Sir William Thompson, the serjeants Birch, Pengelly, and Reynolds, should be added to the Secret committee. At their first meeting, Mr. Carter was chosen chairman in the room of Mr. Walpole, who, with several others, absented himself. For this reason Mr. secretary Addison, Mr. Craggs, serjeant Mead, and Mr. Jessop, and a little after Mr. Lechmere, now chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, were added to the number.

laws of liberty, to which the meanest commoner in Britain is intitled; and this seems the more extraordinary, because it is done unasked of the commons, who, as is conceived, never can ask it with any colour of law, precedent, reason or justice.

This protest was subscribed by Nottingham, Fra. Roffen, North and Grey, Bathurst, Abingdon, Mansell, Hay, Guilford, Dartmouth, Foley, Bruce. All

All the eminent lawyers of the house being thus named to be of the committee, they immediately fell to preparing to make good the articles of impeachment, in case the house should agree to proceed to the trial; but all the while they left people in suspense as to their resolution, even till the day before the trial was to be. The king had appointed lord chancellor Cowper to be lord high-steward on this occasion, and all things were in readiness for the trial; when, on the 12th of June, a message was sent from the commons to the lords, to demand longer time for their preparations, pursuant to the following report of the committee:

‘ That the Committee had met several times, and made some progress in the matters to them referred; but that the prosecution of the impeachment having been interrupted for so many months, by the intervention of many weighty and urgent affairs, which more nearly and immediately concerned the welfare, defence, and security of the kingdom, it was become absolutely necessary for those, who should be appointed to manage the impeachment, to review and carefully peruse all the treaties, records, letters, and other papers proper and necessary for supporting this prosecution; which being voluminous, it would be impossible, within the time appointed for the trial, to adjust and apply the proper evidence to the several articles (b).

Upon

(b) When this report was read in the house of commons, there was a silence for two or three minutes, till at last Mr. Hungerford rose up, and took notice of the great hardships, which the earl of Oxford had undergone. Mr. Boscawen expressed his concern, ‘ That a prosecution, which the commons had begun in so solemn a manner, and which was thought so necessary to vindicate the honour and justice of the nation, should, at last, be dropped; which he was sure would be a reflection upon that house.’

Here again was a deep silence; and, the speaker rising, in order to put the question,

Mr. Samuel Tufnel made a long speech, in which he observed, that, the house having been assured by the chairman of the committee of secrecy, that there was evidence against the earl of Oxford, sufficient to convict him of high-treason in Westminster-Hall, it was that which swayed him to vote for bringing an offender to public justice, who had ‘ betrayed the honour and interest of the nation.’ Mr. Bromley endeavoured to vindicate Mr. Walpole, by alledging, ‘ That, though he was chairman of the Secret Committee, yet, if any thing were done amiss amongst them, it were hard to lay all the blame

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Upon this message, the earl of Sunderland moved to allow the commons a fortnight. The duke of Devonshire said,

blame at his door, since the whole committee was equally concerned in the impeachments.' But, as to the matter then under deliberation. Mr. Bromley added, 'That they had been told above a year and a half ago, that the evidence was ready; but that they ought not to give the lords the trouble of going through the whole impeachment, since, in his opinion, twenty of the articles were altogether vain and needless.' Some members being shocked at this assertion, Mr. Bromley immediately explained himself, saying, 'That, if the two articles, that were for high-treason, could be made good, the other twenty would be needless and insignificant.' Mr. Shippen observed, 'That this impeachment had been depending so long, that every body expected it would be dropped: And indeed, unless the two articles of high-treason could be made good, he thought it unreasonable to give the two houses an unnecessary trouble about the other articles, by keeping them sitting in the hottest part of the summer. That, after all, those, who had first begun the impeachments, ought to be satisfied with having got the places of those, that were impeached; which, indeed, seemed to be what they had principally in view. That the truth of this appeared evidently from the behaviour of the gentleman, who was the most forward and active in the impeachments, whose warmth was very much abated since he was out of

place. That he did not mention this as a reflection on that gentleman, for whom he ever had a great respect; but that he was afraid this would lessen him in the esteem of others. That, for his own part, he was not in the least surprised at his conduct; of which he had, of late, observed many instances but that he ever disapproved it.' After this, Mr. Walpole made an apology for himself, saying, among other things, 'That he had of late looked over some of the most material papers relating to this impeachment; and he was still convinced in his conscience, that the late ministry had given themselves up intirely, and were ready to deliver up the nation to France. Mr. Lechmere strongly supported the motion for the message, and said, 'It was no wonder, that a certain set of men, who had, at first, opposed the impeachments, should now be for letting them drop: And that this was yet the less surprising, in that the same gentlemen had constantly opposed all that had been proposed for the support of the present happy settlement. But that, for his own part, he was of the same opinion he ever was, that the nation could not prosper, till they had brought those to justice, who betrayed its allies in so scandalous a manner, and brought it to the brink of ruin: And that he would venture his life in this prosecution.' This speech had so much weight, that it was carried without dividing. That the message be sent to the lords.

Twelve

Twelve days were sufficient. The lords Trevor, Harcourt, Geo. I. and others, insisted that, the lords having fixed a day for the trial, they ought not to grant any farther time : But the duke of Devonshire's motion for twelve days was carried by seventy-six against fifty-seven ; and the 24th of June was appointed for the day of trial, of which notice was sent to the commons.

Upon this the commons, to let it be seen that they resolved to go on with the trial, voted the preparatory orders, and appointed the committee, with four other members, to be the managers to make good the articles of impeachment.

On the 24th of June, the lord high-steward, with the house of peers, passed to the court prepared for them in Westminster Hall, when the commons were present, as a committee of the whole house, their managers coming first, and taking their places. The king, the prince, and princess of Wales, were seated in boxes, as were the rest of the royal family, and the foreign ministers. All things being prepared, and silence proclaimed, the earl of Oxford, who had been brought from the Tower by Water to Westminster, was conducted to the bar by the deputy-lieutenant of the Tower, having the axe carried before him by the gentleman-jailor of the Tower, who stood with it on the left hand of the prisoner, with the edge turned from him. Then the articles of impeachment * were read, with the earl's answer, and the replication of the commons. After which the lord high-steward addressed himself thus to the prisoner (after having mentioned the usual way of exhorting persons in his condition as to their behaviour) : ' But, considering the many great offices your lordship has borne in the state, your long experience and known learning in all parliamentary proceedings, I cannot but think it would be improper for me to speak to your lordship in that manner.' Mr. Hampden, one of the managers, then made a long speech, which ended, Sir Joseph Jekyll stood up, in order to make good the first article of the impeachment ; but, the lord Harcourt having signified to the lords, that, before the managers proceeded farther, he had a motion to make, they adjourned to their own house, and the commons returned to theirs.

As soon as the peers were come to their house, the lord Harcourt represented, ' That the going through all the articles of impeachment would take up a great deal of time to little purpose ; for, if the commons could make good the two articles for high-treason, the earl of Oxford would forfeit

Geo. I. 1717. both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter; whereas the proceeding, in the method the commons proposed, would draw the trial into a prodigious length: Urging, that it would be a great hardship upon a peer, who had already undergone so long a confinement, to appear every day at their bar like a traitor, and be, at last, found guilty only of high crimes and misdemeanors: And therefore he moved, That the commons might not be admitted to proceed, till judgment was first given upon the articles for high-treason. The lord Harcourt was supported by the lord Trevor, and the earls of Anglesea and Nottingham. But the lord Parker answered them, 'That, in all courts of judicature, it is the usual and constant method to go through all the evidence, before judgment be given upon any part of the accusation: That, though the house of peers be the supreme court of the kingdom, yet it has ever a regard to the rules of equity and justice, and even to the forms observed in the courts below. And, as for the prisoner's appearing in the abject condition of a traitor, it was but a piece of formality, which did him no manner of hurt, and to which persons of the highest rank had ever submitted, in order to clear their innocence.' The earl of Sunderland, the lord Coningsby, and the lord Cadogan spoke on the same side. But the dukes of Buckingham and Argyle, the earl of Ilay, the bishop of Rochester, the lord North and Grey, the lord Townshend, and several others having strenuously supported the lord Harcourt's motion, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of eighty-eight against fifty-six.

This resolution being declared to the managers at the lords return to the hall, Sir William Thompson replied, 'That they conceived it to be so much the undoubted right of the commons to proceed in their own method, in maintenance of the articles exhibited by them, and did apprehend, that this resolution of their lordships might be of fatal consequence to the rights and privileges of all the commons of Great Britain, that they could not take upon them to proceed any further, without resorting to the house of commons for their direction therein.

Upon this proceeding, conferences, searching for precedents, and the like methods of managing such disputes took up some days; and in particular, on the 27th of June, the commons at a conference delivered a paper, containing their reasons for asserting it as their undoubted right to impeach a peer either for high-treason, or for high crimes and misdemeanors,

demeanors, or, if they see occasion, to mix both in the same accusation (c). Geo. I.

1717.

This

(c) The paper was as follows:

'The commons having taken into their consideration your lordships resolution communicated to their managers relating to the proceedings on the trial of Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer; and being desirous, as far as in them lies, to maintain a good correspondence with your lordships; have desired this conference, and have commanded us to acquaint your lordships, that they conceive it to be the undoubted right of the commons to impeach a peer, either for high-treason, or for high crimes and misdemeanors; or, if they see occasion, to mix both the one and the other in the same accusation.

The impeachment preferred against Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer is one continued accusation, consisting of high crimes and misdemeanors, and also of charges of high-treason. The facts, on which the articles preceding those of high-treason are grounded, are laid together in order of time, and follow one another successively, in the manner they were committed.

As the commons thought this the most natural method for exhibiting the several articles against the said earl, they were of opinion, that they should proceed in the proof of these several facts after the same method, since it is manifest, that, in laying open the course of such a

wicked administration, the preceding parts of it give light to those which follow; and that the proof of the several articles of high crimes and misdemeanors would naturally lead to the proof of those of high-treason.

Your lordships received these several articles of impeachment, without making any exception against the form, in which they were exhibited. The said earl made his answer to them in the same order, and has no where insisted to be tried in any other method: So that the commons are surprised to find a stop put to their prosecution by an objection, which has never been started by the said earl, and which your lordships had given them so little reason to expect.

To this must be added, That as the commons only are masters of the evidence, and as upon that account they are best able to determine what to charge first, and what next; so they are most proper to determine in what method to proceed for the advantage of the prosecution, in the event of which all the commons of Great Britain are so highly concerned.

To which they further add, that they see no reason, but that your lordships may as well invert the whole order of the articles, as to prescribe to the commons those particular articles, on which they are first to proceed; which will necessarily produce such a confusion, both in the facts and evidence, as is

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This paper being debated in the house of lords, they insisted on their former resolution, that the commons should not proceed till judgment was given upon the articles of high-treason, and ordered likewise a paper of reasons in support of their resolution to be drawn up and delivered to the commons at another conference, wherein they asserted it to be a right inherent in every court of justice to order and direct such methods of proceedings as such courts shall think fit to be observed, in all causes depending before them (d).

Thus

by no means consistent with that clearness and perspicuity, in which the commons think this affair ought to appear.

The commons, upon examining precedents, do find divers precedents of impeachments for high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors, in the same accusation; and do not find, that the lords ever objected to such proceedings, or ever gave judgment upon any particular article of an impeachment, before the commons had gone through, and concluded their evidence upon all the articles, or so many of them as they thought fit: And the commons are at a loss to conceive what arguments, or precedents, can be brought to support the resolution of your lordships, to give judgment upon one part of the same accusation, reserving the other part for a subsequent trial, as they are to know what your lordships mean by admitting the commons to proceed upon the articles of high crimes and misdemeanors, after the judgment is given upon the articles of high-treason, supposing the judgment proper for high-treason should be given against the said earl.

For these reasons the com-

mons assert it as their undoubted right to proceed on the trial of Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, after the method, in which their managers were proceeding, when interrupted by your lordships resolution.

(d) The paper was as follows:

‘ Their lordships, in order to preserve a good correspondence with the house of commons (which they shall always endeavour to do, as far as lies in their power) have desired this conference upon the subject-matter of the last conference, and have directed us to acquaint you, that their lordships judge it a right inherent in every court of justice, to order and direct such methods of proceedings, as such courts shall think fit to be observed in all causes depending before them; which can have no influence to the prejudice of justice, and where such methods of proceedings are not otherwise settled by any positive rule. The power of judicature on all impeachments being a right unquestionably inherent in their lordships, and it not being determined by any positive rule, whether the house of commons may proceed to make good the several articles exhibited for

high-

Thus far the two houses carried on their debate with some calmness, but they grew warmer the next day, when the commons, Geo. I. 1717.

high-treason; and there being no precedent, where the commons, upon the trial of any such impeachment, attempted to proceed, in the first place, to make good any of the articles contained in such impeachments for high crimes and misdemeanors; their lordships considering the nature of the impeachment now depending before them, and the method, wherein the managers for the house of commons were beginning to proceed upon the trial, to make good the first article thereof, which is a charge for high crimes and misdemeanors only; and also considering the very different methods of proceeding on an impeachment of a peer for high-treason, as well before as upon the trial thereof, and the circumstances attending such a trial, thought themselves obliged to come to the resolution communicated to the commons on the 24th instant, as well for the doing justice in the case depending before them, as for the preventing a new precedent to be made on this trial; in consequence whereof, a new and unjustifiable form of proceeding against a peer, upon an impeachment for high-treason and high crimes, might be introduced at his trial upon those articles, in which he is charged for high crimes and misdemeanors only, to the prejudice of the peerage of Great Britain in all time to come, viz. The trying a peer on articles for high crimes and misdemeanors without the

bar, the detaining in custody a peer so accused, and repeated commitments of him to the Tower during the time of such trial, and subjecting a peer to as ignominious circumstances on his trial, as if he was then on his trial on articles for high-treason: Whereas a peer, on his trial on articles for misdemeanors only, ought not to be deprived of his liberty, nor sequestered from parliament, and is intitled to the privilege of sitting within the bar during the whole time of his trial: In all which particulars, the known rule of proceedings in such cases may be evaded, should a peer be brought to his trial on several articles exhibited against him on high crimes and misdemeanors and high-treason mixed together, and the commons be admitted to proceed, in order to make good the articles for high crimes and misdemeanors, before judgment be given upon the articles for high-treason. Their lordships have fully considered the matters offered to them by the house of commons, at the last conference relating to the proceedings against Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer; and their lordships are fully satisfied, That the resolution, they have taken and communicated to the commons on the 24th instant, is just and reasonable; and that the house of commons are not put under any real inconvenience thereby, in carrying on their present prosecution. Their lordships have commanded us to let you

Geo. I. commons, having considered the paper delivered to them by the lords, sent a message to desire a free conference, and the lords refused it; and now the party for the earl of Oxford began to see his deliverance at hand, for the lords, refusing to grant the commons a free conference, set the two houses into a new dispute, and put the wished-for agreement about the trial quite out of the question.

This refusal of a free conference was urged in the house of lords upon the foundation, That it was a point of judicature in which the commons had no concern, at least, they could not admit it to be debated; and some precedents were brought, in which the commons had denied the peers a free conference, as in money-bills, in which the same reasons were given, namely, That it was a money-bill, in which the lords had no right to make any amendment. These things were going on to great heights, and, the commons desiring a conference upon this subject, they gave in a paper to the managers for the peers, wherein they insisted that it was not a point of judicature, but a point relating only to the prosecution of the commons, and therefore a free conference ought not to be denied (e).

The

you know, that they do insist on their said resolution, viz. That the commons be not admitted to proceed, in order to make good the articles against Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, for high crimes and misdemeanors, till judgment be first given upon the articles for high-treason.'

(e) The paper was thus:

'The commons having taken into consideration your lordships message, viz. 'That your lordships did not think fit to give a free conference on the subject-matter of the last conference, as was desired by the commons: And they being still desirous, to the utmost of their power, to preserve a good correspondence with your lordships, have asked this conference; and have commanded us to acquaint your

lordships, that they are very much surprised to find your lordships deny a free conference, after your lordships have already agreed to a conference desired by the commons on the same subject-matter, and after your lordships have, on your parts, also desired a conference upon the same subject. That free conferences are the most ancient and established methods for adjusting the differences, that have at any time arisen between the two houses, and, as the commons conceive, is the only method to preserve a good correspondence between them on such occasions, which, at this time, is of the highest importance, because a misunderstanding on this account would tend to defeat the trial of the impeachment of the commons. That the com-

MONS

The lords, though many of them were zealous for bringing on the trial, yet being tender of the privileges of the peers, and satisfied that the commons were in the wrong, resolved to insist upon it, that they ought not to grant them a free conference upon this subject; and, having put the question again in their house, it passed, not to grant a free conference, which was signified to the commons.

This message put the house of commons in a flame, and several warm speeches were made on the occasion by Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Craggs, Mr. Tufnel, and others; Mr. Lechmere 'lamented the unhappy dilemma to which they were brought, either to see so great an offender as the earl of Oxford escape unpunished, or to acquiesce in proceeding on his trial in the manner prescribed by the lords.' He said, 'He thought the latter more eligible of the two, with a saving to the rights and privileges of the commons, and therefore made a motion for it.' He was supported by Mr. Hampden, and several other members, but his motion was rejected. Then a message was brought from the lords, that they intended presently to proceed on the trial of the earl. The commons took no notice of this message (f). However, seeing the lords were resolved to proceed, the house adjourned. It was suggested, this adjournment was ordered, that they might not receive any more messages about it, or be sent to from the Hall to appear at the trial.

It appears from the debates above-mentioned, that these things were not carried thus without some variety of opinions and motions. Some, who were zealous for bringing a great offender (and such they accounted the earl to be) to justice, were for quitting the nicety they contended for, and, not doubting but they should be able to make good the charge of high-treason against him, were for giving the lords the point and proceeding. But others, no less zealous for justice, and as much convinced of the earl's guilt, were yet of opinion, that they ought not to make any precedent, which might be used by posterity to the disadvantage of the commons, and in

mons conceived clearly, that the subject-matter of the last conference is not a point of judicature, but a point relating only to the prosecution of the commons, it having arisen before any matter of judgment had come before your lordships upon the trial. For which reasons the commons conceive, that your lordships ought not to have denied them a free conference upon the subject-matter of the last conference.'

(f) It is said, some moved not to receive it. Annals.

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Geo. I. prejudice to their rights, but that they should proceed in the ordinary methods of justice, and preserve the privileges of their house entire, as their ancestors had done before them.

It was, however, proposed to proceed by way of attainder; and Sir William Strickland moved it, though in other words, 'That leave be given to bring in a bill, to inflict pains and penalties on Robert earl of Oxford, as his traitorous practices and misdemeanors deserve, and as shall be thought reasonable.' This bred a high debate, which ended in an adjournment to the 3d of July.

In the mean time, the lords proceeded to the formalities of judicature. They went down to the Hall, took their places, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accusers to appear, and make good the impeachment against him. After this, the court sat perfectly silent, as if expecting the commons should appear. This silence held about a quarter of an hour, when the lords adjourned to their house, where the question, that the earl should be acquitted, passed in the affirmative, after some debate. Then the house returned to the Hall, where, one or two excepted, they all gave their votes for the discharge of the earl of Oxford, who was immediately set at liberty. It was observed, most of the Whig lords retired, before the peers went the last time to the Hall, so there were not above a hundred and seven who gave their votes.

Thus ended this affair: And it is plain, the earl owed his discharge not only to the disputes between the two houses, but also to the late changes in the ministry; without which the earl of Nottingham, the duke of Argyle, the earl of Ilay, the duke of Devonshire, and the lord Townshend, would certainly not have been in the number of his friends. However, the commons did not rest here. For, though Sir William Strickland's bill for inflicting pains and penalties on the earl was not seconded, yet, to shew their resentment at this proceeding, they resolved that the king should be addressed, to except him out of the Act of Grace, which was intended to be brought into the house (g). The king had likewise

two

(g) As this address (which was presented by the whole house on the fifth of July) sets forth the just resentment of the commons, it is here inserted with the king's answer;

Most gracious sovereign,

'We your majesty's most faithful subjects, the commons of Great-Britain in parliament assembled, do most humbly re-

pre-

two days before, upon information that the earl of Oxford Geo. I.
designed to come to court, thought fit to forbid him. 1717.

The

present to your majesty, That, in our impeachment exhibited against Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, we did set forth, That he the said earl did traiterously adhere to, aid and abet the late French king, then an enemy to her late majesty, and did begin and carry on a clandestine and separate correspondence and negotiation with the minister of the said French king; in consequence of which it is evident, that great part of the forces maintained at the expence of so much British treasure, in order to reduce the power of France; as likewise great part of the same end, were, in reality, made subservient and instrumental to awe the good allies of her majesty into a compliance with the hard terms dictated by France. The unhappy Catalans were abandoned; the emperor, empire, and king of Portugal, were left to treat for themselves; the kingdom of Sicily was given to the duke of Savoy, as an inducement and reward to him for quitting the common cause, in direct defiance and violation of the grand alliance, and of the declared sense of most of our good allies, and especially of the Dutch, who, to this day, have never assented to that condition of the treaty of Utrecht. A shameful and dishonourable treaty of peace was at last concluded, by which impracticable terms of trade were imposed on Great Britain; the demolition of Dunkirk, which had been

addressed for by parliament, was eluded by a treacherous connivance, as the making of a new canal at Mardyke; and the security which was proposed, by removing the pretender out of France, was, in the like manner, evaded by a treacherous connivance at his residing in Lorrain.

It is owing to your majesty's unwearied endeavours for the good of your subjects, and that just regard which is paid to your majesty by foreign princes and states, that we see ourselves delivered, in a great degree, from the effects of these pernicious measures, which might otherwise have proved fatal to your kingdoms: But as we reflect, with equal gratitude and admiration, on your majesty's being able to retrieve such miscarriages, especially in a time which has been disturbed by public tumults and rebellion; we think it is a great aggravation of guilt in those who gave up so many national advantages, at a time when they laboured under no such difficulties at home, and when the continued successes of a long and glorious war had put them into a condition of gaining the most beneficial terms from the enemy.

Your faithful commons did likewise exhibit several other charges against the said earl, representing him, in many notorious instances, as a person who had abused the trust and confidence which her late majesty had reposed in him, and sacrificed

Geo. I. The session now drew towards an end, the houses were chiefly employed in finishing the bills that were depending, when, on the 15th of July, the earl of Sunderland delivered, in the house of peers, the Act of Grace, which the king had promised in his speech of the 6th of May. It was immediately read and passed, and then sent down to the house of commons, where it met with the like dispatch.

Act of
Grace,
July 15.
Pr. H. L.

The session
ends,
July 15.
Pr. H. C.

All things being ready, the king came the same day, in the afternoon, to the house of peers, and, having given the royal assent to all the bills, closed the session with the following speech, which was read to both houses by the lord-chancellor :

‘ My lords and gentlemen,

The king’s
speech.

‘ I Cannot put an end to this session without expressing my thanks to you for the dispatch you have given to the public business, and declaring the satisfaction I promise myself in meeting you again early the next winter, with the same good dispositions for the service of your country.

‘ The measures, we have taken in this parliament, have, by the blessing of Almighty God, effectually defeated all

ficed the honour of his sovereign, and the good of her people, to private views of interest and ambition.

Your faithful commons have not been wanting in their endeavours to bring the said earl to justice ; but, by reason of the unhappy differences that have, in this proceeding, arisen between the two houses, we have found ourselves disappointed of our just expectation, and reduced to the necessity either of giving up rights and privileges of the highest importance to all the commons of Great-Britain, or seeing this great offender escape with impunity for the present.

For these reasons, we do most humbly beseech your majesty, that your majesty will be pleased to except Robert earl of Oxford

and earl Mortimer out of the act of grace, which your majesty has been graciously pleased to promise from the throne, to the end the commons may be at liberty to proceed against the said earl in a parliamentary way.’

To this address his majesty was pleased to return the following answer :

‘ Gentlemen,

‘ I will give directions, in relation to the earl of Oxford, as you desire ; and it is with pleasure I observe the sense expressed in your address of my endeavours for the security, honour, and advantage of these kingdoms.’

‘ the

‘ the attempts of our enemies, both at home and abroad: Geo. I.
 ‘ And, as the principles, on which those measures are 1717.
 ‘ founded, are equally conducive to the supporting the just
 ‘ rights of the crown and the liberties of the people, I shall
 ‘ always persevere in them myself, and distinguish those who
 ‘ adhere to them with the same steadiness and resolution.

‘ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

‘ I thank you, in the most affectionate manner, for the
 ‘ supplies you have granted me, and for that constancy and
 ‘ zeal, which you have shewn in reducing our national
 ‘ debts, notwithstanding the many incidents and obstructions
 ‘ you have met with in the carrying on of that great work.
 ‘ As you have furnished me with the means of disappointing
 ‘ any designs of a foreign enemy against these my kingdoms;
 ‘ so I cannot but ascribe, in a great measure, the happy pro-
 ‘ spect of our affairs abroad to that public spirit, which has
 ‘ appeared in your proceedings, and has convinced the world,
 ‘ that no insinuations or artifices can divert you from your
 ‘ duty to your sovereign, and a disinterested regard to your
 ‘ fellow-subjects.

‘ My lords and gentlemen,

‘ It is with great pleasure, that I see the tranquillity of the
 ‘ nation so well established, as to admit of an Act of Grace,
 ‘ which I have long desired a fit opportunity to grant. I
 ‘ hope, that such as shall, by this means, be restored to the
 ‘ enjoyment of security, and the protection of those laws,
 ‘ against which they have offended, will have a due sense of
 ‘ this my indulgence, and give me the most acceptable re-
 ‘ turn they can possibly make me, that of becoming friends,
 ‘ instead of enemies to their country.’

Then the parliament was prorogued to the 12th of August, and afterwards by several prorogations, to the 21st of November. The parlia-
ment is
prorogued.

Thus ended this session of parliament, famous for the transactions relating to the earl of Oxford, but chiefly for laying the foundation of paying the public debts, without any breach of parliamentary credit.

The expectation of the Act of Grace had long agitated the minds of people. Some, through their impatience for want
 of

Geo. I. of it: Others, through fear of being excepted out of it; and
 1717. others, through their dislike of the general tenor of it, had
 appeared dissatisfied about it, and spoke contemptibly of
 it (h).

Account of
 the Act of
 Grace.

This Act of Grace and free pardon was as a finishing to the whole transaction of the rebellion, and therefore it will not be improper to give an account of the persons who received benefit by it, and also of those who were excepted out of it.

The exceptions by name were no more than the earl of Oxford, pursuant to the commons address, lord Harcourt, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, and Mr. Arthur Moor; with five mean persons, Crisp, Nodes, O Bryan, Redmayne (the printer) and Thompson. Besides these, the assassins in Newgate (confined there ever since the assassination-plot in king William's reign) were also excepted by name. The other exceptions were but five, except such as are usual in all general pardons. No Act of Grace for many ages past, in like circumstances, had been clogged with fewer exceptions, considering the number of rebels then abroad, and their unwearied diligence to disturb the peace of the kingdom (i).

As

(h) This gave ground to the following expression in a treatise published at that time, 'That the clemency of king George was not only great and God-like, but even extended farther than that of God himself.' For (says the author) God Almighty, however merciful in his nature, has yet proclaimed pardon to none but the penitent; whereas king George has pardoned, not those who have repented only, but even those who contemned the very grace they have received, and insulted the king that forgave them, receiving the grace with unthankfulness, and with ungrateful reproaches against the hand that gave it.

(i) Among the exceptions, were all the persons of the name

and clan of Macgregor, mentioned in an act of parliament in Scotland, in the first year of king Charles I. It seems the family or clan of Macgregors, alias Campbells, had been in rebellion in the time of king James I, and were reduced. But, on king James's death, they took up arms again, not so much on any state account, as to plunder the Low-Lands, and injure the country; whereupon a remarkable act passed against them. By this act they were all at the age of sixteen to appear before the privy-council, and give surety for their good behaviour; and, in order to their extirpation, no ministers, within the bounds of the Highlands, were to baptize any male-child, with the name of Gre-

gor,

As for those who received the benefit of it, they were first Geo. I.
 the lords in the Tower under sentence of death, who were 1717.
 immediately delivered. This was directed by an exception
 in the Act of Grace, namely, 'All persons impeached in
 parliament before the 6th of May 1717, whose impeach-
 ment remains undetermined.' So that they who were im-
 peached for rebellion, and, being convicted, were under sen-
 tence of death, were not, by this article, excepted, because
 the impeachment was determined in law. Consequently, the
 earl of Carnwarth, with the lords Widdrington and Nairne,
 peers, condemned by the house of lords, were immediately
 discharged. The lord Duffus was continued under confine-
 ment, with an allowance of 3l. a week.

Likewise the prison-doors were set open all over England:
 Seventeen gentlemen, under sentence of death in Newgate,
 were released; as also a great many in the Marshalsea and
 Fleet, and in the hands of Messengers; and not only those
 who were under sentence, but several others who were not
 tried.

In the castle of West-Chester, about two hundred prisoners
 taken at Preston were set free, none being detained but the
 lord Charles Murray, son of the duke of Athol; and he was
 only reserved to be a particular object of the king's clemency,
 a pardon having passed for him a few weeks after.

In like manner the prisoners in the castle of Lancaster were
 delivered: these were, in general, the common soldiers of the
 rebels; the rest of them were either sent to the plantations at
 their own request, or dead in prison, or had made their escape.
 The prisoners in the castle of Carlisle, being twenty-six gen-
 tlemen, the chief of the disaffected people in Scotland, most,
 if not all, taken in actual rebellion, and under sentence of
 death, were likewise released.

In Scotland, all the prisoners remaining in the castles of
 Edinburgh and Stirling, as the lord Rollo, the earl of Stra-
 thallan, and several others of rank, were all discharged.

Commissioners, for inquiring into the forfeited estates, had
 been appointed some time by the parliament. They had
 managed their inquiry with great application, but had met
 with great difficulties and obstructions from the creditors of
 the attainted persons, who, by the ordinary course of justice,

gor, or Macgregor. The fa-
 mous Rob. Roy, head of this
 clan, being in the rebellion, oc-
 casioned, perhaps, the excep-

tion, by which the whole fami-
 ly of the Macgregors were ex-
 cluded the benefit of the Act of
 Grace.

Geo. I.
1717.

Value of
forfeited
estates in
Scotland.

were in possession of the estates. The lords of session had also, at the petition of some persons, pretending to be creditors, sequestered all the most considerable forfeited estates, and appointed factors, with power to distrain tenants for non-payment of rents, on behalf of those creditors. These factors, or receivers, representing, that they acted by the authority of the court of session, absolutely refused, though ordered by the commissioners, either to pay the rents into the Exchequer, or to give security for so doing. In vain did the commissioners appoint receivers, as they could not give them a power to distrain. Nor would the court of session, upon the petition of the commissioners, recal the sequestrations (a). The barons of the Exchequer were next applied to, but they likewise refused to comply with the commissioners; upon which they ordered all the monies, arisen from the sale of the personal estates, into the receiver-general of Scotland.

The yearly value of the real estates, of which the commissioners had perfected the survey, amounted to 29,694 l. 6 s. 8 d. sterling per annum, as appeared by their report, which was published in July, by order of the house of lords (b).

The

(a) These sequestrations were founded upon the words of 'the act for encouraging superiors, &c.' 'That no conviction or attainder shall exclude the right of any creditor remaining peaceable, for security of any just debts contracted before the commission of any of the aforesaid crimes.' As these words seemed only to import that the creditors should be paid their just debts, the commissioners submitted the matter to the lords, Whether the payment of these debts was not better provided for by paying the rents into the Exchequer, for the benefit of the public and creditors, according to the express directions of the act of parliament, than by suffering the growing rents to remain at the disposal of the receivers, who being the trustees

friends, and agents of the forfeiting persons, were like to injure both the public and the creditors.

(b) The abstracts of the rentals of the forfeited estates in Scotland were as follow, the shillings and pence being omitted:

	per Ann.
Wintoun	l. 3393
Southesque	3271
Linlithgow	1290
Keir	907
Panmure	3456
Wedderburne	213
Ayton	323
Kilfythe	864
Bannockbourn	411
East Reston	137
Mar	1678
Invernitie	361
Awchintoul	347
	Pow-

OF ENGLAND:

163

The commissioners in England did not meet with so much difficulty, by whose report (which was also printed) the annual rents of the forfeited estates in England and Ireland amounted in the whole to 47626l. 18s. 5d. $\frac{1}{2}$. The improved rents of estates on lives, after the lives were expired, they computed at 4798l. 6s. 3d. (c).

Geo. I.
1717.

As

	per Ann.		per Ann.
Pow-House	377 l.	George Clifton	5
Natthill	72	George Collingwood, Esq;	924
Bowhill	27	Edward Gore	19
Lathrisk	208	Robert Daniel	18
Gleubervy	75	John Dalton, Esq;	661
Preston-Hall	230	Earl of Derwentwater	6371
Wood-End	83	Roger Dicconson, Esq;	641
Fairney	153	Thomas Forster, Esq;	530
Master of Nairne	60	In Reversion—6co,	1100
Dunboog	170	George Gibson	227
Earl Marischal	1676	John Gregory	26
Kilconquhar	287	John Hall	70
Lord Nairne	740	Gabriel Hesketh	102
Fingask	537	Albert Hodgson	327
Cromlix	415	Philip Hodgson	238
Nithisdale	809	Jordan Longdale	79
Inneray	281	John Leybourne	275
Kenmure	608	Duke of Ormond,	} 21163
Drummond	2566	Eng. and Irel. in-	
Burleigh	697	cumbered.	
Scotstown	110	Henry Oxborough	507
Duntroon	54	John Parkinson	5
Laag	424	William Paul	42
Carnwarth	863	John Plessington	39
Balloon	1495	Robert Scarbrooke, Esq;	388
		William Shaftoe, Esq;	714
(c) The rental was as follows,		Richaed Sherburne	32
shillings and pence omitted :		Richard Shuttleworth	3
		Ralph Shuttleworth	78
	per Ann.	Ralph Standish, Esq;	671
Francis Anderton, Esq;	1425 l.	Jame Singleton	40
Hugh Anderton, Esq;	131	Thomas Standley, Esq;	246
John Ashlow	60	Lord Seaforth	517
Richard Butler	382	Edward Swinburne, Esq;	305
Henry St. John late lord	} 2552	John Sturzecker	10
Bolinbroke		John Thornton, Esq;	1585
Richard Billsborough	19	Christopher Trap	58
Thomas Biers	91	Joseph Wadsworth	12
Robert Cowper	20	Thomas Walton	97
Richard Charley, Esq;	138	Thomas Walmsley	51
		L 2	Lord

Geo. I. As the king resolved not to go into Germany this year,
 1717. the household removed to Hampton-court, where he resided
 for the summer.

At the close of the session, the following alterations and promotions were made: Mr. Stanhope, first commissioner of the treasury, was created baron of Elvaſton, and viſcount of Mahon; the earl of Suffolk, Mr. Chetwynd, Sir Charles Cook, Mr. Docminique, Mr. Moleſworth, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Daniel Pulteney, and Mr. Bladen, were appointed commissioners of trade; lord Cadogan was made general of all the forces in England; and Mr. Boſcawen vice-treaſurer of Ireland, of which kingdom the following perſons were made peers: Trevor Hill, viſcount Hillsborough; Sir Thomas Southwel, viſcount Southwel; Walter Chetwynd, viſcount Fitzharding; Alan Broderick, viſcount Middleton; lord Hamilton of Strack Allan, viſcount Boyn; John Allen, viſcount of Kildare. Coniers d'Arcy, brother to the earl of Holdernes, was removed from his employment of gentleman of the horſe, and one of the commissioners for executing the office of maſter of the horſe. The earl of Leiſceſter was appointed conſtable of Dover-Caſtle, and warden of the Cinque-Ports, in the room of the earl of Dorſet; and the duke of Portland was made one of the lords of the bed-chamber.

Prince Eugene defeats
 the Turks
 before Belgrade.
 Aug. 5.
 Hiſt. Reg.

Whilst the king was at Hampton-Court, count Volkra, the imperial miniſter, brought him the news of prince Eugene's victory over the Turks at Belgrade. Prince Eugene, having aſſembled the imperial army, before the Turks could draw their forces together, reſolved to beſiege Belgrade: To this end he marched his army over the Theyſſe, upon a bridge of boats laid for that purpoſe, and poſted himſelf on the other ſide of the Danube, in ſight of that fortrefs: This unexpected paſſage ſtruck the infidels into ſuch a conſternation, that their troops ran away in the utmoſt confuſion, while the reſt of the imperial army paſſed the Danube likewise over a bridge, that was ſoon prepared. The place was immediately inveſted, and lines of circumvallation and contravallation were made from the Save to the Danube, by which means the imperial camp became ſo ſtrong, that it ſeemed as if one fortrefs had laid ſiege to another. This precaution had its effect; for, when the main army of the Turks was advanced to relieve

	per Ann.		per Ann.
Lord Widdrington	5154 l.	Richard Withington	14 l.
Edward Winchley, Eſq;	226		

Bel-

Belgrade, they found the besiegers so strongly intrenched, that they were under a necessity of opening trenches to approach their lines: But prince Eugene had taken measures so well before-hand, that when the Ottoman army appeared, though they were much more numerous and formidable than could be believed, he was in a condition to expect them in his intrenchments, without discontinuing his attacks. It was undoubtedly a very extraordinary sight to see two sieges at once, and even the besiegers themselves besieged; the place being shut up on all sides by the imperial army; and the imperial army shut up on one side between two great rivers, and on the other between a town, defended by a strong garrison, and the enemy's camp strongly intrenched: Thus there was a necessity either to conquer or perish, and the least false step would have decided it. But, when things seemed reduced to this dangerous crisis, prince Eugene, instead of waiting to be attacked in his intrenchments, marched out of them, and attacked the Turks in theirs, with so much bravery and conduct, that he gained a most complete victory, over their almost innumerable forces, which was followed the next day by the surrender of Belgrade, the key of the Ottoman empire.

Mean while, the great preparations, the Spaniards were making by sea and land, drew the attention of all Europe. When the emperor sent his army into Hungary against the Turks, who had invaded the dominions of the Venetians his allies, the pope, to whom wars of that kind are always agreeable, obtained repeated assurances from the king of Spain, both by letters, and by declarations from his ambassador at Rome, 'That he would not undertake any thing against the interests of the emperor, whilst his arms should be employed in so religious a cause; and would even aid the Venetians with a squadron of men of war and gallies.' For which purpose he obtained from the court of Rome an Indulto, for raising a subsidy of two millions and a half on the ecclesiastical revenues in the Indies; and another for five hundred thousand ducats on the estates of the clergy in Spain. Accordingly, the king of Spain sent out the last year a small squadron of six men of war and five gallies, which arrived too late in the Levant, to be of any service to the Venetians, who had before sustained a naval fight with the Turks, and had almost finished the operations of the campaign. But this year the preparations in Spain were so extraordinary, as gave a jealousy, that, instead of sending assistance to the Venetians, the Spaniards had a design to make some conquest themselves on

Great pre-
parations in
Spain.
Corlet.

Geo. I. the emperor's dominions in the Mediterranean. The event
 1717. justified the suspicion. A strong squadron of men of war,
 with about nine thousand land-forces, commanded by the
 marquis de Lede, sailed from Barcelona the 20th of July,
 and, landing at Cagliari in Sardinia, made a speedy and entire conquest of that island which belonged to the emperor, and was in no good condition of defence.

Spain attacks the emperor.

During this expedition, the marquis of Grimaldo, secretary of state at Madrid, sent a letter to the Spanish ministers in foreign courts, to be published as a manifesto or declaration of the reasons of those proceedings, the substance of which was: 'That all Europe, as well as himself, might well be surprised to find the military preparations of his master, which were designed to second the efforts of the Christian army, according to promises made to the pope thereupon, on a sudden turned against that very power, in the attack of Sardinia; but that, as he had opportunity of learning the reasons of such a conduct from his majesty's own mouth, he thought fit to communicate the same to be, That though his majesty had bore with great magnanimity the sacrifice of many of his territories to the public tranquillity by the late peace; upon the presumption that such a condescension would secure the repose of a nation, whose good fortune was not answerable to its virtue; yet as the arch-duke, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and supported the desertion of his subjects in Catalonia, by frequent succours from Naples, and other places, and seemed, by all his measures, resolved on all opportunities of giving him disquiet in his dominions; his majesty had looked upon the war with the Turks to have opened to him a gate of revenge, in recovering those territories which had been usurped from him by the arch-duke. That all overtures of pacification, on his majesty's side, had rather inflamed the arch-duke's conduct in his prejudice; and that because declarations had been published in many parts of Europe; injurious to his majesty's honour and dignity, and particularly because the great inquisitor of Spain had been seized, though furnished with his holiness's passport, and in despite to that authority, necessary to support the due regards of his subjects; his majesty was resolved to employ those forces in a lawful revenge, which were at first designed against the enemies of the arch-duke (d). These reasons did not appear satisfactory: For

what-

(d) The king of Spain had not yet acknowledged him for emperor. At the same time, the cardinal Paulucci, secretary of state to

Whatever unfairness had been practised by the emperor, it was long before the king of Spain's promise not to molest the emperor whilst he was at war with the Turks. And the detention of a single subject was too weak a ground for a proceeding of such violence. However, the king of Spain promised (by the marquis Beretti Landi, his ambassador at the Hague) to proceed no further against the emperor, and to suspend all operations, in order to give time and opportunity to the powers of Europe to think of expedients for reconciling their differences, and securing the tranquility and balance of power in Italy. The marquis also complimented the king of Great Britain and the States, with the arbitration of that important affair.

King George and the regent of France were not only guarantees of the neutrality of Italy, but the king was moreover engaged in a defensive alliance with the emperor. Pursuant therefore to the king of Spain's promise, they concerted measures, in conjunction with the imperial minister, for an accommodation between the emperor and king Philip, on such terms as should be equally advantageous and honourable to both, supply the defects of the treaties of Utrecht and Baden, and establish, on a more solid basis, the tranquility of Europe; with a resolution of compelling by force that party, which should refuse to accede to those stipulations, and obstruct the general good. The abbot du Bois came to London, the lord Stanhope was sent to Madrid, and the lord Cadogan to the Hague. These negotiations gave birth to the famous treaty called the Quadruple Alliance, which was concluded the next year. It was agreed, that the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain (a point king Philip had much at heart) and part with Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, in lieu of which the duke was to surrender Sicily to the emperor. The succession to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which the queen of Spain (of the house of Farnese) claimed by inheritance, in default of male-issue, was to be settled on her eldest son: The king of Spain, not being satisfied with this partition, con-

England and
France con-
cert mea-
sures to re-
concile
Spain and
the emperor.

to the pope, wrote a circular letter to clear his holiness from the imputation of any collusion in that affair, by greatly enlarging upon the resentment with which he treated so perfidious a breach of promise in his Catho-

lic majesty, 'not to fall upon any of the dominions of the emperor during his war with the Turks,' and for the performance of which his holiness had engaged in the most solemn manner.

L 4

tinued

Geo. I. tinued to make very formidable preparations by sea and land,
 1717. without any regard to the admonitions of England and France.
 — Upon which king George ordered a strong squadron of ships
 of war to be fitted out, as will presently be seen.

The earl of
 Peterbo-
 rough seized
 at Bologna.

Before the parliament met, the following incident happened. The earl of Peterborough, whether with design only to travel, as was given out, or charged with some secret negotiation, was gone into Italy. Before his departure, he had conferred with the duke of Marlborough, and at Paris had talked with the duke of Orleans: He was said to carry with him larger remittances than was usual for travellers, even of his rank. The pretender was then at Urbino, where he had notice sent him from St. Germain's to be upon his guard, there being a design to destroy him. He gave information of it to Rome, and pope Clement XI. sent orders to all places round Urbino to examine all foreigners, especially English, and seize such as should be suspected.

The earl of Peterborough came at that very time to Bologna with a few armed followers. He was immediately seized with his papers, and confined to Fort Urbino, and his people sent to prison. His papers were examined, but, nothing being found against him, he was himself interrogated. He said, he was come to pass some time in Italy for the benefit of the air, and that his people were armed for his defence. He was close confined for a month, and no person suffered to speak with him. He was, at length, set at liberty, with all possible civilities, and afterwards had an authentic reparation for the insult, the cardinal minister having declared, that he had been seized unadvisedly, and without sufficient cause. The news of the earl of Peterborough's confinement was highly resented by the people in England, but the king was content with demanding and receiving reparation for the affront. The pope agreed to write, with his own hand, a letter to an ally of Great Britain, by which he would declare, that the legate of Bologna had violently and unjustly, without the knowledge of his holiness, caused the earl of Peterborough to be seized upon suspicions, which proved to be ill-grounded; that then the cardinal Paulucci, secretary of state, and the cardinal legate of Bologna, should send each a declaration to the English admiral in the Mediterranean; the first to shew the pope's disavowal, and the other to assure him, that, out of complaisance to his friends, and upon unjust suspicions, he had ordered a peer of Great Britain to be apprehended on his travels, for which he had begged the pope's pardon, and desired his Britannic majesty's. This letter, and these declarations,

rations were accordingly sent, and are preserved, to shew Geo. I. the earl of Peterborough's innocence, and the falsity of the 1717. suspicions.

On the 3d of November, the princess of Wales was delivered of a prince, at St. James's, and the king two days after paid her a visit, and returned to Hampton-Court. The young prince was baptized the 28th of the same month, and died not long after. This baptism occasioned an unhappy difference between the king and the prince. It seems, the prince had designed the duke of York, bishop of Osnabrug, the king's brother, to be one of the godfathers, and had reason to believe the king was satisfied with his choice. But, when the ceremony came to be performed, the duke of Newcastle stood godfather with the king, not as proxy for, or representing the duke of York, but for himself, and in his own name and person. This the prince took ill of the duke, not as he acted in obedience to his majesty's command, but as if the duke had done, or at least seemed officious to do, something which he was not commanded. This proceeding sensibly touched the prince, and raised his indignation to that degree, that he could not help shewing it; but, as soon as the ceremony was over, spoke some warm words to the duke, expressing his resentment at what he had done. Upon report of these words to the king, his majesty thought fit to give a sudden mark of his displeasure, by sending his commands to the prince to keep his own apartment till his pleasure was farther known; to which he immediately submitted: Soon after this his majesty's farther pleasure was signified to the prince, that he should leave St. James's; accordingly he quitted the palace, the princess going along with him, and retired to the house of the earl of Grantham, in Albemarle-street; but the children, by the king's order, remained at St. James's. Soon after this, his majesty's pleasure was signified to all the peers and peeresses of Great-Britain and Ireland, and to all privy-counsellors and their wives, that all persons, who should go to see the prince and princess of Wales, should forbear coming into his majesty's presence. Besides, such as had employments under the king and prince both, were obliged to quit the service of one of them.

Soon after this difference, there was printed in the Amsterdam Gazette a letter in French, said to be written by one of the secretaries of state to the foreign ministers, dated at Whitehall, December 14, 1717, giving an account of the whole

A difference
between the
king and
the prince.

Geo. I. whole affair, of which the author of the Critic (a weekly 1717. paper) published a translation (e).

Third session of king George's first parliament.

Pr. H. C.

The parliament met the 21st of November, and the king came to the house of peers with the usual solemnities. His speech had been prepared with great care, by reason of the

(e) The letter was as follows :

S I R,

‘ His Majesty having been informed that several reports, for the most part ill grounded, are spread abroad concerning what has lately passed in the royal family, he has ordered me to send you the inclosed account of it :

As soon as the young prince was born, the king caused himself to be informed of what was wont to be observed in the like cases in this kingdom, in regard to the ceremony of baptism ; and having found by the records, that, when it was a boy, and the king was godfather, it was the custom for him to nominate, for second godfather, one of the principal lords of his court, who for the most part was the lord chamberlain ; he named for this function the duke of Newcastle, who now bears that charge ; naming at the same time for godmother the duchess of St. Alban's, first lady of honour to the princess. Nevertheless, his royal highness the prince of Wales conceived such a dislike at this, that on Thursday last, after the solemnity of the baptism was over, finding himself no longer master of his temper, he drew near to the duke of Newcastle, and gave him very reproachful words, upon supposition that he had solicited that honour in spite of him :

The king was still in the chamber, but not near enough to hear what the prince said to the duke. This last thinking himself obliged to inform the king of it, and the prince having confessed the matter to the dukes of Kingston, Kent, and Roxburgh (whom his majesty sent to him the next day upon this occasion) his majesty ordered him by a second message, not to go out of his own apartment till farther order : On Saturday the prince wrote a letter to the king, and the next day (Sunday) another : But, his majesty not finding them satisfactory, and having besides other reasons of discontent at several steps the prince had taken, he caused him to be told yesterday in the afternoon, by his vice-chamberlain, Mr. Cooke, that he should be gone from the palace of St. James's ; and to the princess, that she might continue in the palace as long as she thought convenient ; but that, as for the princesses her daughters, and the young prince, the king would have them remain with him in the palace, and that the princess should be permitted to see them as often as she desired it. However, the princess, being unwilling to leave the prince her husband, went with him to the house of the earl of Grantham her lord-chamberlain, where their royal highnesses lay last night.’

impor-

importance of the matters he had to speak of, and was attended with the expected success. The speech was as follows: Geo. I.
1717.

‘ My lords and gentlemen,

‘ I AM very glad I have been able to bring the sitting of parliament into a more proper and usual season of the year. I hope, such an early meeting will not only be a benefit to the public, but a convenience to your private affairs.

‘ As I have always had at heart the security and ease of my people, so I never kept up any troops, but for their protection, and have taken every opportunity to disband as many as I thought consistent with their safety. I have reduced the army to very near one half, since the beginning of the last session of parliament, and lessened them to such a number, as will neither be a burden to my good subjects, nor an encouragement to our enemies to insult them.

‘ You cannot but be sensible of the many attempts which have been set on foot to disturb the peace of Europe, and of these kingdoms. They only pretend not to see, who are not afraid of them. But, as no application has been wanting, on my part, to preserve the public tranquillity, I have the pleasure to find my good offices have not been altogether unsuccessful, and have reason to hope they will, in the end, have their full and desired effect.

‘ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

‘ I question not, but you are very well pleased to find, that your endeavours for lessening the national debts have, at the same time, raised the public credit; and that whatever was proposed, for that end, is actually and completely effected. This success must chiefly be attributed to that just and prudent regard you have shewn to parliamentary engagements.

‘ It was with a view of procuring and settling a lasting tranquillity, that I demanded the extraordinary supply, which you granted me last session. The credit, which this confidence reposed in me hath given us abroad, has already been so far effectual, that I can acquaint you, we have a much better prospect than we had. I have ordered an account to be laid before you of the very small part of that supply, which, as yet, has been expended. Any further
‘ issues,

Geo. I. 1717. ' issues, that may be made of it, shall be laid before you.
 ' And you may be assured, that every part of it shall either
 ' be employed for your service, or saved to the public.

' I have ordered to be laid before you a state of the deficiencies of the present year, and the several estimates for the service of the next, which you will find considerably diminished. I rely upon your making the necessary provision for them; not doubting of the continuance of that zeal for the good of your country, which hath been so eminently conspicuous in every session of this parliament.

' I cannot, in justice, avoid putting you in mind, that several arrears of pay and subsidy, incurred before my accession to the crown, are claimed by foreign princes and states. I shall order them to be laid before you, to the end you may put them in a method of being examined and stated; which will very much tend to the honour and credit of the nation.

' My lords and gentlemen,

' I could heartily wish, that at a time, when the common enemies of our religion are, by all manner of artifices, endeavouring to undermine and weaken it, both at home and abroad, all those, who are friends to our present happy establishment, might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the Protestant interest; of which, as the Church of England is unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so will she reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing by the union and mutual charity of all Protestants.

' As none can recommend themselves more effectually to my favour and countenance, than by a sincere zeal for the just rights of the crown, and the liberties of the people; so I am determined to encourage all those, who act agreeably to the constitution of these my kingdoms, and consequently to the principles, on which my government is founded.

' The eyes of all Europe are upon you at this critical juncture. It is your interest; for which reason, I think it is mine, that my endeavours for procuring the peace and quiet of Christendom should take effect. Nothing can so much contribute to this desirable end, as the unanimity, dispatch, and vigour of your resolutions for the support of my government.

This

This speech, as it appears, was worded with great caution, particularly with regard to the army, and the Protestant Dissenters. The king, by saying he had so lessened the troops, that they would neither burthen his subjects nor encourage his enemies, prevented any intended addresses for a farther reduction. His wishing, that all the friends of the establishment would concur in some method for strengthening the Protestant interest, tended to the repeal of the severe laws made in the last reign against the Dissenters, which had been prevented by the commotions in the kingdom, and which he thought might be accomplished this session. He had, ever since his accession, declared for toleration, and seems here to promise his favour and countenance to such as should be of his mind.

The lords, without any debate, voted an address, in which they thanked the king for disbanding so many troops, and for his unwearied application towards settling the peace of Europe, assuring him, that nothing should be wanting on their parts towards supporting him with the utmost zeal and vigour, till his endeavours had the desired effect. They concluded with saying, 'We have a grateful sense of your majesty's concern for the Protestant religion, and the Church of England, as by law established; which, as it has always been the chief of the Protestant churches, so it can never be so well supported, as by strengthening and uniting (as far as may be) the Protestant interest.'

An address of thanks was also voted by the commons, but not without some debates. It was moved by the High-Church party, that the king's general expression, 'to concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the Protestant interest,' should be thus softened, 'to concur in the most effectual methods for strengthening the Protestant interest of these kingdoms, as far as the laws now in force will permit.' But this motion was rejected, and the address passed as it had been drawn up; wherein, after having thanked the king for bringing the sitting of parliament into a more proper season of the year, and assured him of their endeavours to answer his gracious intentions, by improving their early meeting (as much as they were able) to the public benefit, they expressed their lively sense of his concern for the welfare of the people by the reductions he had made from time to time of the land-forces. 'It is (say they) our peculiar happiness to see ourselves governed by a sovereign, who is not influenced by any notions of greatness that are inconsistent with

Geo. I.
1717.

The lords
address.

The commons
address.

Geo. I. with the prosperity of his subjects, and who proposes to himself the ease of his people, as the chief glory of his reign.

1717.

We acknowledge, with hearts full of duty and gratitude, your majesty's unwearied endeavours to prevent the many attempts which have been set on foot to disturb the peace of Europe, and the quiet of these kingdoms; and have the more reason to apprehend the ill consequences of such attempts, since there are those, who, as they would be thought to see no danger in them, give us reason to believe, that they would not be troubled at their success.

Proceedings
of the com-
mons.

This approbation of the king's sentiments was followed with assurances of most effectually supporting him in such measures as he should judge necessary, and of cheerfully granting such supplies as the public service should require. Concluding, 'It is a pleasure to us, that the eyes of all Europe are turned upon us at this critical juncture, since we have thereby an opportunity of shewing the world the just confidence we repose in your majesty, and our unshaken resolutions to support your government, in such a manner as shall enable your majesty to settle the peace of Christendom.'

The commons began with fulfilling their promise concerning the supplies. Estimates and accounts were called for, to see what was wanted to settle the establishment of the army, navy, and ordnance as usual. Ten thousand men, at 4l. a month each, were voted for the sea-service; and 224,857l. 14s. 11d. was granted for the ordinary of the navy.

Debates a-
bout the
army,
Dec. 4.
Pr. H. C.

When the motion for a supply for the army was made, it was opposed by Mr. Shippen, Sir William Windham, and others. Mr. Walpole made a speech that lasted above an hour, wherein, besides the common topic of the danger of a standing army in a free nation, he insisted on four principal points: '1. That whereas they were given to understand, that the army was reduced to sixteen thousand and odd men, it still consisted of about eighteen thousand, which was one third part more than the number of land forces in Great Britain amounted to formerly in time of peace. 2. That there was no due proportion observed, either between the number of the horse, dragoons, and foot, or between the number of the officers and soldiers, that were kept standing, insomuch that, of about 11,000l. which the pay of a reduced regiment of foot amounts to, near 7000l. goes towards the pay of the officers, and 4000l. only to the private soldiers. 3. That the keeping up so great a number of officers was, in effect, the maintaining of an army almost double of what

was

was intended, since the soldiers, that were wanting to complete the companies and regiments, might be raised with a drum, in twice four and twenty hours. 4. That the pay of general officers, which amounted to above 20,000*l.* was an expence altogether needless, and unprecedented, in time of peace.' Mr. Craggs, secretary of war, answered Mr. Walpole, and observed in general, 'That, in all wise governments, the security of the state is the rule chiefly to be regarded; and that his majesty, both in the augmentation, and the reduction of his forces, had not only consulted the safety, but likewise the ease of his people. That though, as was suggested, the nation paid, at present, near eighteen thousand men, yet there were only sixteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven, who could give any jealousy, unless some people should think our liberties in danger from the chaplains, surgeons, widows of officers, and such inoffensive persons, who were included in the first number. That therefore there were not much above four thousand men more now in Great Britain, than there were kept up after the peace of Ryswick; which number must be thought very moderate by all, who wish well to the present happy settlement, considering, that the embers of an unnatural rebellion lately extinguished were still warm, and the discontents industriously fomented by the enemies of the government. That the parliament had ever contented themselves with fixing the number of forces, that were thought necessary to be maintained; but had left to the crown the manner of reducing and modelling that number. And therefore, if they should now do otherwise, it would be but an indifferent return to that gracious and tender regard, which, on all occasions, his majesty had shewn to the security and ease of his subjects. That, after all, it was no less a piece of justice, than matter of prudence, to keep up as great a number of officers as possible; for, besides the occasion, which this nation may have for them for the future, it was but reasonable to acknowledge the past eminent services of gentlemen, who, having been brought up to no other trade but war, had no other way to subsist and provide for themselves and families. Mr. Craggs was supported by several members, particularly Sir David Dalrymple, who declared for keeping up sixteen thousand men at least one year longer, urging, 'That the discontents ran still as high in Scotland, as before the late rebellion; of which he alledged several reasons.' But Mr. Walpole and others were, on the contrary, of opinion, that twelve thousand men were sufficient. The debate having lasted some hours, the question was going to be

Geo. I.
1717.

Geo. I. be put, Whether the number should be sixteen thousand, or
1717. twelve thousand, when Mr. Shippen made a speech, in which, among many other vehement expressions, he said, 'That the second paragraph of the king's speech seemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than Great Britain; and that it was a great misfortune, that the king was a stranger to our language and constitution.' These reflections gave great offence to several members, and Mr. Lechmere urged, 'That the same was a scandalous invective against the king's person and government, of which the house ought to shew the highest resentment; and therefore moved, that the member who spoke those offensive words, should be sent to the Tower.' Upon which Mr. Walpole said, 'That, if the words in question were spoken by the member, on whom they were charged, the Tower was too light a punishment for his rashness: But, as what had been said in the heat of this debate might have been misunderstood, he was for allowing him the liberty of explaining himself.' But, Mr. Shippen not thinking proper either to retract or excuse what he had said, he was voted to the Tower by a majority of one hundred and seventy-five against eighty-one.

The next day it was resolved, that the guards and garrisons in Great Britain should be sixteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven effective men; and that the sum of 681,618l. should be granted for their maintenance: That 130,361l. 5s. 5d. should be given for the half-pay of the reduced officers. After this, was settled as usual, the pay of the forces in America, and the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. When these resolutions were reported, several of them were debated. The pay of the army was reduced to 650,000l. by a majority of fourteen voices only, one hundred and seventy-two against one hundred and fifty-eight. The sum for the half-pay officers was reduced to 94,000l. (f).

An

(f) At the same time the following regulations were agreed to:

I. That no person shall be intitled to half-pay, who was a minor under the age of sixteen years at the time when the regiment, troop, or company in which he served was reduced.

II. That no person shall be in-

titled to half-pay, except such persons who did actual service in some regiment, troop, or company. III. That no person, having any other place or employment of profit, civil, or military, under his majesty, shall be intitled to half-pay. IV. That no chaplain of any garrison, or regiment, who has an

cc-

An attempt was made this session to lower the value of Geo. I. guineas. Mr. Aislabic, having taken notice of the great scarcity of the silver coin, occasioned chiefly by the exportation of silver, and importation of gold, proposed, that a speedy remedy might be put to the growing evil, by lowering the value of gold species. Upon this the king was addressed for the representations made by the officers of the Mint, to the treasury, in relation to the gold and silver coins. Accordingly Mr. Lowndes presented to the house several papers relating to the coins, and particularly Sir Isaac Newton's representation to the lords of the treasury (a). Then Mr. Aislabic

1717.

ecclesiastical benefice, or other preferment in Great-Britain or Ireland, shall be intitled to half-pay. V. That no person shall be intitled to half-pay, who hath resigned his commission, and has had no commission since. VI. That no half-pay shall be allowed to any person by virtue of any warrant and appointment, except to such persons who would have been otherwise intitled to the same as reduced officers. VII. That half-pay shall not be allowed to any of the officers of the five regiments of dragoons and eight regiments of foot, lately disbanded in Ireland, except to such as were taken off the establishment of half-pay in Great-Britain.'

(a) This representation, being reckoned a curious piece, is here inserted at large :

'In obedience to your lordships order of reference of August, 12, that I should lay before your lordships a state of the gold and silver coins of this kingdom, in weight and fineness, and the value of gold in proportion to silver, with my observations and opinion, and what method may be best for preventing the melting down of

the silver coin ; I humbly represent, that a pound weight troy of gold, 11 ounces fine, and 1 ounce allay, is cut into 44 half guineas ; and a pound weight of silver, 11 ounces 2 penny-weights fine, and 18 penny-weights allay, is cut into 62 shillings ; and, according to this rate, a pound weight of fine gold is worth 15 pounds weight 6 ounces, 17 penny-weights, and 5 grains of fine silver, reckoning a guinea at 11. 1s. 6d. in silver money. But silver in bullion exportable is usually worth 2d. or 3d. per ounce more than in coin. And, if at a medium, such bullion of standard allay be valued at 5s. 4d. half-penny per ounce, a pound weight of fine gold will be worth 14 pounds weight, 11 ounces, 12 penny-weights, 9 grains of fine silver in bullion. And at this rate a guinea is worth but so much silver as would make 20s. 8d. When ships are lading for the East-Indies, the demand of silver for exportation raises the price to 5s. 6d. or 5s. 8d. per ounce, or above ; but I consider not those extraordinary cases.

A Spanish pistole was coined
M for

Geo. I.
1717.

Aislable renewed his motion, and was seconded by Mr. Cawel, who made a long speech on the various values, which, at

for 32 reas, or 4 pieces of eight reas, usually called Pieces of Eight, and is of equal allay, and the 16th part of the weight thereof. And a doppio moeda of Portugal was coined for ten crusadoes of silver, and is of equal allay, and the 16th part of the weight thereof; gold is therefore in Spain and Portugal of sixteen times more value than silver of equal weight and allay, according to the standard of those kingdoms; at which rate, a guinea is worth 22s. 1d. But this high price keeps their gold at home in good plenty, and carries away the Spanish silver into all Europe; so that at home they make their payments in gold, and will not pay in silver, without a premium. Upon the coming in of a plate-fleet, the premium ceases, or is but small; but, as their silver goes away and becomes scarce, the premium increases, and is most commonly about 6 per cent, which being abated, a guinea becomes worth about 20s. 9d. in Spain and Portugal.

In France, a pound weight of fine gold is reckoned worth 15 pounds weight of fine silver; in raising or falling their money, their king's edicts have sometimes varied a little from this proportion, in excess or defect; but the variations have been so little, that I do not here consider them. By the edict of May 1709, a new pistole was coined for 4 new Lewises, and is of equal allay,

and the 15th part of the weight thereof, except the errors of their mints. And by the same edict fine gold is valued at fifteen times its weight of fine silver, and at this rate a guinea is worth 20s. 8d. half-penny: I consider not here the confusion made in the monies in France, by frequent edicts to send them to the mint, and give the king a tax out of them; I consider the value only of gold and silver in proportion to one another.

The ducats of Holland, and Hungary, and the empire, were lately current in Holland among the common people in their markets and ordinary affairs, at 5 guilders in specie, and 5 stivers, and commonly changed for so much silver monies in three guilder pieces, and guilder pieces as guineas are with us for 21s. 6d. sterling; at which rate a guinea is worth 20s. 7d. half-penny.

According to the rates of gold to silver in Italy, Germany, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, a guinea is worth about 20s. and 7d. 6d. 5d. or 4d. for the proportion varies a little within the several governments in those countries. In Sweden, gold is lowest in proportion to silver, and this hath made that kingdom, which formerly was content with copper money, abound of late with silver, sent thither (I suspect) for naval stores.

In the end of king William's reign, and the first year of the late queen, when foreign coins abounded

at different times, gold and silver coins have borne, with Geo. I. respect one with another, according to the plenty or scarcity of 1717.

abounded in England, I caused a great many of them to be assayed in the mint, and found by the assays, that fine gold was to fine silver in Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Italy, Germany, and the northern kingdoms, in the proportions above-mentioned, errors of the mints excepted.

In China and Japan, one pound weight of fine gold is worth but 9 or 10 pounds weight of fine silver; and, in East-India, it may be worth 12. And this low price of gold, in proportion to silver, carries away the silver from all Europe.

So then, by the course of trade and exchange between nation and nation in all Europe, fine gold is to fine silver as 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 15 to one; and a guinea, at the same rate, is worth between 20s. 5d. and 20s. 8d. half-penny, except in extraordinary cases, as when a plate fleet is just arrived in Spain, or ships are laden here for the East-Indies, which cases I do not here consider. And it appears by experience as well as by reason, that silver flows from those places where its value is lowest in proportion to gold, as from Spain to all Europe, and from all Europe to the East-Indies, China, and Japan; and that gold is most plentiful in those places, in which its value is highest in proportion to silver, as in Spain and England.

It is the demand for exportation which hath raised the price of exportable silver about 2d.

or 3d. in the ounce above that of silver in coin, and hath thereby created a temptation to export or melt down the silver coin, rather than give 2d. or 3d. more for foreign silver; and the demand for exportation arises from the higher price of silver in other places than in England, in proportion to gold, that is, from the higher price of gold in England than in any other places, in proportion to silver, and therefore may be diminished by lowering the value of gold in proportion to silver. If gold in England, or silver in East-India, could be brought down so low as to bear the same proportion to one another in both places, there would be here no greater demand for silver than for gold to be exported to India: And, if gold were lowered only so as to have the same proportion to the silver money in England, which it hath to silver in the rest of Europe, there would be no temptation to export silver rather than gold to any other part of Europe: And, to compass this last, there seems nothing more requisite, than to take off about 10d. or 12d. from the guinea, so that the gold may bear the same proportion to the silver-money in England, which it ought to do by the course of trade and exchange in Europe; but, if only 6d. were taken off at present, it would diminish the temptation to export or melt down the silver coin, and by the effects would shew hereafter better than

Geo. I. of either; he suggested, That the over-valuation of gold, in
1717. the current coins of Great-Britain, had occasioned the ex-
portation

can appear at present, what further reduction would be most convenient for the public.

In the last year of king William, the dollars of Scotland, worth about 4 s. 6 d. half-penny, were put away in the north of England for 5 s. and at this price began to flow in upon us; I gave notice thereof to the lords commissioners of the treasury, and they ordered the collectors, of taxes to forbear taking them, and thereby put a stop to the mischief.

At the same time the Lewidors of France, which were worth but 17 s. and three farthings a-piece, passed in England for 17 s. 6 d. I gave notice thereof to the lords commissioners of the treasury, and his late majesty put out a proclamation that they should go but at 17 s. and thereupon they came to the mint, and 1400000l. were coined out of them; and if the advantage of 5 d. one farthing a Lewidor sufficed, at that time, to bring into England so great a quantity of French money, and the advantage of three farthings in a Lewidor to bring it to the mint, the advantage of 9 d. half-penny in a guinea, or above, may have been sufficient to bring the great quantity of gold which hath been coined in these last fifteen years, without any foreign silver.

Some years ago, the Portugal moidors were received in the west of England at 28 s. a-piece; upon notice from the mint that they were worth only about

27 s. 7 d. the lords commissioners of the treasury ordered their receivers of taxes to take them at no more than 27 s. 6 d. Afterwards, many gentlemen in the west sent up to the treasury a petition, that the receivers might take them again at 28 s. and promised to get returns for this money at that rate, alledging, that when they went at 28 s. their country was full of gold, which they wanted very much: But the commissioners of the treasury considering, that at 28 s. the nation would lose 5 d. a-piece, rejected the petition. And, if an advantage to the merchant of 5 d. in 28 s. did pour that money upon us, much more hath an advantage to the merchant of 9 d. half-penny in a guinea, or above, been able to bring into the mint great quantities of gold without any foreign silver, and may be able to do still, till the cause be removed.

If things be let alone till silver money be a little scarcer, the gold will fall of itself; for people are already backward to give silver for gold, and will, in a little time, refuse to make payments in silver, without a premium, as they do in Spain, and this premium will be an abatement in the value of the gold: And so the question is, Whether gold shall be lowered by the government, or let alone till it falls of itself, by the want of silver money?

It may be said, that there are great quantities of silver in plate,

portation of great quantities of silver species; and, to that purpose, laid open a clandestine trade, which of late years had been carried on by the Dutch, Hamburgers, and other foreigners, in concert with the Jews, and other traders here, which consisted in exporting silver coins, and importing gold in lieu thereof, which being coined into guineas at the Tower, near fifteen pence was got by every guinea, which amounted to about 5 per cent. and, as these returns might be made five or six times in a year, considerable sums were thereby got, to the prejudice of Great Britain, who thereby was drained of silver, and over-stocked with Gold: Concluding, That, in his opinion, the most effectual way to put a stop to this pernicious trade was to lower the price of guineas, and all other gold species.

This speech was received with applause, and an address was voted, and presented to the king, for a proclamation to forbid all persons to utter or receive guineas at a higher rate than one and twenty shillings for each guinea. Pursuant to this address, the proclamation was issued the next day, after which the commons adjourned till the 13th of January.

The lowering the value of gold, which was thought a proper expedient to procure a greater circulation of silver pieces, had, during the recess, a contrary effect, either as was supposed, through the covetousness of some monied men, who hoarded up silver, in hopes that the same would be raised; or out of fear of gold would be still lowered; or through the malice of the disaffected, who, by the same method, thought, if not to distress the government, at least to raise murmurings against it among the common people,

and, if the plate were coined there would be no want of silver money; but I reckon that silver is safer from exportation in the form of plate than in the form of money, because of the greater value of the silver and fashion together; and therefore I am not for coining the plate, till the temptation to export the silver money (which is a profit of 2d or 3d. an ounce) be diminished: For, as often as men are necessitated to send away money for answering debts

abroad, there will be a temptation to send away silver rather than gold, because of the profit, which is almost 4 per cent. And, for the same reason, foreigners will choose to send hither their gold rather than their silver.

All which is most humbly submitted to your lordships great wisdom.

Mint-Office,
Sept. 21, 1717.

ISAAC NEWTON.

Geo. I. upon account of the stop which was thereby put to petty trade. In order therefore to remedy this great evil, as soon as the commons met, they came to a resolution, ' That this house will not alter the standard of the gold and silver coins of this kingdom in fineness, weight, and denomination: The lords came also to the same resolution, and ordered a bill to be brought in to prevent the melting down of the silver coin.

Upon a message delivered to the lords by the lord chancellor, and to the commons by Mr. comptroller, both houses adjourned for a few days. It was generally believed this adjournment was occasioned by some measures that were then taken, in order to reconcile the royal family, which not having the desired effect, it was expected the king would, on the day of meeting, have come to the house of peers, and acquainted the parliament with some matters of importance; but the court took another course, to the great disappointment of some persons (b).

A design
against the
king's life
by James
Shepherd.

About this time a design against the king's life was discovered. The author of it seemed to be fitter for Bedlam than Newgate. His name was James Shepherd, a youth of

(b) The king consulted the judges about some matters in dispute between him and the prince. He gave notice of it to the prince, that he might send some persons to set forth and support his pretensions. His royal highness sent Sir Robert Raymond, Mr. Carter, Mr. Darnel, and Mr. Reynolds. The first point was, whether the care of the education of the royal family belonged of right to the king? The judges were most of them for the affirmative, alledging, besides other arguments, the example of king Charles II, who educated his two nieces in the Protestant religion, and married them to Protestant princes against the will of the duke of York, his brother. They cited also the example of king William, who appointed governors and pre-

ceptors for the duke of Gloucester, son of the princess Anne, presumptive heir of Great Britain by the new establishment.

The other point was, Whether the king could retain, for the maintenance of the children, some part of the hundred thousand pounds granted by parliament to the prince of Wales? The judges were divided upon this point, but, however, in such a manner as seemed to favour the prince. This consultation proved fruitless. The prince and princess stood their ground, and, though they left to the king the education of their children, they refused to contribute towards the expence. The king made his grandson, prince Frederick, duke of Gloucester, and formed the young princesses household.

eighteen years, apprentice to a coach-maker in Devonshire-Geo. I.
street. On the 24th of January, he came to the house of 1717-18.
Mr. John Leake, a Nonjuring clergyman, and, not finding
him at home, left a letter with the maid, who delivered it to
Mr. Leake's daughter. When Mr. Leake came home, the
letter was given to him, who, upon reading the superscription,
found it directed for the reverend Mr. Heath; upon which
he doubted of its being left for him; but being told by the
maid that it was left for him, and considering that there was
no such person as Mr. Heath, a clergyman, in that neighbour-
hood, he opened the letter, and having read it to himself,
told his maid and daughter, it was a wicked and villainous
letter, and then read it to them, and afterwards threw it into
the fire. But, upon considering the matter, and suspecting
that some person might have sent it with a design to get his
house searched, and fix an odium upon him, he went to Sir
John Fryer, alderman, the next morning, and acquainted
him with the matter. Sir John advised him to secure the
writer of the letter, if he should call again at his house, as it
seems he had promised to do. According to his promise he
called again in three days, when Mr. Leake asked him whe-
ther his name was James Shephard, and if he had left a
letter for him on the Friday before? he answered in the af-
firmative; upon which he was seized and carried before Sir
John Fryer: Shephard owned to him the bringing of the
letter; and being asked, if he had a copy of it? he answered,
he had no copy about him; but, if he had pen, ink, and pa-
per, he could soon write one; which he did, and gave it to
Sir John; who observing to him, that he had not put his
name to it, he immediately subscribed it, affirming, that he
believed it to be a true copy of the letter he had left at Mr.
Leake's; and that, if at all, it differed only in some few
words. The copy was as follows:

S I R,

'From the many discontents visible throughout this king-
dom, I infer, that, if the prince now reigning could be by
death removed, our king being here, he might be settled on
his throne without much loss of blood. For the more ready
effecting of this, I propose, that if any gentleman will pay
for my passage into Italy, and if our friends will intrust one
so young with letters of invitation to his majesty, I will, on
his arrival, smite the usurper in his palace. In this confu-
sion, if sufficient forces may be raised, his majesty may ap-
pear; if not, he may retreat or conceal himself till a fitter op-
portunity,

Geo. I. opportunity. Neither is it presumptuous to hope, that this may
 1717-18. succeed, if we consider how easy it is to cut the thread of
 human life; how great confusion the death of a prince occasions in the most peaceful nations; and how mutinous the people are, how desirous of a change. But we will suppose the worst, that I am seized, and my torture examined. Now, that this may endanger none but myself, it will be necessary, that the gentleman, who defrays my charges to Italy, leave England before my departure; that I be ignorant of his majesty's abode; that I lodge with some Whig; that you abscond; and that this be communicated to none. But, be the event as it will, I can expect nothing less than a most cruel death; which that I may the better support, it will be requisite, that, from my arrival till the attempt, I every day receive the holy sacrament, from one who shall be ignorant of the design.'

James Shepheard.

Sir John Fryer committed him prisoner to the Compter, and afterwards went with him and Mr. Leake, his daughter and maid, to the earl of Sunderland's office, where the copy of the letter was produced and read to him; which he owned with the greatest unconcern imaginable. He owned likewise, that, while he was at school at Salisbury, he had imbibed the principles, which he then acted upon, by conversation with his school-fellows, who, in the time of the rebellion in the north, wished the pretender might have success, and was confirmed in his opinion by reading some pamphlets he saw lying on some booksellers stalls, particularly 'A Vindication of the bishop of Exeter,' and especially from the improvement of the words of St. Paul, 'That persons ought to be obedient to the powers that were set over them, although they were tyrannical.' That he had three years ago resolved upon the design to assassinate the king, and did determine to put it in execution, when opportunity offered (c). He was brought to his trial on the 6th of March,

(c) When the recorder gave sentence, he said, 'It was reasonable to think that you had received those impressions, which incited you to this undertaking, from some of those false and malicious libels, which have been industriously dispersed to delude unwary readers, and to alienate the minds of his majesty's subjects; and it appears to be so from your own confession, that you had imbibed your principles from sermons and pamphlets, which make you think king George an usurper, and the pretender your lawful king. It seems strange, that you should

March, for high-treason; and the evidence against him was Geo. I. very strong. Being called upon by the court to make his defence, he acknowledged the truth of what had been deposed against him; and owned, that he meant it, that he intended it, and did not think there was any harm in it, or any guilt in the fact, if committed. Upon this he was condemned, and executed at Tyburn, being attended by Mr. Orme, a Nonjuring clergyman, who absolved him at the gallows, and was supposed to have penned his speech; which being an invective against the king, the government did not think proper to allow it to be printed (d); and Mr. Orme was taken into the custody of a messenger. Orme was frequently examined; but, as nothing appeared, upon which it was judged proper to bring him to a trial, he was at last set at liberty.

The same day that Shepheard was hanged, the marquiss de Paleotti, brother to the duchess of Shrewsbury, was executed for killing his servant. The marquiss had been in the army many years, under various commissions, and had then a regiment in the emperor's service. He was reported to be a gentleman very unhappy in his natural temper, and apt to fly into sudden indecencies of passion. It appeared upon trial, that the marquiss committed this unhappy fact upon his servant late at night, as they were going along in the street together, but upon what provocation no one knew. The circumstances were such, as to leave no possibility of it's being done by any other hand, though none saw otherwise than the bustle, and running and pursuing, with outcries of danger made by the deceased. The marquiss made a very insignificant defence, and pretended distraction, or a total ignorance of the whole matter; and it was said, that, afterwards he would frequently call for him, as if he had been in attendance about him, and had fallen into no harm; but he

Marquiss de
Paleotti ex-
ecuted for
murder.

should hint at a passage in St. Paul for your justification. If he exhorted the Christians to submit to the Roman emperors, even though they should be tyrants, How comes it, that you, a private youth, should not only judge of the title of kings in opposition to the sense of so many parliaments; but that you should think yourself authorised to murder a prince in peaceable pos-

session of the throne, and by whom his subjects are protected in the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, and of every thing that is dear and valuable to mankind?

(d) However, it was clandestinely printed and dispersed about, insomuch that it came back to England at last in the Amsterdam Courant.

was

Geo. I. was found guilty, and sentence passed accordingly. Very earnest instances were made for his pardon, and persons of great distinction employed on his behalf, particularly his sister the duchess of Shrewsbury; but it was all to no purpose, his majesty resolving that the law should take place upon such an offender, notwithstanding the eminence of his character. And upon apprehensions only of a pardon, from the known influence of those who solicited it, even the common people began strangely to ferment, and disaffected persons were cunning enough to blow up the coals, and aggravate highly upon the impunity of such a crime; insomuch that the public quiet called for his execution. So much regard was, however, granted to his distinction, as to be carried out, on the day of execution, early in the morning, to avoid the usual crowds of spectators; but, whether by that getting air, and the desire of the people to see justice done upon him, or because young Shephard, the assassin, was to be executed at the same place that day, is not certain, yet the place was more thronged than commonly, and he had the mortification of having many thousand witnesses to his unhappy and shameful end.

The king accepts the government of the South-Sea company.

The king had always shewn a great regard for the South-Sea company, and was pleased to be a proprietor in their stock. The company, to express their gratitude, desired leave to chuse him for their governor in the following address:

‘The general court of the South-Sea company crave leave to acknowledge, with the greatest sense of gratitude, the many marks of your royal favour, which the company have received, ever since your majesty’s happy accession to the crown; and in particular, the honour done them in becoming a proprietor in their stock.

They therefore do, in the most humble and dutiful manner, beseech your majesty will be graciously pleased to grant them the further honour of using your royal name for their governor in the ensuing election.’

The king agreeing to their request, sent a message to the house of commons, acquainting them, that, having condescended to permit himself to be chosen governor of the South-Sea company, he recommended it to the house to consider of proper methods to remove any difficulties that might arise on that occasion. Immediately a bill was brought in and passed both houses, enabling the king to be governor, and exempting him from taking the usual oaths.

On

On the 3d of February, the king was unanimously chosen Geo. I. governor by the whole company, consisting of fifteen hundred and eighty-three persons. At the same time were chosen a sub-governor and deputy-governor. As every thing is influenced by party in England, the Whigs of the company had formed their plan, to chuse under the king Mr. Samuel Shepherd and Sir Theodore Jansen; but the Tories laid their measures so well, that Sir James Bateman, one of that party, was elected sub-governor, by a majority of nine hundred and eighty-three against six hundred, and the Whigs were forced to be satisfied with chusing Mr. Shepherd for deputy-governor.

One of the principal subjects of debate, this session, was the bill for regulating the land-forces, and punishing mutiny and desertion. As the court had occasion for their whole strength to carry this bill, care was taken that all the absent members should be summoned, so that the house, when the bill was brought in, was more numerous than had been known for many years past. The debate ran chiefly upon the power of Courts-martial, to punish mutiny and desertion with death. Mr. Hutchinson began with urging, That a Court-martial was never allowed of in England in a time of peace, as being inconsistent with the rights and liberties of a free people; and moved, that the offences committed by the soldiers be cognisable and punished by the civil magistrate. Mr. Hutchinson was seconded by Mr. Harley, who, to shew the danger of a standing army governed by martial law, quoted, with great commendation, a book written by a noble member of that house, intituled, 'An Account of Denmark.' Upon this the lord Moleworth (author of that book) endeavoured to shew, that this was not a parallel case: That the present posture of affairs in Great Britain was very different from the state of things in Denmark at that juncture; and that, the commons having already declared it necessary to maintain standing forces, it was no less necessary to keep those forces within the bounds of duty and discipline by the ordinary rules of martial law, as was ever practised in all civilised nations. General Lumley, and some others, were of Mr. Hutchinson's opinion; and, on the other hand, Sir Joseph Jekyll was for keeping up the martial law, at least, a year longer. But the main dispute was between Mr. Craggs and Mr. Walpole. After they had done speaking, Mr. Lechmere who had been hitherto silent, rose up and spoke with great weight, particularly in answer to what Mr. Walpole, as well as Mr. Hutchinson, had advanced, that a court-martial,

Debates on
the mutiny
and deser-
tion bill.

Pr. H. C.
Pr. H. L.

Geo. I. martial, in time of peace, was altogether unknown in Eng-
 1717-18. land. He shewed, on the contrary, that the court of admir-
 alty, which is allowed in times of peace, as well as of war,
 has an equal power in relation to seamen, with a court-mar-
 tial in relation to soldiers.

When the debate was over, and the question put, Whether courts-martial should punish mutiny and desertion with death, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of eighteen voices only, two hundred and forty-seven against two hundred and twenty-nine. So that there were four hundred and seventy-six members in the house, besides three Whigs and six or seven Tories, who happened to be shut out when the question was put. The abbot du Bois, the French minister, having desired to be present at this debate, he was admitted incognito, a favour which, that day, had been refused to several peers.

When the bill came to be read the last time, and the question put for passing it, there were a hundred and eighty-six votes for it, and but a hundred and five against it. This great majority was ascribed to Mr. Walpole's voting for it, and his having declared to his friends, 'That, though, in the debate about the bill, he was for having mutiny and desertion punished by the civil magistrate, yet he had still rather those crimes should be punished by martial law than not at all.' The bill, having passed the commons, was sent up to the lords.

Debates in
 the house of
 lords about
 the mutiny
 bill.

Pr. II. L.

When the bill came before the lords, it occasioned very warm debates, and many speeches were made on both sides, on which these are some of the most remarkable (e). The
 lord

* By the
 lord Stan-
 hope.

(e) When the bill was read the second time in a very full house, the earl of Oxford began with saying, 'That, as long as he had breath, he would speak for the liberties of his country: and that he was not only against this bill, because he thought a martial court inconsistent with the rights and privileges of Englishmen, but also against keeping up so great a number of forces; which, being altogether useless in a time of profound peace, could not but raise just apprehensions, that something was intended against our happy and ancient constitution.' To which it was answered, * That the nation had the happiness to be governed by a prince, who, since his accession to the throne, had convinced every body, that he desired no more troops than what were absolutely necessary for the safety and tranquillity of his dominions: That whoever would impartially and seriously consider the present circumstances

Lord Harcourt spoke against the bill, and urged, among other things, 'That the parliament, that is, the representative of Geo. I. 1717-18. the

stances of affairs, must own, that the number of troops that were kept standing was very small: That it could not be denied, that the pretender had a great many friends both at home and abroad, who watched all opportunities to foment and take advantage of our intestine divisions: That, on the other hand, Great Britain stood guarantee for the neutrality of Italy, which was then threatened with an invasion: And therefore it was matter of prudence, as well as of necessity, to keep up a competent force, both to suppress any insurrection at home, or to repel any insult from abroad; and to make good our engagements for maintaining the repose of Europe. Hereupon a late minister * said, He was surprised to hear, that the noble lord, who spoke last, was not better acquainted with some matters of fact; but that he thought himself obliged to inform the house, That, by the treaty concluded and signed at Utrecht in March 1713, between the ministers of Great-Britain and France, the late queen, of glorious memory, was guarantee for the neutrality of Italy, and the islands in the Mediterranean, only during the evacuation of Catalonia, and till the conclusion of a general peace: For the truth of which, his lordship appealed to his colleague in that negotiation. He added, that, since that time, the state of things was quite altered, and those in the ministry

could best tell, what engagements had been entered into, either with the emperor or France. Hereupon it was thought necessary to know the contents of those new treaties; and therefore it was moved to address his majesty, that the same might be laid before the house: Which address was agreed to, but was never presented.

On the 20th of February, it was moved, 'That it be an instruction to the committee, that they do provide that no punishment shall be inflicted at any court-martial, which shall extend to life or limb.' Some reasons were given for supporting this motion; but it was answered, that such a clause would render the bill ineffectual, banish all manner of discipline from the army, and consequently render it intirely useless. Hereupon there arose a warm debate, which lasted from two o'clock in the afternoon, till seven in the evening.

* Earl of
Strafford.

Herein it was endeavoured to be shewn, That so numerous a force, as was allowed by that bill to be maintained in time of peace, was not only dangerous in itself to a free nation, but was yet rendered more dangerous, by their being governed by martial law; a law unknown to our constitution, destructive of our liberties, and not endured by our ancestors. To which it was answered, That, among the ancient Romans, the wisest people in the world, and the great-
cit

Geo. I. the whole nation, were ever extreme jealous of the legislative power, with which they are vested; and that the lords, in a particular manner, ought to be tender of it; because it is a branch of their prerogative to be the supreme court of judicature; but that by this bill, whereby the king was enabled to establish courts-martial, with power to try and determine any offences specified in the articles of war, the parliament vested a sole legislative power in the crown, which was communicated and delegated to a council of war. That this bill sets aside all other laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, in

and lovers and asserters of public liberty, martial laws and discipline were invigorated by decrees of the senate, and were in force in times of peace as well as in times of war. And replied to, in substance, that it was much better to attend domestic than foreign examples; whereupon were produced several instances drawn from the history of Great-Britain, that a standing army in time of peace, was ever fatal, either to the prince or to the nation. But hereunto was urged, that those, who are vested with the legislative power, ought not, on all occasions, to govern themselves by precedents, but rather, by the present situation of affairs. because it is very difficult to find examples perfectly agreeing with the various circumstances of times: That it was judged, the number of troops which the commons had thought fit to keep standing, was absolutely necessary for the security and safety both of the government and nation; and therefore it was no less necessary to make a law to keep that army within the rules of duty and discipline, unless they would render useless those very forces which must be owned to be necessary. Here unto some-

what was again suggested, about the danger of a standing army made subject to martial law; but it was maintained, on the contrary, that the forces then on foot were necessary both for the support of the government, and the protection of our allies; that their lordships ought to consider, that, when the late rebellion broke out, they had double the number of regular troops, and yet the government was obliged, not only to send for some regiments from Ireland, but also for a body of auxillary troops from Holland; and that, since the said forces were necessary, the bill in question, which was only to render them useful, was no less necessary. A lord hereupon, among other things, said, That, before the noble peer, who spoke last, was born, he had seen the time, when the nation was in danger of losing their liberties by a standing army; and then his lordship endeavoured to shew, that the power of life and death, which by that bill was given to a court-martial, was unnecessary, unusual, and unjust. After this followed the speeches of lord Harcourt and the lord Carteret, as above in the context.

relation

relation to the soldiery; and gives courts-martial a larger jurisdiction than seemed necessary for maintaining discipline in the army; such jurisdiction extended not only to mutiny, desertion, and breach of duty, but also to all immoralities, and other offences, which might be committed by any officer or soldier, towards any of his fellow-subjects, whereby the law of the land might either be obstructed, or superseded by a court-martial. That the officers constituting a court-martial did, at once, supply the place of judges and jurymen, and ought therefore to be upon their oath, upon their trying any offence whatsoever; whereas it is provided by this bill, that they shall be sworn, upon their trying such offences only as are punishable by death. That martial courts assume to themselves an arbitrary and unprecedented authority, of which they had a remarkable instance, an ensign of the guards having been sentenced to death without being heard, which was contrary to Magna Charta, and to the birth-rights and privileges of Englishmen; and therefore they ought to restrain so dangerous a power.' On the other hand, the lord Carteret said, 'That he had maturely considered the affair now in agitation, not as a person in a public station, but as a private unprejudiced man; and that he was convinced in his judgment and conscience, that it is necessary both for the support of the present happy establishment, and the security of the nation, to keep up the forces now on foot; and that he was confirmed in his opinion, by considering what thoughts the pretender and his friends had of this matter, and reflecting, that they have nothing more at heart, than to procure the disbanding of those forces that have suppressed the late unnatural rebellion. That he doubted not, but the whole body of the nobility that made up that august assembly, was inviolably attached to his majesty king George: That his majesty had also the best part of the landed and all the trading interest; that as to the clergy he would say nothing—but that it was notorious, that the majority of the populace had been poisoned, and that the poison was not yet quite expelled. That the dangers which seemed to be apprehended from the present army may be chimerical, or, at least, easily remedied in any subsequent session of parliament; whereas the dangers with which the nation is threatened from the pretender and his friends, in case there were no army to oppose them, are real, and the mischiefs that might ensue, upon the success of their designs, irreparable. That, if there had been such a standing force as we now have, timely to suppress the tumults and riots which were raised soon after his majesty's accession

Geo. I.
1717-18.

Geo. I. to the throne, in all probability there had been no open rebellion; that, on the other hand, if there had not been troops ready at hand to assist the civil power, in suppressing the late riotous assemblies of the woolcombers and weavers in the counties of Devon and Somerset, there had by this time been another rebellion. That the mentioning Magna Charta was, in his opinion, entirely foreign to the present debate: That the thing now in question, and that wherein they were immediately concerned, was to secure and support the government, and the Protestant succession, against vigilant, bold, and restless enemies; and that they had the more reason to be upon their guard, in that the trumpeters of sedition and rebellion had again forcibly intruded into several pulpits in Scotland.'

Objections being raised against the preamble of the bill, wherein it was suggested, that the number of sixteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven men was necessary, it was moved, that the number should be reduced to twelve thousand. But this motion was rejected; as was also another, for leaving out the clause, which enabled the king to constitute articles of war. After this, the whole bill was agreed to, and passed by a majority of eighty-eight against sixty-one. However, several lords entered their protest (f)

The

(f) As soon as the parliament broke up, the speakers against the mutiny bill published their speeches, for which they were severely censured by the author of the Critic, and their speeches boldly examined. The king also, soon after the end of the session, ordered articles to be published for the regulation and government of the army, pursuant to the power lodged in him by the act. The substance of the articles is as follows:

I. All officers and soldiers (not having just impediment) shall diligently frequent divine service, in such places as shall be appointed for the regiment, troop, or company to which they belong; and such as either

wilfully or negligently absent themselves from divine service or sermon, or else, being present, do behave themselves undecently or irreverently during the same, if they be officers, they shall be severely reprehended at a court-martial; but, if private soldiers, they shall, for every such first offence, forfeit each man 1s. to be deducted out of their next pay; and for the second offence shall forfeit 1s. and be laid in irons for twelve hours; and, for every like offence afterwards, shall suffer and pay in like manner; and the money so forfeited shall be applied to the relief of the sick soldiers of such troop or company, to which the offender does belong.'

II.

The affair of the forfeited estates caused likewise great debates. A bill was brought in for vesting the forfeited estates in Geo. I.
1717-18.

A bill about
the forfeited
estates.
Pr. H. C.

II. If any sutler, in any of our forts, garrisons, camps, barracks, or guards, shall, during, divine service or sermon, presume to sell any beer, brandy, wine, or other liquors, or any kind of victuals, or other merchandise, he shall be delivered over to the civil magistrate, to be punished according to law.

III. Whosoever shall use any unlawful oath or execration (whether officer or soldier) shall incur the penalties expressed in the first article.

IV. If any officer or soldier shall presume to blaspheme the holy and undivided Trinity, or the persons of God the Father, God the Son, or God the Holy Ghost, or shall presume to speak against any known article of the Christian faith, he shall be delivered over, by the commanding officer, to the civil magistrate, to be punished according to law.

V. If any officer or soldier shall abuse or prophane any place dedicated to the worship of God, or shall offer violence to any chaplain of the army, or any other minister of God's word, he shall be liable to such penalty or corporal punishment, as shall be inflicted on him by a court-martial.

VI. If any officer or soldier shall presume to use any traitorous or disrespectful words against the sacred person of his majesty, his royal highness the prince of Wales, or any of the royal family, or shall behave himself with contempt or disre-

spect towards the general, or other commander in chief of the forces, or speak words tending to his hurt or dishonour, he shall be punished according to the nature of his offence, by the judgment of a regimental or general court-martial.

VII. If any officer or soldier shall excite, cause or join in any mutiny or sedition, in the company, troop, or regiment to which he belongs, or in any other company, troop, or regiment in his majesty's service, or on any party or post, where the duty is done by detachment from several regiments, or otherwise, in the army, he shall suffer death, or such other punishment as a general court-martial shall inflict.

And if any officer, non-commission officer, or soldier, shall hear any words tending to mutiny, or sedition, or, being any way privy, thereto, do not immediately use his utmost endeavours to suppress the same, as also to discover it to his superiors, if any officer, he shall be cashiered; if a non-commission officer or soldier, he shall be severely punished at the discretion of a court-martial.

VIII. If any officer or soldier shall refuse to obey the lawful orders of his superior officer, he shall be punished with death, or otherwise, as a general court-martial shall think fit.

X. All officers and soldiers who have received pay, or have been duly listed in our service, and shall desert the same, either

Geo. I. in Great Britain and Ireland in trustees, to be sold for the use
 1717-18. of the public ; and for giving relief to lawful creditors, by de-
 termining

in the field, upon a march, in quarters, or in garrison, and be convicted thereof before a general court-martial, shall suffer death, or such other punishment, as by the said court shall be inflicted.

XII. If any officer or soldier shall persuade or advise any other officer or soldier to desert our service, he shall suffer such punishment, as shall be inflicted by the sentence of a general court-martial.

XVI. If any officer, non-commission-officer, or soldier, shall be accused of any capital crime, or of any violence or offence against the person, estate, or property of any of our subjects, which is punishable by the known laws of the land ; the commanding officers of every regiment, troop, or company, are hereby required to deliver over such accused person to the civil magistrate, so soon as applied to ; and are also to be aiding and assisting to the officers of justice, in the seizing and apprehending such offender, in order to bring him to trial, under pain of our highest displeasure.

XIX. No officer or soldier shall use any reproachful or provoking speeches or gestures to another, upon pain of imprisonment, and asking pardon of the party offended, in presence of his commanding officer.

Nor shall any officer or soldier presume to send a challenge to any other officer or soldier to fight a duel, upon pain of being

cashiered, if he be an officer ; or suffering the severest corporal punishment, if a non-commission officer or private soldier.

And if any officer or non-commission officer, commanding a guard, shall wittingly and knowingly suffer any person whatever to go forth to fight a duel, he shall be punished as above : And all seconds also, and carriers of challenges, in order to duels, shall be taken as principals, and punished accordingly.

All officers, of what condition soever, have power to part and quell all quarrels, frays and other disorders, though of another company, troop, or regiment ; and to command officers to arrest, and soldiers to prison, until their proper officers be acquainted therewith.

And whoever shall refuse to obey such officers, (though of inferior rank) or draw his sword upon them, shall be punished as a general court-martial shall appoint

Nor shall any officer or soldier upbraid another for refusing a challenge, since, according to these our orders, they but do the duty of soldiers, who ought to subject themselves to discipline ; and we do acquit and discharge all men who have quarrels offered, or challenges sent to them, of all disgrace or opinion of disadvantage in the obedience hereunto ; and who-soever shall upbraid them, and offend in this case, shall be punished as a challenger.

XXI.

termining the claims; and for the more effectual bringing Geo. I.
into the respective exchequers the rents and profits of the 1717-18.
estates

XXI. Every non-commission officer and soldier, who shall enlist himself in our service, shall, at the time of his so enlisting, or within a month afterwards at the farthest, be taken before a justice of peace by the enlisting officer, or the officer commanding the troop or company into which he is enlisted, and shall there take the following oath:

I Swear to be true to our sovereign lord king George, and to serve him honestly and faithfully in defence of his person, crown, and dignity, against all his enemies and opposers whatsoever, and to observe and obey his majesty's orders, and the orders of the generals and officers set over me by his majesty.

‘ So help me God.’

XXVIII. All officers and soldiers are to behave themselves orderly in quarters and on the march; and whoever shall commit any waste or spoil, either on walks of trees, parks, warrens, fish-ponds, houses, or gardens, corn-fields, inclosures, or meadows, or shall maliciously destroy any property whatever belonging to any of our subjects, or belonging to any person whatever, unless by order of the then commander in chief of our forces, to annoy rebels, or other enemies in arms against us, he or they, that shall be found guilty of offending herein, shall (besides such penalties as they

are liable to by law) be punished according to the nature and degree of the offence, by the judgment of a regimental or general court-martial.

XXIX. No officer shall demand billets for quartering of more than his effective men, nor quarter any women or children in the house assigned him for the quartering of officers and soldiers, without the consent of the owner; nor shall take money for freeing of landlords from quartering of officers or soldiers, under pain of being cashiered for it.

XXX. Every officer commanding a regiment, troop, company, or party, whether in settled quarters, or on the march, shall see his own quarters, and the quarters of every officer and soldier under his command, paid, according to the rates specified in the act of parliament now in force.

And, upon every payment to be made in quarters, the said officer shall give public notice thereof to the landlords, in order to see them satisfied as aforesaid: And in case any such regiment, troop, company, or party, shall be ordered to march, before money may be come to the hands of the commanding officer as aforesaid, he is hereby required, before his departure out of any town or village, to make up the accounts with all persons concerned in money due to them for quartering of officers and soldiers, for what time soever he shall have happened to

Geo. I. estates till sold. This bill was attended with warm debates
1717-18. in both houses, which, though they did not obstruct its passage,

remain there; and grant to every such party a signed certificate for the same, therein specifying the name of the regiment, troop, or company such officers or soldiers do belong to, under pain of being cashiered for it, upon proof of having wilfully offended herein.

XXXI. On marches, the commanding officers are to apply to the proper magistrates for the carriages necessary for the service, and to pay for them according to the act of parliament in that behalf, taking care not to abuse, nor to suffer any under their command, to beat or abuse the waggoners, or other persons attending such carriages, nor to put more than twenty hundred weight on any wayne or waggon so furnished to them by the country.

And whatever officer shall be convicted of offending herein, or of refusing to grant certificates in case of failure of money, as in the preceding article, shall, by the judgment of a general court-martial, be cashiered, or otherwise punished, according to the degree of his offence.

XXXII. All officers commanding in garrisons, in quarters, or on marches, shall keep good order, and reduce all such abuses or disorders as may happen to be committed by any officer or soldier under their command: And if on complaint made to any such commanding officer, of beating of landlords, or extorting of more from them than they are obliged by law to

furnish; of soldiers disturbing of fairs or markets, or committing of any other kind of riots, to the disturbing or disquieting our people; he, the said commander, who shall refuse or omit to see justice done on the offender, and reparation made to the party injured, so far as part of the offender's pay can enable him, he shall, upon proof thereof, be punished by a general court-martial, as if he himself had personally committed the crimes or disorders complained of.

XXXVII. If any officer shall protect any person from his creditors, otherwise than is allowed by the present act of parliament; or any one who does not actually serve in the ranks, and consequently do all the duties of a soldier, (according to the true intent and meaning of the said act) he shall be cashiered for it.

XLIV. In case any officer, non-commission officer or soldier, be accused of any violence or offence against the person, estate, or property of any of our subjects, punishable by any of our civil courts or magistrates, the officer, to whom such accusation is brought, shall not proceed to the trial of such offender or offenders by a court-martial, within the space of eight days, unless at the desire of the person or persons injured; and in case no application be made to the commanding officer in quarters, during the space of eight days, by the person or persons injured, the offender or

sage, produced some very equitable clauses. The time of Geo. I. claiming was prolonged, and twenty thousand pounds sterling were reserved, out of the sale of the estates in Scotland, for erecting schools, and eight thousand for building barracks (a). 1717-18.

Before

offenders may be tried by a court martial for any offence mentioned in these articles; provided that, within the space of the said eight days, the person injured hath not proceeded to the prosecution of such offender before a civil court or magistrate, and notice given thereof to the officer, commanding in the quarters where such offence shall be committed.

XLV. These our rules and articles are to be observed by, and do in all respects regard our troops and regiments of horse and foot guards, as well as our other forces.

XLVI. The foregoing rules and articles shall be read and published at the head of every regiment, troop, and company, mustered or to be mustered in our service, once every two months at farthest, and are to be duly observed by all officers and soldiers in our service; and also by our companies of gunners, and other military officers of our trains of artillery, with such alterations only as relate to the payment of soldiers quarters and carriages, which in the kingdom of Ireland are to be regulated by the lord-lieutenant thereof, and in our islands, provinces, and garrisons beyond the seas, by the respective governors of the same, according as the nature of the thing shall require: And notwithstanding it is expressed in the 16th article of

these our rules and orders, that every commanding officer is required to deliver up to the civil magistrate all such persons (under his command) as shall be accused of any crimes which are punishable by the known laws of the land; yet in our garrison of Gibraltar, island of Minorca, forts of Placentia and Annapolis Royal, where our forces now are, or in any other place beyond the seas, to which any of our troops may hereafter be commanded, and where there is no form of our civil judicature in force, the governors or commanders respectively are to appoint general court-martial to be held, who are to punish criminals by their sentence, as has been practised heretofore, and authorised by former articles of war.

(a) There was also a debate in the house of commons about the trade with Sweden, which had been interrupted by a proclamation. The merchants having presented a petition for opening the trade, Mr. Jackson (late resident at Stockholm) was called in and asked by Mr. Craggs, whether he was of opinion, That, if the trade were opened with Sweden, our merchants would be upon a better foot than they are at present? Mr. Jackson answered, 'That, in his opinion, the contrary would happen: For now that the Swedes are distressed for want

Geo. I. Before the session ended, the king sent a message to the commons, which was read by the speaker, as follows :

The king's
message to
the com-
mons.
Pr. H. C.

want of our commodities, particularly corn and salt, they are inclined to facilitate to us, underhand, the purchase of their iron ; whereas, if the prohibition of trade with them was taken off, they would immediately provide themselves with what they want ; and, knowing at the same time, that there are amongst us a set of men, who make it their study and business to embarrass the government, the court of Sweden would be more stiff than ever, and render the purchase of their iron more difficult to us.' Some members of the house being offended at Mr. Jackson's reflection on a set of men (by which it was plain he meant the Tory-party) cried out, Custody, Custody : But the more moderate contented themselves with putting him upon explaining himself. Hereupon Mr. Jackson replied, That he meant the merchants, who presented unreasonable petitions. This being by some looked upon rather as an aggravation than an excuse, the cry of Custody, Custody, was repeated ; but Mr. Walpole brought him off, by suggesting, ' That that gentleman had lived so long in a despotic government, where petitions and representations of that nature are accounted capital crimes, that he had forgot the rights and privileges of his countrymen ; and therefore moved, that his unguarded expressions might be excused ;' and, nobody opposing Mr. Walpole, Mr. Jackson

withdrew. Then, the petitioners and some other merchants being called in, and farther heard, they represented, among other particulars, ' That, since the prohibition of trade with Sweden, they bought Swedish iron of the Dutch, 4 l. per ton dearer than before ; and that, whereas the English were formerly about 30,000 l. per annum gainers by the trade with Sweden, they now lost about 90,000 l.' But this was contradicted by Mr. Craggs, who suggested, That the exports from Stockholm for England had never amounted to 120,000 l. in one year ; and therefore the difference of the profit and loss could not come up to this last sum. After some other speeches, the debate was adjourned till that day month, before which the session ended.

There was another debate about a bill for erecting Hospitals and Workhouses in Bristol, in which there was a remarkable clause, abrogating the Sacramental Test in the case of the guardianship of the charities. However, the bill passed with the clause.

A bill, directing that St. Giles's church should be rebuilt, instead of one of the fifty new churches, occasioned a debate in the house of lords, and was opposed by some of the bishops, as a misapplication of the money granted for pious uses. They also proposed that the words of Pious Memory should be added in the preamble after the queen's name ;

‘ His majesty being at present engaged in several negotiations of the utmost concern to the welfare of these kingdoms, and the tranquillity of Europe ; and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give weight to his endeavours, if a naval force be employed where it shall be necessary, does think fit to acquaint this house therewith ; not doubting, but that, in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the sea-service, the house will, at their next meeting, provide for such exceeding.’

Geo. I.
1717-18.

This message was well received, and it was unanimously resolved to present an address to the king for his unwearied endeavours to promote the welfare of his kingdoms, and to preserve the tranquillity of Europe ; and to assure him, that they would make good such exceedings of seamen, as he should find necessary to obtain those ends.

On the 21st of March, the business of the session being over, the king went to the house of peers, and, having passed all the bills, ordered the lord chancellor to read the following speech to both houses :

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I Cannot put an end to this session, without returning my hearty thanks to so good a parliament, for the dispatch which has been given to the public business. You will, I hope, in your private capacities, feel the convenience of an early recess ; and, I am persuaded, the public will receive great benefit, by the seasonable zeal and vigour of your resolutions in support of my government.

“ Nothing can add so much to the credit and influence of this crown, both at home and abroad, as the repeated instances of your affection to me. This steadiness and resolution of yours will, I hope, enable me to procure, against your next meeting, such treaties to be concluded, as will settle peace and tranquillity among our neighbours.

“ If, through the blessing of God, my endeavours to this end prove successful, I shall have the satisfaction to silence even those, who will never own themselves convinced ;

name ; but the bill passed without any amendment, upon which it was protested against

by five bishops and several lords.

N 4

“ and

Geo. I. " and to let all the world see plainly, that what I have most
 1718. " at heart, is the good and welfare of my people, who may
 " then be eased in their taxes, and enriched by their trade.

" Gentlemen of the house of commons,

" I must return you my particular thanks for the supplies
 " your have so chearfully granted, and for the late instance
 " of your confidence in me. I promise you, that my endea-
 " vours shall not be wanting to make use of both to the best
 " advantage, for the good of my people.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" The practices which are daily used by a most restless
 " and unhappy set of men, to disturb a government, by
 " whose clemency they are protected, require our utmost
 " attention and vigilance. I must therefore recommend it to
 " you, that, in your several stations and countries, you will
 " endeavour to quell that spirit of disaffection, which our
 " common enemies are so industrious to foment."

Then the lord chancellor prorogued the parliament to the
 20th of May; and afterwards, by several prorogations, to
 the 11th of November.

Changes in
 the ministry.

About this time there were some changes in the ministry.
 Sir Edward Northey was removed, and Mr. Lechmere was
 made attorney-general in his room. The earl of Sunderland
 was made president of the council, and first commissioner of
 the treasury. The other commissioners were, Aislabye,
 Wallop, Baillie, and Clayton. Mr. Craggs, and the lord
 Stanhope (who and lord Cadogan were soon after created
 earls) were appointed secretaries of state. The earl of Berk-
 ley was placed at the head of the admiralty, with Sir George
 Byng, Sir John Jennings, Mr. Cockburne, Mr. Chetwynd,
 Sir John Norris, and Sir Charles Wager. The earl of
 Holderness was made first commissioner of the board of trade.
 In April, the lord chancellor Cowper (who had been made
 an earl) resigned the great seal, and went immediately into
 the country. Though it had been reported some months
 that he desired to retire, yet his resigning his employment at
 that juncture, was a great surprise to the public, and no
 small grief to all unprejudiced persons. The judges Tracy,
 Pratt, and Mountague, were made commissioners of the great
 seal; but, about a month after, the lord Parker was made
 high-chancellor, and Sir John Pratt chief-justice.

The

The great scene of action this summer was in the Mediter-
 ranean. Though the king of Spain had promised to suspend
 all operations, after the conquest of Sardinia, and refer his
 differences with the emperor to the mediation of England,
 France, and Holland, he rejected all their proposals for an
 accommodation, and continued his warlike preparations by
 sea and land. By the care and diligence of his prime mini-
 ster, cardinal Alberoni, a formidable armament was ready,
 by the month of May, at Barcelona, consisting of thirty
 ships of the line and frigates, seven galleys, four bomb-ves-
 sels, four hundred and forty transport-ships, forty mortars,
 fifteen hundred mules, one hundred and fifty thousand fas-
 cines, three hundred thousand stakes for entrenchments, a
 vast quantity of warlike stores, and provisions for many
 months. On board this fleet were embarked thirty-six bat-
 talions, six regiments of horse, four of dragoons, one thou-
 sand artillery-men, a hundred and fifty carpenters and other
 mechanics, a company of sixty miners, and a brigade of fifty
 engineers. To furnish the supplies, the receivers of the re-
 venue were ordered to pay in certain sums to the royal trea-
 sury: The grandees, prelates, provinces and cities, taxed
 themselves voluntarily for this expedition, and raised regi-
 ments at their own expence. These preparations had been
 the work of more than two years.

Geo. I.
 1718.

Great pre-
 parations in
 Spain.

This powerful fleet set sail the beginning of June: The
 design of it was not known but by the event. It was not
 doubted but the conquest of the kingdom of Naples was
 aimed at, and all possible measures had been taken to prevent
 it. Alberoni had deceived all Europe; for Sicily was what
 the cardinal intended to attack, and the reasons which de-
 termined him to it were very plausible.

In the first place, Sicily not belonging at that time to the
 emperor, this expedition seemed to give no handle to the
 courts of London and Paris, since, by their late treaties,
 they had only engaged to assist the emperor, in case his do-
 minions were attacked, and not the duke of Savoy, who
 was not supposed to be in danger. In the next place, the
 cardinal was informed of the duke's inclination to be recon-
 ciled with the emperor, and give him Sicily, without any re-
 gard to the rights of Spain. Lastly, Sicily not being in a
 state of defence, the conquest would be easy, and prepare the
 way for the others he intended to make.

During these preparations in Spain, king George had or-
 dered (as hath been said) a strong squadron to be fitted out
 in the spring. The marquis de Monteleone, the Spanish
 am-

A strong
 Squadron
 fitted out.

Geo. I. ambassador at the court of England, being alarmed at it. re-
 1718. presented, in a memorial dated the 18th of March, ' That
 so powerful an armament, in time of peace, could not but
 cause umbrage to the king his master, and alter the good in-
 telligence that reigned between the two crowns.' The king
 answered, ' It was not his intention to conceal the subject of
 that armament : And he designed soon to send admiral Byng
 with a powerful squadron into the Mediterranean, in order to
 maintain the neutrality of Italy, against those who should
 seek to disturb it.'

The qua-
 druple alli-
 ance.

In the mean time, the negotiations were carried on with
 all possible diligence. The abbot du Bois, in the name of
 the duke of Orleans, agreed with the British ministers at
 London upon the terms for an accommodation between the
 emperor and the king of Spain, and had frequent and long
 conferences on that Subject with the king. These negotia-
 tions produced at length the treaty called at first the Triple
 Alliance between Great Britain, France, and Holland, and,
 after the accession of the Emperor, stiled the Quadruple Alli-
 ance. As this treaty is one of the most remarkable events of
 this reign, and an evident proof of the ascendant which two
 politic princes in conjunction may have over the rest, it will
 not be improper to insert the plan and principal articles.

The design of the negotiation was declared to be the
 preservation of the public tranquillity, by removing the jea-
 lousies which were increasing between some of the princes
 of Europe. Then were settled the terms of a peace between
 the kings of Spain and Sicily and the emperor. These terms,
 accepted by the emperor, were followed by a separate treaty
 of alliance between him and the three powers, who so far
 concerned themselves in the peace, as to engage to compel,
 by force of arms, the kings of Spain and Sardinia to accept
 the conditions offered them.

The terms imposed on the emperor and Spain were con-
 tained in eight articles :

I. For quieting the disturbances raised contrary to the
 peace of Baden, and the neutrality of Italy, the king of
 Spain was to restore to the emperor, within two months af-
 ter the ratification of the treaty, the kingdom of Sardinia, and
 renounce all right and title to the same.

II. In consideration of this, and of king Philip's renun-
 ciation of the crown of France for himself and posterity, the
 emperor was also to renounce, for himself, heirs, and succes-
 sors, all right and pretensions to any dominions, of which the
 king

king of Spain was acknowledged rightful possessor by the Geo. I.
1718.
treaty of Utrecht.

III. In consequence of this renunciation, and because the duke of Orleans had renounced all right to the crown of Spain, on condition the emperor should never succeed to that kingdom, his imperial majesty was to acknowledge Philip V. lawful king of Spain and the Indies, and to give him the titles and prerogatives belonging to him as such.

IV. In return, his Catholic majesty was to renounce all rights and claims to the dominions of the emperor in Italy or the Netherlands; amongst which the marquisate of Final (yielded to the Genoese by the emperor in 1713) was to be comprehended. He was likewise to renounce the right of reversion of Sicily to the crown of Spain, which he had reserved to himself in the treaty of Utrecht.

V. The duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia were to be accounted for ever as male fiefs of the empire, and were to descend, in default of the male heirs, to the queen of Spain's eldest son. As the consent of the empire was necessary, the emperor was to use his utmost endeavours to obtain it. Leghorn was to remain a free port; and the king of Spain was to yield to his son the town Porto Longone, with what he possessed in the island of Elba, as soon as the prince of Spain should be in possession of Tuscany. None of these duchies was to be possessed by a prince who should at the same time be king of Spain, nor was the king of Spain ever to take upon himself the guardianship of that prince.

The mediators took several other precautions. It was never to be allowed, during the lives of the possessors of Tuscany and Parma, that any forces of any country whatsoever, whether their own or hired, should, either by the emperor, the kings of France or Spain, or even by the prince appointed to the succession, be introduced into any garrison, city, port, or town of those duchies. But, for security of the succession, six thousand Swiss were to be put into Leghorn, Porto Ferraro, Parma, and Placentia. His Britannic majesty was so convinced of the necessity of this expedient, that he offered to lend his own forces till the Swiss could be raised.

VI. The next article was of great importance, and was that with which king George and the duke of Orleans purchased (as may be said) at the expence of Spain and Savoy, the aid the emperor was to furnish in defence of the order of the succession so favourable to them. By this article, the king of Spain, for the sake of the public tranquillity, was to con-

Geo. I. consent, that the emperor should be put in possession of Sicily, and renounce the right of reversion of that kingdom settled by the instrument of cession, and the treaty of Utrecht, on condition however of having the reversion of Sardinia instead of it.

VII. and VIII. The emperor and king of Spain were to defend each other in the possession of their dominions, and to perform the conditions of this treaty within two months after ratification. After which all other points were to be settled at a congress.

The treaty between the emperor and the king of Sicily was of the same nature, only the mediators spoke more like sovereign arbiters from whom there was no appeal. The preamble ran in a very high strain. The mediators began with observing, That the cession of Sicily by the treaty of Utrecht to the house of Savoy, instead of promoting the peace, as was intended, had proved the chief obstacle of the emperor's refusing to accede to that treaty, as all Europe could witness. Wherefore (say the mediators) the powers, by whom the treaty of Utrecht was first set on foot, believe that article, which is not essential to the treaty, may justly be altered, even without the consent of the parties concerned, as it tends to the perfection of the treaty by the emperor's renunciation, and as by the exchange of Sicily for Sardinia the war will be prevented with which Italy is threatened, in case the emperor should attack Sicily, which he has never renounced, and which he has a right to recover after the breach of the neutrality of Italy by the seizure of Sardinia. It is therefore agreed.

I. The king of Sicily shall restore that kingdom to the emperor, within two months at farthest, after the ratification of this treaty.

II. In return, the emperor shall give to the king of Sicily the island of Sardinia, which he shall enjoy with the title of king; but the reversion, in default of heirs-male, shall be reserved to the crown of Spain.

As there was no proportion between Sardinia and Sicily, it was fit the emperor should seem at least to make some farther satisfaction. To this end, the mediators in the two next articles agreed, that the emperor should conform to the king of Sicily all the cessions made to him by the treaty of Turin in 1703, on condition, however, that all other claims, which

which he might have by that treaty, should be void. The emperor was likewise to acknowledge the right of the house of Savoy to succeed to the crown of Spain, in case of failure of heirs in Philip V. according to the renunciations and treaties of Utrecht. Geo. I.
1718.

But it signified little to make these regulations, if proper measures were not taken for their support and execution. In this the mediators were not wanting. France and the emperor, in conjunction with Great-Britain, promised mutual assistance to put the emperor in possession of Sicily, and to maintain the succession of the British crown in the Protestant branch, and to exclude the Spanish branch from the crown of Spain. To these engagements were to be added the particular measures that were to be taken, to induce or compel the kings of Spain and Sicily to submit to what had been determined for them, in concert with their enemy.

It was agreed to allow them three months to consider, which time was deemed sufficient to examine the conditions, and declare whether they would accept them, after the example of his imperial majesty, as unalterable terms to extinguish the present, and hinder a future war. But, if contrary to the wishes of all Europe, these two princes, after the expiration of the two months, refused to comply, the mediators were to join their forces, and compel them to submit.

It was expressly agreed, that, if one of the mediators should be attacked on account of the succours lent the emperor, the others should declare war against the aggressor, and not lay down their arms, till the emperor was in possession of Sicily, and secure as to his Italian dominions.

If one of the two kings should accept of the terms, he was to join with the mediators to compel the other to do the like. If the king of Spain refused to comply, the emperor was to be assisted in the conquest of Sardinia: If the king of Sicily refused, the emperor was to be enabled to subdue Sicily: If both stood out, Sicily was first to be attacked, and then Sardinia, the custody of which was to be left to the king of Great-Britain, till the duke of Savoy had agreed to the treaty.

After having settled the means of taking Sardinia from Spain, and Sicily from Savoy, the penalties were fixed, in case these two princes should carry their resistance so far, as to make it necessary to have recourse to arms. The emperor was allowed to recover that part of Milan, yielded to Savoy by the treaty of Turin; and it was to be agreed to what other prince the emperor should give the eventual investiture of

Geo. I. of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, in exclusion of the queen of Spain's sons.

To shew, however, that nothing but peace was intended, it was agreed, that the emperor (whatever progress his arms might make) should be contented with the advantages stipulated for him: But, if he could not recover Sicily by arms or treaty, he was to be free from any engagement entered into by this treaty, of consenting to make peace with the kings of Spain and Sardinia. It was moreover agreed, that the emperor, when in possession of Sicily, should renounce all pretensions to Spain and the Indies, whether king Philip consented or not to the peace, since the guaranty of the mediators would be to the emperor a security equal to the renunciations of the king of Spain for Sicily, the Italian dominions, and the Netherlands.

Such was the Quadruple Alliance, by which king George and the duke of Orleans intended to preserve the tranquillity of Europe: But, contrary to their expectations, it proved the occasion of all the quarrels and disputes which afterwards ensued between Great-Britain and Spain.

The States-general, in whose name this decisive treaty was made, did not absolutely refuse to ratify it, but under various pretences suspended their consent. They did not approve of such violent measures; And, having no particular interest in the quarrel, were willing rather to proceed by fair means (b).

To

(b) A letter from a Swiss to his friend at Geneva, concerning the part the States-general ought to act, as to the differences between the emperor and Spain, was published about this time, wherein a brief account is first given of what had passed in the affair, and then the reasons why the States are not obliged to enter into any alliance about it.

‘ Whilst the emperor (says the letter) was in the heat of war with the Turks, the king of Spain, thinking it a favourable opportunity for pushing his

pretensions, resolved not to let it slip. He armed with all possible diligence, and with all the secrecy things of that nature are capable of. He caused all the men of war he had to be made fit for the service, new ones to be built, others to be bought; he gathered together all the transports he possibly could; he reinforced considerably his old regiments, raised new; and, in short, attacked the island of Sardinia, which you know he made himself master of.

What did the king of Spain do in this interval? Why, he drew

To this treaty were added still more effectual methods: Geo. I. King George offered his mediation to the Grand Seignior for 1718.

a peace

Peace between the emperor and the grand sultan.

drew up and published a manifesto to justify his recourse to arms.

The marquis Beretti Landi (whose departure is still lamented here) presented a memorial to the States-general, wherein, after having exhibited the reasons which prevailed with the king of Spain to attack Sardinia, he offered, in the most obliging manner in the world, in the king his master's name, to put all his concerns into their hands, and to accept of them for mediators.

The States-general were, indeed, sensible of his Catholic majesty's generosity; but considering, that it was an affair which did not particularly concern them, and that that mediation might directly or indirectly entangle them in the quarrel, they concluded, that it was not their business to undertake it at any rate; and thereupon they answered the marquis Beretti Landi in very general terms.

What happened afterwards? Why, England and France, acting with the laudable design of preventing the disorders which this kindling war would infallibly be attended with, enter upon measures agreeable to such a design. In this view, the abbot du Bois was sent to London; the affair was there canvassed; projects of accommodation were formed; care was taken to let the emperor know soon what they were; colonel Stanhope was sent to Madrid, to communicate the proposals to

his Catholic majesty, or at least to sound him upon them. But hitherto not one word was spoken to the States-general: Far from consulting them, or hearing their sentiments of the matter, or acting in concert with them, or desiring them (in conjunction with themselves) to contribute to the re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe; far from all this, I say, a profound silence was kept as to their part; they were carefully deprived of the knowledge of whatsoever was done: In a word, the States-general were not in the question.

But neither was this all; for, after having well examined and debated upon the articles of peace between the emperor and the kings of Spain and Sicily, they were committed to writing, and a treaty of alliance was thereupon concluded between France, England, and the States-general, the chief end whereof was to engage, by all possible methods, the emperor and the kings of Spain and Sicily to subscribe to the conditions expressed in the said treaty.

This treaty being made between France and England, it was sent to Vienna, Madrid, and Turin, to be approved and accepted; and then only, after all these steps, it was proposed to the States-general.

Thus you have an account, in few words, how all things were transacted. I shall shew you by and by, that their high-

nighti-

Geo. I. a peace between him and the emperor : The mediation was
1718. accepted, and a treaty signed at Passarowitz.

A fleet or-
dered to the
Mediterra-
nean.

Whilst these things were transacting, the king, as he had declared to the Spanish ambassador, ordered a fleet, strong enough to oppose the progress of the Spaniards, to sail for the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir George Byng.

The fleet being ready at Spithead, Sir George Byng went to Portsmouth, where he received his instructions, dated the 26th of May (c). These instructions were as follow :

The admi-
ral's in-
structions.

I. Whereas the crown of Great-Britain, by the several treaties made at Utrecht, the 14th day of March 1713, N. S. with

mightinesses are not any way obliged to enter into the said treaty. For this end, we have nothing to do but to examine whether the terms of accommodation, contained in the said treaty, are reasonable and equitable or not ; for even supposing, that they are both the one and the other, I affirm, that the State is not obliged by any engagement to enter into that alliance, and that it is its interest not to meddle by any means, and that for several reasons.

In the first place, as their high-mightinesses never set up as guarantees for the neutrality of Italy, so nothing obliges them to make steps, in order to restore peace there.

Secondly, Since their high-mightinesses refused to accept the mediation which the king of Spain so civilly offered them, because they were afraid of bringing themselves into a scrape, they have much stronger reasons to refuse to come into the treaty above-mentioned, now that the king of Spain appears unwilling to accept it, as it is ; for them to act otherwise would be to declare themselves parties,

after having refused to be mediators, and, without the least necessity, to fall out with his Catholic majesty, of whom, hitherto, they have no manner of reason to complain.

In the third place, It is incontrovertably certain, that this state ought, with all imaginable care, to avoid whatever may involve it in a new war.

However, the States-general, after all the endeavours of the Spanish ambassador to retard the conclusion of the treaty, did at last accede to the quadruple alliance on the 22d of December, N. S.

(c) The instructions were inclosed in a letter from secretary Craggs :

Cockpit, May 27th,
O. S. 1718.

S I R,

I inclose to you his majesty's instructions, as well with relation to your conduct in the Mediterranean, as to the treaty with the Moors.

After what passed yesterday between my lord Sunderland,
my

with the emperor and the late most Christian king, became obliged to see an exact observation of the armistice and neutrality then established in Italy, and was guarantee for the full performance of the stipulations at that time solemnly agreed to on that head: And whereas, by a treaty made between Us and our good brother the emperor of Germany, at Westminster, the 25th day of May 1716, we stand engaged to assist, maintain, and defend him in the possession of all the kingdoms, provinces, and rights, which he then actually enjoyed in Europe: And whereas the Catholic king hath, in an hostile manner, invaded the territories belonging to the said emperor, and, by force of arms, hath taken from him the island and kingdom of Sardinia, and is still making great and warlike preparations for carrying on his designs further against the other dominions belonging to his imperial majesty in Italy, contrary to the tenor of the aforesaid treaties: And whereas, since this unhappy rupture, we, as a friend to both parties, have not ceased to employ our best offices, in order to accommodate the differences, and put an end to this war, which, if continued, will endanger the public tranquillity of the rest of Europe: And whereas we have made particular and earnest instances with our good brother the king of Spain, that he would consent to a suspension of arms, during which the negotiations for peace might be more easily and effectually carried on: And whereas his said Catholic majesty hath appeared to us not averse to the suspending his further enterprises, and thereby facilitating our good offices towards a happy accommodation: We therefore, for the better fulfilling the several engagements we lie under by the treaties aforementioned, and for promoting, in the best and most effectual manner, the measures that may tend to the bringing about an entire reconciliation and perfect friendship between the said parties now engaged in war, and thereby putting a stop to the fatal consequences, which might otherwise ensue from these hostilities, have thought it fit and necessary, for the purposes aforesaid, and for the welfare of Europe in gene-

my lord Stanhope, you and me, and am, with great truth,
when we were together at lord
Stanhope's lodgings, there re-
mains nothing for me but to
wish you a good voyage, and
good success in your undertak-
ings. I do it very heartily,

S I R,

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

J. CRAGGS.

Geo. I. 1718. ral, to send a strong fleet of our ships of war into the Mediterranean under your command.

II. You are therefore, upon the receipt of these our instructions, forthwith to proceed to the Mediterranean with our said fleet; and, being arrived in the Streights, you shall immediately give notice to the Catholic king, by our minister residing at his court, of your arrival in those seas, and that you are instructed, in our name, to promote all measures, that may best contribute to the composing the differences that are arisen between him and the emperor.

III. You shall from thence, without loss of time, wind and weather permitting, proceed to Port-Mahon, and, being arrived there, you shall by express give advice of the same to the viceroy of the kingdom of Naples, and to the governor of the duchy of Milan, and let them know the purport of your instructions, that you are come with our fleet into those parts, to make good our treaties with the emperor, and to hinder the further violation of the same by the arms of the Catholic king: And to that end you will hold a correspondence with the said viceroy and governor during your stay in the Mediterranean, and let them know, that you are to take measures in concert with them, for preventing any further breach of the neutrality of Italy, which by our treaty we are obliged to see preserved: And, as you may probably at Port-Mahon get the best intelligence of the preparations and proceedings both of the imperialists and the Spaniards, you will accordingly take such stations with our fleet under your command, as may be most proper to obstruct any new hostilities, and to put these our instructions in execution.

IV. And as a suspension of arms, and a forbearance of all acts of hostility on each side, in those parts, is absolutely necessary for the setting on foot and concluding the proper negotiations of peace, you are accordingly to make instances with both parties to cease from using any further acts of hostility. But, in case the Spaniards do still insist, with their ships of war and forces, to attack the kingdom of Naples, or other the territories of the emperor in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a design to invade the emperor's dominions, against whom only they have declared war by invading Sardinia; or, if they should endeavour to make themselves masters of the kingdom of Sicily, which must be with a design to invade the kingdom of Naples; in such case you are, with all your power, to hinder and obstruct the same. But if it should so happen, that at your arrival, with our fleet under your command, in the Mediterranean,

near, the Spaniards should already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the emperor's territories, you shall endeavour amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt, and offer them your assistance to help them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all further acts of hostility. But, in case these your friendly endeavours should prove ineffectual, you shall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ships or convoy, or, if it be necessary, by openly opposing them, defend the emperor's territories from any further attempt.

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V. And whereas we have thought it for our service to send four battalions of our forces on board our fleet under your command; upon your arrival at our town of Port-Mahon, you are to put the said four battalions on shore there, to relieve the garrisons in our island of Minorca; and you are to take the said garrisons on board your ships of war, in order to employ the same in such a manner, and according to such instructions, as you shall receive from us.

VI. And whereas we have thought fit to recall our trusty and well-beloved Charles Cornwall, Esq; whom we had appointed our plenipotentiary for concluding a peace with the Moors, and have impowered you to renew that negotiation, you are therefore to dispose of the ships now under the command of the said vice-admiral Cornwall, and employ the whole squadron, or any part thereof, in the manner you shall judge most proper for promoting the several respective services, wherein you are employed in the Mediterranean.

The admiral sailed the 4th of June from Spithead with twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, an hospital-ship, and a store-ship. Being got into the ocean, he sent the Rupert to Lisbon for intelligence, and, arriving on the 30th, N. S. off Cape St. Vincent, he dispatched the Superbe to Cadiz with Mr. Allix his secretary, who carried a letter from him to colonel Stanhope (the present earl of Harrington) the king's envoy at Madrid, wherein he desired that minister to acquaint the king of Spain with his arrival in those parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the instructions he was to act under with his squadron, of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter. The envoy shewed the letter to cardinal Alberoni, who, upon reading it, told him with some warmth, 'That his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than recall his troops, or consent to any suspension of arms:' adding, 'That the Spaniards

He sailed
from Spit-
head,
June 4.

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were not to be frightened; and he was so well convinced of their fleet's doing their duty, that, if the admiral should think fit to attack them, he should be in no pain for the success.' Mr. Stanhope, having in his hand a list of the British Squadron, desired his eminence to peruse it, and to compare its strength with that of their own Squadron; which the cardinal took, and threw on the ground with much passion. Mr. Stanhope, with great temper, desired him 'to consider the sincere attention, which the king his master had always had to the honour and interest of his Catholic majesty, which it was impossible for him to give greater proofs of, than he had done by his unwearied endeavours, through the whole course of the present negotiations, to procure the most advantageous conditions possible for Spain, in which he had succeeded even beyond what any unprejudiced person could have hoped for; and that, though by the treaty of Utrecht for the neutrality of Italy, which was entered into at the request of the king of Spain himself; as also by that of Westminster the 25th of May, 1716, his majesty found himself obliged to defend the emperor's dominions, when attacked; he had hitherto only acted as a mediator, though, ever since the enterprise against Sardinia, by his treaties he became a party in the war, and for this year last past had been strongly called upon by the emperor to comply with these engagements; and that even now, when it was impossible for him to delay any longer the sending his fleet into the Mediterranean, it plainly appeared by the admiral's instructions, which he communicated to his eminence, and by the orders he had himself received, that his majesty had nothing more at heart, than that his fleet might be employed in promoting the interests of the king of Spain; and hoped his Catholic majesty would not, by refusing to recall his troops, or consent to a cessation of arms, put it out of his power to give all the proofs of the sincere friendship he always desired to cultivate with his Catholic majesty.' All that the cardinal could be brought to promise, was to lay the admiral's letter before the king, and to let the envoy know his resolution upon it in two days: But it was nine days before he could obtain and send it away, the cardinal probably hoping, that the admiral would delay, in expectation of it, in some of the ports of Spain, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to secure a good footing in Sicily. The answer was wrote under the admiral's letter, in these words: 'His Catholic majesty has done me the honour to tell me, that the Chevalier Byng may execute the

the orders, which he has from the king his master. Escu- Geo. I.
rial, 15 July, 1718. 1718.

The cardinal Alberoni.'

Mr. Stanhope, seeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehensions to the English consuls and merchants, settled in the Spanish sea-port towns, advising them to guard and secure their effects against any danger of a breach between the two crowns.

The admiral pursuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the 8th of July, N. S. before he made Cape Spartel, where the *Superbe* and *Rupert* rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations which the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and of their fleet sailing from thence the 18th of June, N. S. to the eastward. In passing by Gibraltar, vice-admiral Cornwall came out and joined him, with the *Argyle* and *Charles* galley. The squadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape Malaga, where having compleated their watering in four days, they proceeded to Minorca, where the admiral was to land four regiments of foot, which he carried out from England, in order to relieve the soldiers there in garrison, who were to imbarck, and serve in the squadron. On the 23d of July, N. S. he anchored with the squadron off Port-Mahon. Here he received advice, that the Spanish fleet had been seen, the 30th of June, within forty leagues of Naples, steering south-east: Upon which he dispatched away expresses to the governor of Milan, and viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; and, having shifted the garrisons of Minorca, he sailed from thence the 25th of July, N. S. and arrived the first of August in the bay of Naples.

It is impossible to express the joy of those people, at the long-wished for sight of a fleet, which alone could assure their safety. They had been under the greatest terrors, expecting that the prodigious armament of Spain would have fallen upon that kingdom: And, though their fears were relieved for the present by the descent of the Spaniards into Sicily, yet the rapidity, with which they had over-run the greatest part of that island, and a reasonable suspicion, that the duke of Savoy would not much expose his troops to defend the remainder of a country, which, by the terms of the Quadruple Alliance, was to be taken from him, and given to a potentate, whose power in Italy he dreaded, made them look for the enemy soon

Geo. I. in Naples, where the strong part, that had appeared among
 1718. the Sicilian nobility for Spain, made them apprehend, that
 no less a faction would rise in their favour, upon their invading that kingdom, where the Germans had but twelve (some say eight) thousand men, and the whole country was ill provided for defence. The common people indeed were generally in the interest of the house of Austria, which was greatly owing to the prudent government of the marshal count Daun, their viceroy, a man endowed with all the qualities fit for that high employment, and the same person, who had defended Turin so well, when it was besieged by the duke of Orleans in 1706, till it was relieved by the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene. He was of a courteous and affable disposition, but exact and steady in the administration of justice; by which means he had suppressed the banditti, who used to infest the country; and had put a stop to the murders, that were so frequent in the city, not suffering the churches to exercise their infamous claim of sanctuary for such flagitious crimes. He did not indeed affect that shew of grandeur, which the Italians are fond of; but, as his frugal manner of living freed him from the necessity of oppressing them, so there was never any complaint of that kind against him. He was very zealous for the interests of his master, which he promoted by just and wise measures; and a certain conformity of manners, wherein he and the admiral resembled each other, begat such a quick confidence and friendship between them, as helped to carry on the service of the common cause with unusual harmony and dispatch.

The fleet sailing with a gentle gale into the bay of Naples, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line of battle, most of them great ships, and three of them bearing flags, afforded such a spectacle, as had never been seen in those parts before. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation. The shore was crowded with multitudes of coaches and people; and such an infinite number of boats came off, some with provisions and refreshments, others out of curiosity and admiration, that the sea between the fleet at anchor and the shore was literally covered. The viceroy, being incommoded with the gout, sent colonel count Hamilton to make his compliments to the admiral, and to let him know the feeble condition he was in; but that, nevertheless, he intended to come off, and make him a visit. The admiral returned the civility by his first captain, who, waiting on the viceroy, told him, the admiral was sensible of the honour he intended him, but desired he would not give himself the trouble,

trouble, especially as he was ill ; and that he would immediately wait on his excellency. The admiral going ashore, attended by the flag-officers and captains in their boats, was saluted, at his landing, by all the cannon round the city and castles, and was carried to the duke de Matalone's palace, which had been prepared for his reception during his stay at Naples. From thence he was conducted to court through an infinite throng of people, with the greatest acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies paid to a viceroy ; where entering into conference with count Daun, he learnt that the Spanish army, consisting of about thirty thousand men, commanded by the marquís de Lede, had landed the second of July, N. S. in Sicily, and had soon made themselves masters of the city and castles of Palermo, and of great part of the island ; that they had taken the town of Messina. and were then carrying on the siege of the citadel ; that the viceroy did not know, how far the Piedmontese garrison was to be depended on ; but that they must soon be obliged to surrender, if not relieved. That the last letters he had received from Vienna gave hopes, that the king of Sicily might be entered, by this time, into a particular alliance with the emperor, having desired the assistance of his troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel. The next morning the viceroy visited the admiral, and, renewing their conference on the measures to be taken in that conjuncture of affairs, it was agreed, that the viceroy should send general Wetzel with two thousand German foot in tartans to Messina, to relieve the citadel and fort St. Salvador ; and, as the admiral was directed by his orders to obstruct any attempts of the Spaniards on Sicily, he consented to take those troops under his protection ; and, accordingly, the transports being got ready, he sailed with them the 6th of August, N. S. from Naples, and arrived the 9th in view of the Faro off Messina.

Here the admiral paused. He saw with concern a new war rekindled in Europe by the ambition of Spain : He weighed with deep consideration the consequences of his instructions. which made a rupture with that nation unavoidable, if they persisted in their enterprise on Sicily ; and being ardently desirous of trying every method of negotiation, before he proceeded to the extremity of his orders, he dispatched captain Saunders, his first captain, to Messina, with a letter to the marquís de Lede, acquainting him, ' That the king his master, being engaged by several treaties to preserve the tranquillity of Italy, had honoured him with the

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command of a squadron of ships, which he had sent into those seas ; and that he came fully impowered and instructed to promote such measures as might best accommodate all differences between the powers concerned. That his majesty was employing his utmost endeavours to bring about a general pacification, and was not without hopes of success. He therefore proposed to him to come to a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the several courts to conclude on such resolutions, as might restore a lasting peace.' But he added, 'That, if he was not so happy to succeed in this offer of service, nor to be instrumental in bringing about so desirable a work, he should then hope to merit his excellency's esteem in the execution of the other part of his orders, which were, to use all his force to prevent farther attempts to disturb the dominions his master stood engaged to defend.' The next morning the captain returned with the general's answer, 'That it would be an inexpressible joy for his person to contribute to so laudable an end as peace ; but, as he had no powers to treat, he could not of consequence agree to any suspension of arms, even at the expence of what the courage of his master's arms might be put to ; but should follow his orders, which directed him to seize on Sicily for his master the king of Spain. That he had a true sense of his accomplished expressions ; but his master's forces would always be universally esteemed in sacrificing themselves for the preservation of their credit, in which cases the success did not always answer the ideas that were formed.

The Spanish
fleet defeated
by admiral
Byng:
Hist. Reg.
Corbet.

The admiral had received intelligence, that the Spanish fleet departed from Paradise (which is a road at the entrance of the harbour of Messina) the day before his arrival off the Faro, which made him conclude, that they were retired to Malta ; and therefore, upon receiving the marquiss de Lede's answer, he immediately sailed, with intention to come with his squadron before Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel ; but, as he stood in about the point of the Faro towards Messina, he saw two of the Spanish scouts in the Faro ; and being informed at the same time by a felucca, which came off from the Calabrian shore, that they saw from the hills the Spanish fleet lying by, the admiral altered his design, and sending away general Wetzell with the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he stood through the Faro with his squadron, with all the sail he could, after their scouts, imagining they would lead him to their fleet, which accordingly they did ;

for

for before noon he had a fight of their whole fleet lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, consisting of twenty-seven sail of men of war, small and great, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, seven gallies, and several ships laden with stores and provisions, commanded by the admiral Don Antonio de Castaneta, and under him four rear-admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevaro, and Cammock. On the sight of the English squadron, they stood away large, but in order of battle. The admiral followed them all the rest of that day, and the succeeding night, with small gales north-easterly, and sometimes calm, with fair weather. The next morning early, the 11th of August, N. S. the English being got pretty near up with them, the marquiss de Mari, rear-admiral, with six Spanish men of war, and all the gallies, fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and store-ships, separated from their main-fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore; upon which admiral Byng detached captain Walton, in the Canterbury, with five more ships, after them; and the Argyle and Canterbury getting within gun-shot of the headmost ship, about six in the morning, the Argyle fired a shot to bring her to; which she not minding, the Argyle fired another, and the Canterbury, being somewhat nearer, fired another, upon which the Spanish ship fired her stern-chace at the Canterbury, and then the engagement began. The admiral pursuing the main body of the Spanish fleet, the Orford, captain Falkingham, and the Grafton, captain Haddock, came up first with them about ten o'clock, at whom the Spaniards fired their stern-chace guns. The admiral sent orders to those two ships not to fire, unless the Spaniards repeated their firing; which they doing, the Orford attacked the Santa Rosa of sixty-four guns, and took her. The St. Carlos of sixty guns struck next, without much opposition, to the Kent, captain Matthews. The Grafton attacked warmly the Prince of Asturias of seventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was rear-admiral Chacon; but the Bredah, captain Barrow-Harris, and the Captain, captain Archibald Hamilton, coming up, Haddock left that ship much shattered for them to take, and stretched a-head after another ship of sixty guns, which had kept firing on his star-board bow, during his engagement with the Prince of Asturias. About one o'clock the Kent, and soon after the Superbe, captain Master, came up with, and engaged the Spanish admiral of seventy-four guns, who, with two ships more, fired on them, and made a running fight till about three, and then the Kent bearing down upon him, and under

Geo. I. der his stern, gave him her broadside, and fell to the lee-
 1718. ward. Afterwards the Superbe, putting for it to lay the admiral aboard, fell on his weather quarter, upon which the Spanish admiral shifting his helm, the Superbe ranged up under his lee-quarter, on which he struck to her. At the same time the Barfleur, in which was the admiral, being a-stern of the Spanish Admiral within shot, and inclining on his weather-quarter, rear-admiral Guevara, and another sixty gun ship, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadsides, and then clapped upon a wind, standing in for the land. The admiral immediately tacked and stood after them, until it was almost night; but there being little wind, and they galing away out of his reach, he left pursuing them, and stood in to the fleet, which he joined two hours after night. The Essex, captain Rowzier, took the Juno of thirty-six guns; the Mountague, captain Beverley, and the Rupert, Captain Field, took the Volante of forty-four guns; and rear-admiral Delaval in the Dorsetshire took the Isabella of sixty guns. This action happened off Cape Passaro, about six leagues distance from the shore. The English received but little damage. The ship that suffered most was the Grafton, which being a good sailer, her captain engaged several ships of the enemy, always pursuing the headmost, and leaving those ships which he had disabled or damaged, to be taken by those that followed him. Admiral Byng lay by some days at sea, to refit the rigging of his ships, and to repair the damages the prizes had sustained; and the 18th received a letter from captain Walton, giving an account, that he had taken four Spanish men of war; one of sixty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Mari, one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb-vessel, and a ship laden with arms; and burnt four men of war; one of fifty-four guns, two of forty, and one of thirty-six guns, with a fire-ship and a bomb-vessel (a.)

(a) Captain Walton was one, whose natural talents were fitter for atchieving a gallant action, than describing one; yet his letter, on this occasion, carries in it such a strain of military eloquence, that it is worth inserting here:

SIR,

“ We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships
 “ and vessels, which were upon
 “ the coast, the number as per
 “ margin.”

I am, &c.

Canterbury, off Syracuse,
 16 Aug. 1718.

G. WALTON.
 The.

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The admiral, having thus received a full account of the whole transaction, dispatched away his eldest son, Mr. Byng, to England; who, arriving at Hampton-Court in fifteen days from Naples, brought the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported, and upon which the king had already written a letter to the admiral with his own hand (b). Mr. Byng met with a most gracious reception from the king, who made him a handsome present; and sent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father to negotiate with the several princes and states of Italy, as there should be occasion, and with his royal grant to the officers and seamen of all the prizes taken by them from the Spaniards.

The admiral's proceedings after the battle.

The conduct of the Spaniards in the action of Passaro did not answer the vigour of the resolutions they had taken before it. Upon notice of the approach of the English squadron, they held a consultation, in which the question was not, Whether they should fight or retreat, but in what station they should expect them? Whether go out from Messina to meet them, or pass through the Faro to the southward, and, lying by in order of battle, receive them there? Which latter opinion prevailed. But, when the admiral came up near to them, they soon abandoned their order of battle, and falling into confusion and uncertainty, whether to resist or fly, by doing neither they became an easy prey, and the English might be rather said to have made a seizure, than to have gained a victory. There was indeed some disproportion in the strength of the two fleets; but the inequality was not such as deterred the Spaniards from a resolution of fighting, though it was but ill supported afterwards in the execution. But this justice is due to the admiral Castaneta, and to rear-

Remarks on the conduct of the Spaniards. Corbet.

(b) The letter was in French, and may be thus translated:

Monfieur le chevalier Byng.

'Though I have not yet heard from you directly, I am informed of the victory which the fleet has gained under your command, and I was unwilling to delay the satisfaction that my approbation of your conduct might afford you. I thank you for it, and desire you to express my satisfaction to all the brave

people who have signalized themselves on this occasion. Secretary Craggs has orders to inform you more at large of my intentions, but I was pleased to assure you myself that I am,

Monfieur le chevalier Byng,

Your good friend,

Hampton-Court,
Aug. 23, 1718.

GEORGE R.
admiral

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admiral Chacon, that they made as good a defence with their own ships, as could be expected, and the former was wounded in both legs. It was reported, that, at a consultation of the Spanish admirals, rear-admiral Cammock gave his opinion, that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, ranging their ships in a line of battle, with their broadsides to the sea; which measure would certainly have given the English Admiral infinite trouble to attack them. For the coast is so bold, that the largest ships could ride with a cable ashore; and, further out, the currents are so various and rapid, that it would have been hardly practicable to get up to them, but impossible to anchor or lie by them in order of battle. Besides, they lay so near the shore, and could have received such assistance of soldiers from the army to man and defend them; and the annoyance, which the Spaniards might have given from the several batteries they could have planted along the shore, would have been such, that the only way of attacking the ships seemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being cast off by the currents, which would have been a hazardous undertaking, wherein the Spaniards would have had many advantages, and the English admiral have run the chance of destroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he succeeded, very dear (c).

Ad-

(c) Mr. Corbet, in his account of the expedition to Sicily, inserts here the following digression concerning the affairs of the Spaniards:

The counsels of Spain were, at this time, under the management of two Italians, the queen and the abbot Alberoni, whom she had raised to the dignity of cardinal and prime minister. They had vast designs in their view, and, by secret intrigues with the king of Sicily, and other Italian princes and states, had laid no less a scheme, than to exterminate the house of Austria and the imperial power out of Italy. And it was thought to be owing to the doubts they had of the sincerity of the king of Sicily, that the storm fell first

upon his dominions, which was intended elsewhere. The armament they fitted out was suitable to the greatness of the undertaking; never any nation sent to sea an army so numerous, so well appointed, and so provided with all necessaries for a distant expedition; the least implement was not forgotten. All which was owing to the indefatigable care of don Joseph Patinho, a man of great abilities, who went in the expedition, and had the absolute direction and management of the whole enterprise, except the military command. The world was amazed to see Spain exerting a vigour she had not shewn for above a century past. Some of the principal prisoners, and Castaneta

Admiral Byng, having collected his ships after the action, Geo. I.
put into Syracuse, the 19th of August, N. S. where he found 1718.
cap-

Staneta himself, assured the admiral that they intended, the summer following, to have at sea fifty sail of the line of battle; which the great preparations in the ports of Biscay, and other ports of Spain, made very probable. Those in Biscay, which were one man of war of seventy guns, and two of sixty, newly built, with an incredible quantity of timber, pitch and tar, and other naval stores, for building more, were all destroyed by an English squadron, assisted by a detachment which the duke of Berwick spared from his army, at the solicitation of colonel Stanhope, the English minister, who contrived the design, and, serving as a volunteer in the enterprise, principally contributed to the execution of it.

It should seem but ill policy in a court, intent on such mighty designs, to provoke and irritate, without cause, a nation, the most capable in the world of thwarting and defeating them. And yet they seemed to make it a studied point to vex and distress the English by all manner of ways in their commerce, inso-much that their trade with Spain was almost ruined and lost. They demanded arbitrary and heavy duties from the English factories residing in their ports, from which the treaties expressly exempted them; and, upon refusal of payment, their houses were surrounded by soldiers, their warehouses and chests broke open, and their goods sold at public outcry. The

royal officers used them with such injustice and insolence, as if they knew, they made their court by so doing. Every post brought complaints to the English minister at Madrid, of new grievances and oppressions. The memorials delivered to that court for redress were numberless, without the least regard had to them. When any transportation of troops was intended, they immediately embargoed all the English merchant-ships in their ports, compelling their masters, with great circumstances of severity, to enter into their service, imprisoning them in common goals, if they refused, and obliging them to unload their cargoes, though perishable, and consigned to other markets. They proceeded so far in their unjust treatment, that their cruizers brought into the ports of Spain whatever English merchant-ships they met with in the open sea, though bound to Italy or other parts, and compelled them to unload their cargoes and enter into their service. Such, as were not used by them for transports, had their seamen taken away to serve in their men of war. Rear-admiral Cammock pressed no less than sixty for his own ship, and one of the masters, endeavouring to keep his men, had both his ears cut off. The battle of Passaro was fortunate to those poor people, for, when the issue of it was known, forty-five English transports made their escape from Messina to Reggio, several of them

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captain Walton and his prizes. Syracuse was at that time blocked up by a detachment of the Spanish army, into which city count Maffei, the duke of Savoy's viceroy, had retreated with difficulty from Palermo, and had in the place a numerous garrison. But the first and principal point of the Spanish general was to get Messina into his hands, as the safest port for their fleet, and the most proper place to facilitate and secure the conquest of the rest of the island, and from whence they designed to transport their numerous horse, and the greatest part of their foot, over to Calabria, and to have carried the war into the kingdom of Naples. The citadel of Messina was defended by a Piedmontese garrison, commanded by the marquis d'Andorno; but the duke of Savoy, being unable to support the siege, had solicited the emperor for his assistance, and a convention was made between the viceroy of Naples and the count de Bourge, resident of Savoy, whereby the viceroy was to send a detachment of German troops, to be admitted into the citadel on joint and equal terms of command; for which service baron Wetzel was dispatched away with two thousand foot, as had been before related. But the success of the English fleet had raised such a confidence in the garrison, of their security against any attempts from the Spaniards, that the resident endeavoured to elude an agreement, the necessity of which he thought no longer subsisted, pretending want of power to make such a concession without an equivalent, but that he would write to his court for further orders. This coming to admiral Byng's knowledge, he represented in strong terms to count Maffei, 'the unfairness of such a proceeding, and how contrary it was to what he himself had agreed to, in their conference together the day before, upon that subject. That such a disagreement, at a time when the citadel was so vigorously attacked by the enemy, might be a means of their taking it, which the reputation of the English fleet would not suffer him to be an idle spectator of; and therefore, if he was resolved to stay till he had instructions from the court of Turin, he should likewise send to his court for farther orders; and, in the mean time, would retire from the island to some other place, to refresh his men,

them laden with military stores and provisions; and, their masters applying to the admiral, he granted them a convoy to the ports in Italy, where they defired to go; but some chose to stay, and enter into the emperor's service, to transport his troops from Genoa and Naples to Sicily.

and

and refit his ships, till he should receive new directions from Geo. I. England.' This had such an effect upon the viceroy, that he gave immediate orders for putting the agreement into execution, and for admitting the German troops into the citadel. This point being adjusted, the admiral (having sent away vice-admiral Cornwall, with such of his ships as wanted refitting, and all the prizes, to Port-Mahon, with orders not to suffer the least embezzlement to be made, but to preserve every thing entire, till the king's pleasure should be known) sailed himself, on the 23d of August, N. S. from Syracuse, and arrived, the 26th, at Reggio, where general Wetzel informing him, that he hourly expected a reinforcement of four thousand men from Naples, which, with those he had with him, and the garrison in the citadel, would make about nine thousand men, and, upon their arrival, he should form a project for raising the siege of the citadel, if the admiral would stay to countenance and protect him with his fleet: he readily consented, knowing the extreme importance of not letting Messina fall into the hands of the enemy, and being directed by fresh orders from England to do all he could to prevent it. But, those forces proving insufficient for the execution of the intended project, the general contented himself with supplying the citadel from time to time with fresh troops from Reggio; notwithstanding which the Spaniards pushed on the siege with so much vigour and success, that the governor surrendered the city by capitulation, on the 29th of September, N. S. to the great surprise and dissatisfaction of the Germans. The Piedmontese part of the garrison was transported by sea to Syracuse, and the Germans to Reggio.

Admiral Byng received advice, that rear-admiral Cammock with three Spanish men of war, and as many frigates, which had escaped from the battle, was at Malta, and that a rich English merchant-ship, homeward bound from Turkey, was detained in the port, and in some danger; as likewise five Sicilian gallies, which had taken refuge there ever since the arrival of the Spanish fleet in Sicily; he stood over to that island, where he learnt, that rear-admiral Cammock had sailed from thence five days before with four ships, which he had cleaned there. The marquis de Rivaroles, general of the Sicilian gallies, coming off to the admiral, made great complaints of the partiality and ill usage of that government, in suffering him to be exposed to daily affronts from the Spaniards, and prayed his protection and assistance to get away from thence; upon which the admiral sent his first captain with

Geo. I. with his compliments to the grand master, and desired, that
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The grand master sent off three great crosses of the order to the admiral, and, with much politeness, gave him all the assurances possible of freedom for the gallies to do what they pleased; upon which the admiral sent word to the marquis to come out. But he returning an answer, that the Spanish ships had laid themselves in the way to stop his passage, and threatened to sink him if he offered to stir, the admiral sent to the grand master a second message, that if he suffered the neutrality of the ports to be violated, or any ill-treatment to be given to the gallies, he should take the measures, that would be necessary on that occasion; but the grand master protesting that no violence should be used, and that he would be answerable for it, the admiral sent again to the marquis to come out, assuring him, that, if the Spaniards offered the least obstruction, he would assist him to destroy them in the very port. But, the marquis continuing under great perplexity and terror, the admiral, tired with his delay, sent him word, that he was well satisfied of the honour of the grand master in preserving the privilege of the port; and therefore, if he would not make use of the present opportunity, he should suspect, that his fears were affected, and used only as an artifice to stay there, and would give himself no farther trouble about him; and accordingly weighed, in order to depart; but this message wrought so much upon the marquis, that he immediately hastened out with his gallies, without any obstruction from the Spaniards; but they were in so miserable a condition, that the admiral was forced to lend them seamen and pilots to navigate them, and caulkers to stop their leaks. The Turkey ship came out likewise, and joined the admiral, who sent the gallies under a convoy to Syracuse; and, having seen the Turkey merchant-ship clear of danger, he arrived the 2d of November, N. S. in the bay of Naples, from whence he sent rear-admiral Delaval, with two eighty-gun ships and a fire-ship, home to England. Here the count de Luzan, son-in-law to the marquis de Rialp, secretary of state at Vienna, brought the admiral a gracious letter from the emperor, written with his own hand, and his picture set round with large brilliant diamonds.

The taking of Messina was a point of great consequence, as it made the Spaniards masters of all Sicily, except Syracuse, Trapani, and Melazzo (where the duke of Savoy had still garrisons) and as it deprived the English fleet of a port
to

to winter in, there being no other good harbour in those parts. The emperor saw before him a difficult task, to get possession of an island, which the quadruple alliance had designed for him. The duke of Savoy had only the three aforementioned towns to deliver up, which he scrupled doing without the promised equivalent; and the emperor had it not to give him: But, though the emperor had gotten these places, the recovery of the rest of the island was to be a work of conquest. The Spaniards had an army well appointed, well paid, and the affections of the people on their side. They would have little feared the enterprises of the Germans, if the sea had been neutral between them.

The duke of Savoy finding himself under circumstances of difficulty, the Spaniards, on the one hand, taking most of his towns in Sicily from him, and the emperor, on the other, by virtue of the quadruple alliance, demanding his evacuation of the rest, whilst the island of Sardinia, allotted to him by the same treaty, remained in the hands of the enemy; and having a jealousy, that, when the imperialists had obtained their island, he should be left to get the other as he could, and desiring to have some reasonable security for the one, before he parted with his interest in the other; a convention was made between those princes at Vienna (monsieur de St. Saphorin, the king's minister assisting) dated the 29th of December, 1718, whereby it was agreed to form an army for an expedition to Sardinia as soon as possible, towards which the emperor was to furnish six thousand five hundred foot, and six hundred horse, at his own expence, and the duke of Savoy was intirely to evacuate Sicily, and join five thousand men of his troops from that island to act with the imperialists on that service; and in the mean time, till they could be transported from Sicily, they were to co-operate with the Germans against the common enemy: This treaty of convention was sent to Naples for the viceroy, the duke of Savoy's minister, and admiral Byng, to consult together of the best means to put it in execution. The business hung long perplexed with difficulties on the part of the minister of Savoy, from a jealousy and distrust of the Germans; but the admiral interposing, and removing by degrees all scruples, an agreement was at last concluded and signed between them, upon which the minister of Savoy delivered to the viceroy his master's orders to count Maffei to evacuate the towns in his possession to the imperialists. But the expedition against Sardinia did not go on, as will be shewn hereafter.

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The winter being now set in, the viceroy and admiral Byng held frequent consultations together, about the farther operations against the enemy. It was judged absolutely necessary to maintain the post of Melazzo, which had been long blockaded, and was now besieged by the Spanish army, both sides making this their principal point during the winter, the one holding their footing in the island by means of this place; the other, by taking it, to shut them out. All the troops from Reggio, and some horse from Naples, being got into the town, under the command of the generals Caraffa and Veterani, it was resolved, in a council of war held the 14th of October, to sally out upon the enemy. Accordingly, the next morning by break of day, they marched out in two columns, the first consisting of six, and the other of five battalions, and attacked the Spanish intrenchments, which they carried, after an engagement of four hours, and got possession of their camp in the center and on the left, with three pieces of cannon. But, the soldiers falling to plunder, the Spaniards rallied on their right; and the marquis de Lede coming up at the same time with fresh troops from Messina, who had lain short the night before, they attacked the Germans in their turns, and drove them back into their camp, under the walls of the town, whose artillery protected their retreat, and prevented a greater slaughter. In the action, about twelve hundred men were killed and wounded on each side, and general Veterani was taken.

Melazzo is an ill fortified town, on the north side of the island of Sicily, not far distant from the Faro, standing on a neck of land, which runs out into the sea like an isthmus. Caraffa being recalled to Naples, baron Zumjungen arrived at Melazzo the 27th of November, N. S. to command the forces; and being followed by the generals Wachtendonck and Seckendorf, with large supplies of troops from Italy, and the place being too strait to contain them, they carried their intrenchments out of the town, within less than pistol-shot of those of the Spaniards; so that, neither side being able to advance farther, both lay all the winter in an unwholesome situation, it being low bad ground, and the trenches filled with water in rainy, and by the sea in blowing weather; so that great numbers of men perished on both sides. The Germans had no provisions but what came from time to time in small imbarcations from Calabria, and other ports of Naples. Rear-admiral Cammock, who was got with his squadron into Messina, and the inhabitants of the island of Lipari, who are esteemed

esteemed bold mariners, and have many armed vessels lay in the way of intercepting those supplies; and the least disappointment must have starved the garrison, for their consumption was very great, and they had no magazines. It was very hard service, unknown and astonishing to the pilots of that country, to employ ships cruizing in those dangerous seas, during the rigour of the winter. For, when the westerly or northerly winds blow, there is so little sea-room in that narrow station, and the currents set in so strong upon the Calabrian shore, accompanied with a vast rolling sea, that it is extremely difficult for ships to work to windward, or indeed to hold their own, and avoid standing on a lee-shore. The admiral had appointed a squadron, under the command of captain Walton, to cruize upon this station, to hinder rear-admiral Cammock from coming out of the Faro, and to secure the passage of the vessels with provisions for the German camp. It chanced to prove such tempestuous weather, that no provisions had arrived in a month at Melazzo, and captain Walton was blown off from his station, and had not been seen or heard of in six and twenty days. Rear-admiral Cammock took hold of this opportunity to get out of Messina, the moment the weather abated, and, appearing before Tropea with English colours, sent a letter ashore to the governor, under a fictitious name of one of the English captains, acquainting him, that he was come thither by admiral Byng's orders, to convoy the imbarcations with provisions to Melazzo, and pressed him to dispatch them away, the place being in the utmost distress. Had this stratagem succeeded, it would have intirely ruined the emperor's affairs in Sicily; but the governor, happening to be a wary man, and observing the letter to be written on Genoa paper, from that single circumstance conceived a suspicion, which made him refuse to send the imbarcations out to him. In the mean time, the admiral, being made sensible of the extremities the Germans were reduced to, had no other way left, than to fill four men of war (just arrived at Naples from Port-Mahon) with provisions, directing the captains to attempt, at all hazards, to get to Melazzo, which three of them did with much difficulty and danger (the fourth being disabled by bad weather) and came providentially to the relief of the garrison, at a time they must otherwise have surrendered to the enemy, or perished by famine. A few days after, captain Walton recovered his station, upon the sight of whom, rear-admiral Cammock retired into Messina.

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Melazzo being rescued from danger, and reinforced daily with fresh supplies of men and provisions, the Spaniards, despairing to take the place, turned the siege into a blockade, and worked hard in fortifying their own intrenchments, in order to keep the Germans pent up in the town, and obstruct the descent of the army expected in the spring.

The admiral, having made a proper disposition of ships in different stations round the island, to keep the sea open to the Germans, and shut to the Spaniards, was preparing to depart with the rest, that had suffered by bad weather, to visit at Port-Mahon, when the viceroy intreated him to assist at a conference to be held at the palace, where he met the general Caraffa, Wetzel, and the marquis de Fuencalada, general of the Neapolitan galleys. The viceroy opened it by acquainting them, 'That, a truce with the Turks being concluded, prince Eugene was sending from Hungary a body of about six thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, which, added to the troops in Melazzo, was thought a sufficient number for the conquest of the island. That they would probably arrive at Naples in the beginning of March, and he should be glad to know their sentiments of the properest place for their landing in Sicily, and touched on several propositions about it, as at Syracuse or Taormina, on the east-side of the island, or at Patti on the north-side, not far westward from Melazzo.' General Caraffa objected to the landing at Syracuse, 'as it would be a means of prolonging the war: That the place was too distant from Melazzo; and, Augusta and Catania lying in the way, the siege of those places would cost more time and men, than could be spared, besides the garrisoning them afterwards. That their march from thence lay for the most part over barren mountains, amongst a disaffected people, where they should find no subsistence but what they carried with them; and that passing afterwards through narrow defiles into the plain of Melazzo, where the enemy lay, was to attack them at too great a disadvantage: And therefore he concluded for seeking the enemy as soon as possible, and for that end to land as near to them as might be.' General Wetzel, being next to speak, preferred the landing at Syracuse, 'as it would be a work of ease and safety, and done without interruption: That it would probably draw some of the enemy's force that way, and so relieve the troops in Melazzo: That it would expose the army too much to land in the neighbourhood of the enemy, who, seeing them approach from the sea, would easily guess at the place

place they designed to land, and, leaving a guard in their camp, march a sufficient body of troops to oppose the descent, which was a difficult and tedious work in itself, especially with regard to the debarking the horse.' Caraffa asking him, how long he thought the enemy might be marching to the landing-place, after they knew where it would be, and Wetzel allowing eight hours, Caraffa replied, the foot could be all landed in that time, and formed into proper order to receive the enemy, and the landing the horse might be afterwards a work of leisure. But Wetzel adhered to his opinion. The general of the gallies next, in a very long discourse, 'excused himself from giving any opinion upon a subject, that related to the land-service, and, referring himself to what the two generals had said before him, concluded, that great caution ought to be taken, which ever opinion should be followed.' The admiral, gathering from their discourse, that part of the expected troops were to embark at Fiume and Trieste, and to come round by sea to Reggio, and probably pass on through the Faro, to Naples, told them, 'That land-forces should be trusted to the sea as little as possible, especially in the early and uncertain season: That, if they landed at Manfredonia on the Atlantic side, the traject would be short, and their march more certain to their rendezvous at Naples.' He then went on to deliver his opinion, 'That the troops they expected were not sufficient to recover the island from the enemy. That it was a great error to hold the Spaniards in contempt, whose behaviour hitherto in Sicily had given no reason for it. That they were become used to arms and hardships, and the Germans would find them like other men. That, according to a calculation he had made, when those troops should be joined to the forces in Melazzo, they would not be able, after leaving the necessary garrisons in the towns, which the duke of Savoy was to deliver up, to bring into the field a greater number than what the Spanish army was reported to be; and that, without a considerable superiority, little success was to be expected in a country, where the ill-will of the people towards them, and their inclination to the Spaniards, were so very evident, that they were to hope for no assistance, but expect every distress from them.' He added, 'That they were not to look upon the enemy as a mouldering army, for, notwithstanding the care of his cruisers, they received frequent recruits from Spain and Sardinia, and even from Italy, in open vessels and boats, which was not always in his power to prevent. And besides, the marquis de Lede had lately raised

Geo. I. 1718. four regiments of foot, and one of horse, in the island itself. The viceroy acknowledged the force of the admiral's reasoning, but lamented the distance of the court of Vienna, which hindered them from seeing into, and considering enough these difficulties, and who pursued only one maxim, that, if they sent men, they ought to conquer. The admiral proposed, that an officer should be sent to Vienna, to represent the posture of affairs to that court in a better light than they seemed to view them in, and to bring back their final resolutions concerning the operations of the war; and count Hamilton was pitched upon for that purpose.

The conference being ended, the admiral took his leave of the viceroy, and set sail the 3d of February for Port-Mahon, to refit his ships, and put them in a condition to go on early with the operations of the campaign, leaving his eldest son at Naples to manage his correspondence with the viceroy, and to inform the court of England of all occurrences in those parts.

Complaints
of Spain.

The defeat of the Spanish fleet made a great noise, and England was upbraided with it as inconsistent with the rules of good faith, for the observance of which she had always been so famous.

Cardinal Alberoni, in his letter to the marquis de Monteleone at London, called it an Unworthy Action. * His majesty (says the cardinal) approves of the justness of your expressions (a), to expose the breach of faith of that ministry,

in

(a) Soon after the news of the action in the Mediterranean, the marquis de Monteleone wrote a letter to Mr. secretary Craggs, to which the cardinal here refers. The letter begins thus:

S I R,

* The news that is spread in the world of admiral Byng's having attacked the Spanish fleet, and obtained considerable advantages over them, obliges me naturally not to act in any affair, till I receive orders and instructions from the king my master, concerning an action so

surprising and unexpected, and that even seems to agree but very little with the declarations made to the court of Madrid by the said admiral; since they gave to understand, that the English fleet would proceed no farther than as a guarantee to defend the dominions of the archduke, in case they were invaded.

Nevertheless, as I cannot doubt in the least but that your excellency makes serious reflections on the just resentments which the king, my master, and all the Spaniards, must needs

n relation to the over-hasty proceedings of admiral Byng, Geo. I.
when nothing was pretended to but a mediation, to facilitate 1718.
the ———

needs have, to see themselves thus assaulted and abused, with so much animosity, by a nation to whom they have shewn the most favour, and see them act contrary to reason, politics, and even against their own interest, to increase the exorbitant power of the Germans in Italy. I cannot dispense with my not acquainting your excellency with the good and generous intentions of the king my master, that were communicated to me by his letters of the 20th of August, N. S. as also the orders he gave concerning the arrival of the fleet of Mexico at Cadiz, which in silver and other effects is valued at nine millions of crowns.

His majesty informs me, that notwithstanding admiral Byng's declaration, and the intimation that has been given him of the articles lately signed, whereof I send a copy to your excellency, and that although the said declaration and articles rather denote an obvious design of making war, than that of maintaining a perfect understanding between the two nations, and undertaking an impartial mediation; yet it is resolved not to make the least change in any thing that relates to trade; that the effects arrived in the said flota shall be delivered as before to those to whom they belong; and, in a word, that it is his majesty's will and intention that the treaty of peace and commerce should be religiously observed, and that the English should continue to enjoy all the

advantages and grants that were given them heretofore.

This last and so singular instance of his majesty's justice and moderation ought not certainly to have been prevented by the said event, of which he must have received the news a few days after he had given so evident a mark of his favourable dispositions towards the English nation.

The articles mentioned in this letter were delivered by earl Stanhope to the court of Madrid, a day or two after the action of Syracusa, and were as follow:

I. That the Catholic king shall have three months to accept of the treaty, reckoning from the day it was signed.

II. That, if his Catholic majesty does not accept of the same within the said term of three months, then the confederates shall supply the emperor with such forces as are stipulated in the treaty of alliance.

III. That if, in consequence to the assistance given to the emperor, the king of Spain should declare or make war with any one of the confederates, either by invading his dominions, or seizing his subjects, ships, or effects, then the other confederates shall immediately declare and make war against his Catholic majesty, and shall carry on the same till such time as satisfaction shall be given to their wronged ally.

IV. That, in case his Catholic majesty should refuse to accept

Geo. I. the project of peace, or, at most, to defend the territories actually in the possession of the archduke in Italy, when my lord Stanhope was in Spain, at a small distance from the court, to propose projects of peace and a suspension of arms. In truth (added he) no impartial person can hear, without surprise, that the fleet of his Britannic majesty did, without any provocation, necessity, or pretence, and forgetting the title of peaceful mediator, which his master assumes, attack the fleet of Spain, only to frustrate the expedition against Sicily, after having been at Naples to concert with count Daun so base an action; received great sums of money, by way of supposed arrears; and finally, after having come near to Messina, and sent trusty officers to confer with the commanders of the king's army, and to assure them, that he would commit no act of hostility.'

The best part of Europe (continued the cardinal) is impatient to hear how the British ministry can justify so rash a violence. He said, the preserving the neutrality of Italy was a weak argument, since every one knew, that neutrality had long been at an end, and that the princes, guarantees of the treaty of Utrecht, were intirely free, not only by the scandalous breaches of the Austrians, in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca, but also because the guaranty was no longer binding, than till a peace was made with France. He reproached the British ministry for reviving and supporting the neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open force, and by artfully abusing the confidence and security of the Spaniards. In proof of what he advanced, he observed, that admiral Byng, struck with remorse of his unjust conduct, alledged, in his account of the engagement, contrary to the truth, that the Spanish ships drew up first, in a line of battle, and fired upon the English. If he had no design to attack them, Why did he pursue them from the Faro to Syracuse?

cept of the said treaty, the confederates shall unanimously dispose of his expectations on the dominions of Tuscany and Parma, in favour of some other prince.

V. That the emperor shall not act within the said term of three months, upon condition that the king of Spain does not act on his side; but that, if his

Catholic majesty, instead of accepting the said treaty, should within the said term act any hostilities, which might prevent the execution of any disposition of the said treaty, then the allies shall immediately, and without waiting the expiration of the said term, supply the emperor with such forces as are therein stipulated.

Why

Why did he send four of the prime sailors of his fleet to come up with them? Geo. I. 1718.

On the contrary, Mr. secretary Craggs, in his answer to the marquis de Monteleone's letter (referred to by the cardinal) said, that it appeared, by the admiral's account that the Spaniards began the hostilities: That the action might well be expected by his Catholic majesty, and therefore ought not to have surprised him, since admiral Byng, by his letter of the 20th of June, O. S. plainly informed him of his instructions, to which a haughty answer was returned, bidding him follow his orders (b).

Whether hostilities were begun by the English or by the Spaniards, or whatever irregularities there were in the proceedings on either side, the action was not only decisive, but necessary to disconcert the cardinal's projects, which tended to no less than the involving all Europe in a war, the flames whereof had been so lately extinguished. This is sufficient to justify, in the eyes of true politicians, a slight breach of faith, supposing there had been any. The cardinal could never recover this shock; his complaints and invectives, to which he had recourse, could not restore his designs, and

(b) As to the favours shewn the English in regard to their trade (mentioned in Monteleone's letter) Mr. Craggs said, he had the king's commands to repeat the following grievances:

1. Imposts have been laid on our merchandises, directly contrary to our treaties of commerce with the crown of Spain.
2. Several kinds of goods have been prohibited, which are expressly allowed by the same treaties.
3. The schedules for their annual vessels have been denied the South-Sea company, contrary to the express letter of the treaty; without any better reason given for it, than that it was not for the convenience of the court of Madrid to grant them.
4. Our merchant-ships have been seized in all the ports of

Spain. The Spanish men of war and privateers have brought them in by force; have obliged them to take out their cargoes, and, to their inexpressible loss, have constrained them to transport the troops, horses, ammunition, &c. for this very expedition which has disordered the affairs of all Europe. I am even assured, what I can scarce believe, that owners of these vessels, for endeavouring to struggle with such unheard-of proceedings, have had their ears cut off: And that the first thing done by the Spaniards, upon their entering Messina, was to thrust the king's consul into prison. He then desires him to examine how inconsistent these things are with the favourable declaration he had made for the trade of Great Britain.

served

Geo. I. served only to throw him from that high station, where
 1718. chance much more than merit had placed him. But, before
 his fall, he made those two princes very uneasy, whose superior genius had defeated his projects.

C H A P. III.

The fourth session of king George I's parliament—debates about an address—repeal of the schism-bill—war declared against Spain—Alberoni's practices discovered in France—Invasion from Spain—laid before the parliament—the Spaniards land in Scotland, and are defeated—the peerage-bill—debated and dropped—the parliament is prorogued—the king goes abroad—makes peace with Sweden—affairs in the Mediterranean—progress of the French against Spain—negotiations with Spain—Alberoni disgraced—Spain accedes to the quadruple alliance—the king's intercession for the Protestants of Germany—parliament of Ireland meets—and of England—peerage-bill rejected—bill for securing the dependency of Ireland—South Sea scheme—the Royal and London Assurance companies erected—parliament prorogued—particular alliance with Sweden—alliance with Prussia—the czar's memorial—answer to it—reconciliation in the royal family—negotiations with Denmark—the czar refuses the mediation of England.

AS king George had several reasons for assembling the parliament, he fixed the day of meeting by proclamation to the 11th of November. He not only wanted to have the steps he had taken approved, but also to be authorised to support them. Besides, he was acquainted with the enterprising genius of cardinal Alberoni, knew he breathed nothing but vengeance, and was preparing some design in favour of the pretender, as appeared by some expressions which had dropped from him. He was not ignorant

rant that too many were ready for a second rebellion, which perhaps might succeed, unless proper measures to prevent it were taken. All these considerations induced him to have a speedy recourse to the parliament.

On the day appointed, the king came to the house of peers, and opened the session with the following speech, which was read by the lord chancellor to both houses :

Geo. I.
1718.

The fourth
session of
the first par-
liament of
king
George.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ **S**INCE your last recess, I have, by the blessing of Almighty God, concluded such terms and conditions of peace and alliance between the two greatest princes of Europe, as will, in all human appearance, induce others to follow their example, and make any attempts to disturb the public tranquillity, not only dangerous, but impracticable.

“ These engagements, I am persuaded, will be so much the more agreeable to all my good subjects, as they bind the contracting powers to support the succession to these kingdoms in my family, to which some were not at all, and others not so fully bound by any former treaties.

“ During the whole course of these negotiations, a most strict regard has been had to the interests of Spain, and better conditions have been stipulated for that king, than were insisted upon in his behalf, even at the treaty of Utrecht. But the war in Hungary (which, by our mediation, is since happily ended) having tempted the court of Spain unjustly to attack the emperor, and the hopes they have since conceived of raising disturbances in Great Britain, France, and elsewhere, having encouraged them to believe, that we should not be able to act, in pursuance of our treaties, for the defence of the dominions invaded by them, or even to the support of those other essential and necessary conditions of the treaty of Utrecht, which provide against the great monarchies of Europe being at any time hereafter united under one sovereign ; they have not only persisted in such a notorious violation of the public peace and tranquillity, but have rejected all our amicable proposals, and have broke through their most solemn engagements for the security of our commerce.

“ To vindicate therefore the faith of our former treaties, as well as to maintain those, which we have lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of my subjects, which has in every branch been violently and unjustly oppressed, it be-

“ came

Geo. I.
1718.

“ came necessary for our naval forces to check their progress.
“ It was reasonable to hope, that the success of our arms,
“ the repeated offers of friendship, which I have never ceased
“ to make in the most pressing manner, and the measures
“ taken in concert with the emperor and the most Christian
“ king to restore the public tranquillity, would have pro-
“ duced a better disposition in the court of Spain; but I
“ have received informations, that, instead of listening to
“ our reasonable terms of accommodation, that court has
“ lately given orders at all the ports of Spain, and of the
“ West-Indies, to fit out privateers, and to take our
“ ships.

“ I am persuaded, that a British parliament will enable
“ me to resent such treatment as becomes us; and it is with
“ pleasure, that I can assure you of the ready and friendly
“ resolution of our good brother the regent of France,
“ to concur and join with me in the most vigorous mea-
“ sures.

“ The firm confidence I repose in the affection of my
“ people, together with my earnest desire to ease them of
“ every charge not absolutely necessary, determined me, im-
“ mediately after the exchange of the ratifications of our
“ great alliance, to make a very considerable reduction of
“ our land-forces; nor could I better express, than by so
“ doing, how little we apprehend the attempts of our ene-
“ mies to disturb the peace of my kingdoms, even though
“ Spain should think fit to continue some time in war. Our
“ naval force, employed in concert with our allies, will, I
“ trust in God, soon put a happy end to the troubles, which
“ the ambitious views of that court have begun, and secure
“ to my subjects the execution of the many treaties in force
“ relating to our commerce.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ I must desire you to grant me such supplies as will ena-
“ ble me to carry on the service of the year. I have given or-
“ ders to have the proper estimates laid before you, whereby
“ you will perceive, I have reduced the expence as much as
“ our circumstances can well admit. I have the pleasure to
“ observe to you, that the funds, appropriated for sinking
“ the public debts, have answered above expectation. I
“ must, however, recommend to you to consider of proper
“ methods for improving them, by preventing the frauds
“ and abuses daily committed in the public revenues, not
“ doubt-

“doubting, in all your proceedings, you will have that re- Geo. L.
 “gard to the inviolable preservation of the public credit, 1718.
 “which may quiet the minds of all those, that have trusted
 “to parliamentary engagements.

“My lords and gentlemen,

“There never was a time when your unanimity, your
 “vigour and dispatch, were more necessary to so many good
 “ends, as those we have now in view. I have done my
 “part. It remains with you to give the last finishing to this
 “great work; our friends and our enemies, both at home
 “and abroad, are waiting the event of your resolutions.
 “And I dare promise myself, that the first have nothing to
 “apprehend, nor the other to hope from your conduct in
 “this important juncture, who have, during the whole
 “course of my reign, given such lively proofs of your zeal
 “and affection to my person, and of your love to your
 “country.”

How plausible and important soever this speech might be,
 it occasioned great debates. The addresses that were to be
 presented, drew the attention of both parties: On the man-
 ner in which they should be expressed, depended, as it were,
 the operations of the session.

The king was no sooner withdrawn, but the lord Carteret Debates on
an address
of thanks.
Pr. H. L.
Pr. H. C.
 moved for an address of thanks to his majesty, for his care
 in preserving the public peace, and the balance of power in
 Europe: For the considerable reduction of the land-forces;
 and for having obtained further securities of the succession in
 his family: As also to congratulate the seasonable success of
 his naval forces; and to assure him, that the house would
 support him in the pursuit of those prudent and necessary mea-
 sures he had taken to secure the trade and quiet of these king-
 doms, and the tranquillity of Europe.’ The lord Carteret
 was seconded by the Lord Tenham; but several lords ex-
 cepted against the congratulating the king upon the seasona-
 ble success of his naval forces, and the promise to support
 him in the pursuit of those prudent and necessary measures he
 had taken, because it was, in effect to approve a sea-fight,
 which might be attended with dangerous consequences, and
 give the sanction of that august assembly to measures, which,
 upon examination, might appear either to clash with the
 laws of nations or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the
 trade of Great Britain. That, according to the constant
 usage

Geo. I. usage of that house, they ought to proceed with the utmost caution and maturest deliberation, in an affair, wherein the honour, as well as the interest of the nation, were so highly concerned. And lord Strafford insisted, ' That, before they approved the sea-fight, they ought to be satisfied whether the same happened before or after the signing of the quadruple alliance; and therefore moved for an address, that Sir George Byng's instructions might be laid before the house.'

To this it was answered by earl Stanhope, ' That there was no manner of occasion for such an address, since, by his majesty's command, he had already laid before the house the treaties, of which the late sea-fight was a consequence; and, in particular, the treaty for a defensive alliance between the emperor and his majesty, made at Westminster the 25th of May, 1716; and the treaty of alliance for restoring and settling the public peace, signed at London the 22d of July, O. S. After this, he accounted at large for the justice and equity of those treaties, which were calculated to preserve, restore, and settle the peace of Europe, by rendering the treaty of Utrecht effectual, particularly in preventing the union of the two great monarchies of France and Spain under one sovereign, and securing the succession of these kingdoms in his majesty's family. At the same time he shewed, how the court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht, and acted against the public faith, in attacking the emperor's dominions, while he was engaged in a war against the enemies of Christendom; and in what manner they had rejected his majesty's friendly offices, and repeated offers of mediating an accommodation between the emperor and his Catholic majesty. To which purpose he gave the house an account of his late journey to, and negotiations in, Spain. He added, that it was high time for Great Britain to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and secure the trade of the British subjects, which had been violently oppressed by the Spaniards: To which purpose several letters were read. He concluded with observing, that, both with relation to Sir George Byng's instructions, and in all other respects, in this whole affair, his majesty had acted by the advice of his privy-council: That he was one of that number: And he thought it an honour to have advised his majesty to these measures, because he was persuaded they intirely agreed with the honour and interest of his country: That he doubted not, but, upon the strictest examination, those measures would be approved by all true Englishmen, and that he was ready to answer for them with his head.'

This

This speech made a great impresson on the whole assembly; and though several peers still urged, that the making war, before the declaring of it, was a manifest violation of the laws of nations; and others raised less material objections; yet, after a five hours debate, it was carried for the address, as moved by the lord Carteret, by eighty-three votes against fifty. The principal speakers on the court-side were the lords Carteret and Tenham, and the earls of Sunderland and Stanhope; and, on the other side, the dukes of Bucks, Devonshire, and Argyle; the earls of Nottingham, Cowper, Orford, and Ilay, the lords North and Grey and Harcourt.

In the mean time the same affair was debating in the house of commons. The lord Hinchinbroke moved, that the house, in an address of thanks, should declare their intire satisfaction in those measures, which the king had already taken for strengthening the Protestant succession, and establishing a lasting tranquillity in Europe; and particularly in relation to the crown of Spain; and their resolution to enable him, in concurrence with his allies, not only to resent the injuries that crown had already done to our commerce, in breach of the treaties subsisting between the two nations, but to support him in the most effectual manner, in such further measures as he shall judge necessary to complete the public tranquillity in Europe, and to check the growth of that naval power which must otherwise prove dangerous to the trade of these kingdoms, and to the repose of Europe. This motion was attended with a very warm debate (c). The opposing side chiefly objected to the words 'intire satisfaction in these measures which his majesty had already taken.' In order to have these words left out of the address, it was alledged, 'that it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the first day of a session, to enter upon particulars. That the business in question being of the highest importance, Peace or War, deserved the maturest deliberation. That, before they approved the measures that had

(c) The speakers for the motion were the Lord Hinchinbroke, the lord Tyrconnel, Sir David Dalrymple, Mr. Lechmere, Mr. secretary Craggs, Mr. Smith, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Sir Gilfrid Lawson, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Aillabie, Mr. Boscawen, Mr. Bladen, and

serjeant Mead; against the motion were Mr. Freeman, Mr. Heysham, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Snell, Mr. Hungerford, Mr. Herne, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Cowper, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, the lord Moleworth, and general Ross.

been

Geo. I. 1718. been taken, they ought to examine the treaties, and the reasons, on which those measures were founded, which must needs take up some time ; and therefore they ought, for the present, according to their usual custom, to content themselves with returning his majesty thanks for his most gracious speech, with general assurances of their zeal and affection for his person and government ; and then appoint a day to take the speech into consideration.' To this it was answered, ' That, though all applications from this house to the throne differed according to the various circumstances of affairs, yet there were not wanting precedents to support the expressions excepted against, of which some instances were produced. That the measures, which had been taken, were grounded on treaties, that had been laid before them, and which might be examined into as soon as the house thought fit. But that it was necessary, at this critical juncture, when the eyes of all Europe were fixed on this parliament, early to come to a vigorous resolution, which would not fail having its due weight abroad.' This was warmly opposed by Mr. Walpole, who urged, ' That it was against the common rules of proceeding in that house to approve a thing before they knew what it was : That he was thoroughly convinced of, and as ready as any person in that august assembly, to acknowledge his majesty's great care for the general peace of Europe, and the interest of Great Britain : But that the giving sanction, in the manner proposed, to the late measures, could have no other views than to screen ministers, who were conscious of having begun a war against Spain, and who would now make it the parliament's war. He concluded with observing, that, instead of an intire satisfaction, they ought to shew their intire dissatisfaction with a conduct, that was contrary to the laws of nations, and a breach of solemn treaties.' Upon this, Mr. Craggs gave the house an exact account of the measures, which the king and his ministers had pursued for restoring and securing the tranquillity of Europe ; and said, in particular, ' That, upon that view, a treaty of defensive alliance between his majesty and the emperor had been signed in May 1716, and by that very gentleman, then in high station, who now excepted against these measures. That, at the same time, his majesty sincerely desired and endeavoured to maintain a perfect friendship with the king of Spain, and had even proposed a defensive alliance to him, before he made one with any other power. That, notwithstanding the engagements his majesty was under to guaranty the neutrality of Italy, and to defend the emperor

in the possession of his dominions, which, upon the invasion of Sardinia, might have justified his majesty's assisting him against Spain, yet the king chose rather to act as a friendly mediator, and, in concert with the regent of France, endeavoured to find out means of reconciling the interests of the emperor and the king of Spain, as the only way to put a stop to the war that threatened Italy, and in which all Europe might be involved. That the Catholic king was often solicited by the British ministers at Madrid, to concur with his majesty's good intentions, and to give such instructions to the Spanish minister here, as would put it in his majesty's power to stand up for the interests and advantages of Spain in the ensuing negotiations. That the Catholic king having declined to concert measures with Great Britain, and demanding, in general, satisfaction for the breaches he pretended the emperor had made upon the treaty of Utrecht, the balance of power in Europe, and the security and liberty of the princes and states of Italy; all that his majesty, with the regent's assistance, could do, was to obtain of the emperor such conditions, as were thought most agreeable to his Catholic majesty; namely, an absolute renunciation of the monarchy of Spain and the Indies, and a very considerable settlement in Italy for a prince of Spain, particularly the great duchy of Tuscany. That, as the emperor's pretensions to Sicily were the principal reasons of his opposing the treaty of Utrecht, from which he could not afterwards be brought off by the treaty of Baden, it became necessary, towards an accommodation, to dispose of that island in favour of his imperial majesty, of whom, upon that consideration, his majesty and the regent of France obtained the disposition of Sardinia in favour of the king of Sicily. That these were the principal articles of the treaty of alliance, for restoring and settling the public peace, commonly called the Quadruple Alliance, which was a long while depending, and at last signed here, on the 22d of July 1718. That, in order to support the views of this treaty, and to add weight to the endeavours to restore the tranquillity of Europe, his majesty acquainted the commons, towards the end of the last session of parliament, that he intended to employ a naval force, when it should be necessary; whereupon this house unanimously resolved to return his majesty their thanks for his unwearied endeavours to promote the welfare of his kingdoms, and to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, and to assure his majesty, that they would make good such exceedings of men for the sea-service, of the year 1718, as his majesty, in his royal

Geo. I. wisdom, should find necessary to obtain those desirable ends *.
 1718. That this unanimous resolution undoubtedly implied an entire satisfaction in the measures his majesty was, at that time, concerting for preserving the tranquillity of Europe; and, if an action has since happened, and, in consequence of those measures, this cannot, with any justice, be called the war of the ministers, but the war of the parliament. That, however, it was not with design of making war, but only of restoring peace, that his majesty sent a strong squadron into the Mediterranean. That, pursuant to this view, as soon as Sir George Byng reached the coast of Spain, he wrote a letter to that king, desiring him to accept his majesty's mediation, and to desist from the hostilities already begun; offering him his service, either to withdraw his troops, or even to assist him, in case the emperor should not consent to a suspension of arms, which the admiral proposed, while an accommodation should be negotiated. That the Spaniards having with haughtiness rejected his majesty's repeated amicable projects, and not only persisted in the violation of the public peace by the invasion of Sicily, but likewise broke through the most solemn treaties for the security of our trade, it became necessary for his majesty's naval forces to check these insolent and violent proceedings, as well to maintain the faith of his majesty's engagements, and prevent the consequences of this war, as to protect and defend the trade of the British subjects, which labours under the heaviest hardships and difficulties.' And this particular was confirmed to the house by colonel Bladen, who produced a list of many merchant-ships taken or detained by the Spaniards. Several members on the opposing side, having, like Mr. Walpole, made solemn professions of their duty and affection to the king, and of their readiness to acknowledge his care and constant endeavours for the security and welfare of his people, and the tranquillity of Europe, distinguished between his majesty and his ministers, and shewed an unwillingness to approve the measures pursued by the latter, till the treaties, on which these measures were founded, had been fully and maturely examined. Mr. Craggs readily admitted of the distinction between the king and his ministers; adding, 'That he observed, with a great deal of pleasure, how unanimous they were all for the king; and that he should be extremely sorry, if the ministers should be the occasion of any delay in the house's expressing their duty and affection to him. That, he owned, ministers were not infallible: That he had the honour to be one of his majesty's servants, and had gone

* See page
561.

as great lengths as any in the measures that had been taken; but that he was positive, that, in the course of this whole affair, nothing had been done, that was not intirely consistent with the faith of treaties, and the honour and interest of the nation. That he durst promise, both for himself and the rest of the ministers, that, if the house came into this vote, which he thought of the highest importance at this critical juncture, no manner of advantage would be taken of it to palliate any faults, which, through human frailty, might have been committed; and that, for his own part, he was ready to undergo the severest examination, whenever the house should think fit to inquire into the conduct of the ministry.' This speech had great weight with the majority of the house; and Mr. Craggs was so strongly supported, that the address, as moved by the lord Hinchinbroke, was at last carried by two hundred and ten voices against one hundred and fifty-five. And, on the 13th of November, the commons, as well as the lords, presented their address to the king.

The commons, pursuant to their address, immediately voted a supply. They allowed for the sea-service thirteen thousand five hundred sailors at 4 l. a month each, amounting to 702,000 l. Twelve thousand four hundred thirty-five men were voted for the land-service, whose pay amounted to 526,964 l. 11 s. 8 d. These sums, with what was voted for making good deficiencies, for the ordinary of the navy, and other things, amounted in all 2,257,581 l. 19 s. This supply was raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, the malt-tax, and a lottery for 500,000 l. The bills for the land and malt-tax were presented, and both passed in one day, a dispatch not to be paralleled in any parliament since the revolution.

The king, judging by the disposition of the parliament, that it would be a proper time to execute a design, he had long been meditating, resolved to attempt it this session. Ever since his accession to the throne he had assured the Church of England of his protection, but at the same time declared for a just toleration, by removing the odious distinctions between Churchmen and Non-conformists. In the former session he had plainly enough discovered his intention, but the prosecution of it was prevented, by the misunderstanding among the Whigs. The Dissenters, besides the Occasional and Schism bills, lay under the weight of the Sacramental Test. As they had been zealous asserters of the Protestant Succession, they expected to be relieved from these burdens as soon as that succession took place. To that end consultations had been held

A supply
granted.
Pr. H. C.

Repeal of
the Schism
and Occa-
sional bills,

Geo. I. the last year, but without any effect *. The affair was now
 1718. resumed, and debated by the Dissenters in many meetings, in
 several parts of the kingdom. The majority in these meet-
 ings were for a general repeal of the acts that they thought
 hardships upon them, or leaving matters as they stood. But
 they were assured that the king had pressed the affair to the
 utmost with the ministers, and that the lord Sunderland said,
 ' It was impracticable, and to attempt a repeal of the Test
 ' would ruin all (a).' Upon this the Test was given up, af-
 ter assurances that the Test-act should also be repealed in a
 more proper time. Earl Stanhope therefore was to move for
 a repeal of the Occasional and Schism Acts passed in the latter
 end of the reign of queen Anne. Accordingly, on the 13th
 of December, he told the house of lords, that, in order to
 unite the hearts and affections of the well-affected to the pre-
 sent establishment, he had a bill to offer under the title of
 ' An act for strengthening the Protestant interest in these
 ' kingdoms,' which he desired might be read. The bill was
 read, importing in substance a repeal of the acts against Oc-
 casional Conformity, and the growth of Schism, and of some
 clauses in the Corporation and Test Acts. Many of the peers
 were surprised at the bringing in this bill at a time, when
 none but such as were in the secret expected any such thing;
 and earl Stanhope having moved, that it might be read a se-
 cond time, it occasioned a long debate. The author of the
 bill endeavoured to shew ' the equity, justice, reasonableness,
 and advantage of restoring Dissenters to their natural rights,
 and of easing them of these stigmatizing and oppressive laws
 that had been made against them in turbulent times, and ob-
 tained by indirect methods, for no other reason, than because
 they ever shewed their zealous and firm adherence to the Re-
 volution and Protestant Succession:' Urging, ' that this desi-
 rable union of all true Protestants, as it would certainly
 strengthen the Protestant interest, so would it rather be an
 advantage, than any prejudice to the Church of England by
 law established, which would still be the head of all the Pro-
 testant churches, and the archbishop of Canterbury become

(a) The king told the lord
 Barrington (a Dissenter) ' that,
 if there were any hopes of car-
 rying the whole, he would not
 be against it; but, if there were
 no hopes, as he was assured by his
 ministers, he believed the Dis-

senters were too much his friends,
 to insist upon a thing which
 might be infinitely prejudicial
 to him, without doing them
 any good; but, on the contrary,
 a great deal of hurt.'

the

* See Note,
 p. 542.

the patriarch of all the Protestant clergy.' He was seconded and supported by the earls of Sunderland and Stamford, and some other lords : But the dukes of Bucks and Devonshire, the earls of Nottingham, Aylesford, Oxford, Cowper, and the lord North and Grey, either strenuously opposed the bill, or endeavoured to put off the second reading to a long day. It was alledged in general, ' that this bill, if passed into a law, instead of strengthening, would certainly weaken the Church of England, by plucking off her best feathers, investing her enemies with power, and sharing with them the civil and military employments, of which Churchmen only are now in possession.' The duke of Devonshire, in particular, suggested, ' That it was irregular to bring in a bill of so great consequence, without previously acquainting the house.' But it was readily answered by earl Stanhope, ' That his grace had forgot, that, about two years before, he had brought in himself, in the same manner, a bill of much greater consequence ;' meaning the bill for suspending the act for Triennial Parliaments. The earl of Nottingham said, among other things, ' That the Church of England is certainly the happiest church in the world, since even the greatest contradictions contribute to her support ; for nothing could be more contradictory, than a bill, which is said to be calculated to " to strengthen the Protestant interest, and the " Church of England," and which, at the same time, repeals two acts, that were made for her farther security.' After which he gave his reasons against the repealing those laws. Earl Cowper made also a long speech against some parts of the bill, and, among other things, said, ' That he had no manner of prejudice against the Dissenters, but rather a tender regard for them : That as he had been bred in, so he had ever communicated with, the Church of England, which he believed to be the best Protestant church, and the most agreeable to the primitive pattern of Christianity. But that, however, if he had happened to have been at Geneva, he would not have scrupled to have communicated with the Protestants there. That he was for giving the Dissenters as much ease as was consistent with the safety of the constitution in church and state, and would readily give his vote for the repealing of the Schism act ; but that he could not but oppose that part of the bill now laid before them, whereby part of the Test and Corporation acts were effectually repealed with relation to the Dissenters, because he looked upon those acts as the main bulwark of our excellent constitution in church and state, and therefore would have them

Geo. I. inviolably preserved and untouched.' The earl of Ilay said, 1718. ' That every body knew he was educated in a different way from the Church of England; but, nevertheless, he could not but be against this bill, because, in his opinion, it broke the *Pacta Conventa* of the treaty of union, by which the bounds both of the Church of England and of the Church of Scotland were fixed and settled; and he was apprehensive, if the articles of the Union were broke with respect to one church, it might afterwards be a precedent to break them with respect to the other.' The lord North and Grey urged, ' That this was an affair of so great importance, that it ought to be maturely considered and debated in a full house,' and therefore moved, That the second reading might be put off for a month. The duke of Bucks was of his opinion; but the friends of the bill, being unwilling to let this affair cool by adjourning it so long, proposed, that the second reading might only be put off till the 18th of December, which was agreed to without dividing.

Upon that day, the bill was read a second time, and a motion made for committing it; but, this being opposed by the earl of Nottingham, and some other peers, the earl of Cholmondeley suggested, That, before they proceeded any further in an affair, wherein the church was so nearly concerned, he thought it very proper to have, in the first place, the opinion of that venerable bench, pointing to the bishops. This being unanimously assented to, the archbishop of Canterbury stood up, and declared against the bill, for which he gave his reasons, importing in substance, ' That the acts, which by this bill were to be repealed, are the main bulwark and supporters of the established Church. That he had all imaginable tenderness for all the well-meaning conscientious Dissenters; but he could not forbear saying, that some among them made a wrong use of the favour and indulgence that was shewn them upon the Revolution, though they had the least share in that happy event: And therefore it was thought necessary for the legislature to interpose, and put a stop to the scandalous practice of Occasional Conformity, which was condemned by the soberest part of the Dissenters themselves. And, as to the act against Schism, though it may carry a face of severity, yet it seemed needless to repeal it, since no advantage had been taken of it against the Dissenters ever since it was made.' The archbishop of York (Sir William Daws) spoke on the same side, and said, ' That the arguments, used the other day for this bill, had no more weight with him, than they had with his brother of

Can-

Canterbury. He urged, in particular, the danger of trusting the Dissenters, the open and avowed enemies of the Church, with power and authority; and endeavoured to account for the acts against Occasional Conformity and Schism, by saying, they were never to be gained by indulgence.' To that purpose he quoted a passage out of a treatise, intitled, 'A Persuasive to Lay Conformity,' written by Dr. Hoadly bishop of Bangor, who, as he said, had, since the writing of that book, embraced and maintained other principles. The bishop of Bangor answered the archbishop of York, particularly with relation to the passage quoted out of his treatise. He said, 'He was so far from having altered his principles, that, both before and after he had been promoted to the station he held in the Church, he had endeavoured to bring over the Dissenters; but that he ever was of opinion, that gentle means are the most effectual for that purpose. After this, he shewed at large the unreasonableness and ill policy of imposing Religious Tests, as a qualification for civil or military employments, which abridges men of their natural rights, deprives the state of the service of many of its best subjects, and exposes the most sacred institutions and ordinances to be abused by profane and irreligious persons. He also endeavoured to prove, that the Occasional and Schism acts were, in effect, persecuting laws; and that, by admitting the principle of Self-Defence, and Self-Preservation, in matters of religion, all the persecutions of the Heathens against the Christians, and even the Popish inquisition, may be justified. As to the power, of which some clergymen appeared so fond, and so jealous, he owned, that the desire of power and riches is natural to all men; but that he had learned both from reason and the Gospel, that this desire must be kept within due bounds, and not intrench upon the rights and liberties of their fellow-creatures and countrymen.'

After these and several other speeches of the bishops (b), the debate was adjourned to the next day, when, after some clauses

(b) Dr. Smalridge, bishop of Bristol, urged, 'That the late king William having recommended to both houses from the throne, "That they would leave room for the admission of all Protestants, that were

" willing and able to serve;" and a clause having been thereupon offered to be inserted in a bill depending in the house of lords, "to take away the necessity of receiving the sacrament, to make a man capable

Q4 "ble

Geo. I. clauses concerning the test and corporation acts were agreed
 1718. to be left out, the bill was committed, and, being read a
 third

“ble of enjoying any office, “employment, or place of “trust;” the clause was rejected by a great majority, as well as another clause (offered also to be inserted in that bill) “to prevent the receiving the “sacrament of the Lord’s supper upon any other account “than in obedience to the holy “institution thereof:” Adding, that soon after the lords addressed king William, “That “he would maintain the Church “of England as by law established.” All which he applied to the present case, and so voted against the bill. He was answered by the bishop of Gloucester, who, among other things, endeavoured to remove the imputation of hypocrisy cast upon the Dissenters. The bishop of Lincoln made an historical deduction of the affair, and commended the zeal of a noble earl, when secretary of state, in promoting a comprehension, according to king William’s desire. He also took notice, that religion was ever used by crafty men as a blind and pretence to carry on political designs; and he remembered in particular, in the late reign, ‘That, while our arms were victorious abroad, the Church was in danger at home; but no sooner was a stop put to that glorious war, than the Church was in a flourishing condition.’ The earl of Nottingham, who was meant by that prelate, and who was the promoter of the Occasional Bill, and had opposed the bill now in question, thought proper to justify

his conduct, by saying, he was in those days but a young man, and had wanted opportunities to know the Dissenters, whom he had since found to be an obstinate sort of people, never to be satisfied. After which he entered into the merits of the bill, and voted against it. The bishop of London did the same, and urged, ‘That, in all wise governments, all offices and places of trust are in the hands of those of the national church; which his lordship confirmed by what is practised in Sweden.’ The bishop of Rochester spoke also on the same side, and said in substance, ‘That he was not in the house at the first reading of this bill, but that the last session of parliament he foresaw from the bill about an almshouse at Bristol, and the bill for applying part of the fund for the building of new churches to the rebuilding of an old one (St. Giles’s) both which he opposed, that something of this nature would be attempted. That he was sorry he had been a prophet, since, in his opinion, this bill overturned the foundation of the security of the Church. That this bill even struck at the act of uniformity, which was confirmed by the act of union, and so was levelled against the Church of Scotland, as well as against the Church of England. For which reason he hoped those peers, who represented the nobility of Scotland, would be against this bill, particularly a noble lord, who was too great an enemy to priestcraft, to suffer

third time, passed the house, and was sent down to the commons, where it was also warmly debated, but at last carried by Geo. I. 1718.

fer himself to be assembly-ridden. He concluded with observing, that we live in a changeable country; and that the hardships, which the Dissenters now bring upon the Church, may one day or other be severely, and with more justice, retaliated upon them.' Hereupon Dr. Kennet, the new bishop of Peterborough, spoke strenuously for the bill, and refuted most of the arguments used on the other side. He said, in substance, That he did not design to reflect on any of his brethren for speaking against this bill, because he supposed they did it out of a sincere zeal for the Church: That, for his own part, he did not believe this bill to be against the Church, but rather for its advantage and security; and therefore he was for it: That he observed from history, that the Church was most safe and flourishing, when the clergy did not affect more power than falls to their share, and were tender of the rights and liberties of their fellow-subjects; but that, when the clergy promoted arbitrary measures and persecutions, as some did in king Charles the First's reign, they first brought scandal and contempt upon the clergy, and, at last, ruin both upon the church and state.' Then he shewed the abuse of the word 'Church,' which in a true sense is venerable; and illustrated the matter by the words 'Holy,' and the 'Temple of the Lord,' which were sacred among the

Jews; but, when those words came to be abused so far as to countenance rebellion, as in the case of Dathan, Corah, and Abiram, and other wicked practices, then they rather became words of execration. That, in like manner among us, the words 'Church,' and the 'Church's danger,' had often been made use of to carry on sinister designs; and then these words made a mighty noise in the mouths of silly women and children; but that in his opinion the Church, which he defined to be a 'scriptural institution upon a legal establishment,' was founded upon a rock, and could not be in danger as long as we enjoyed the light of the Gospel, and our excellent constitution.' After this he gave his reasons for his being for the bill, and animadverted upon three things, which had been advanced by other prelates; 1. "That the Dissenters got more than the Church by the revolution, though they had the least share in it." For he shewed, 'they only got a toleration, which they might have had under king James, if they would have complied with his measures, whereas the Church secured all she now enjoys, which would have been irrecoverably lost, had not the revolution happened.' 2. "That the Churchmen, and even the clergy, shewed more affection to the present government than the Dissenters during the late rebellion:" To which

Geo. I. by a majority of two hundred and twenty-one against one
1718 hundred and seventeen (c).

The

which he answered, 'That by the laws, which by this bill were to be repealed, the Dissenters were then under an incapacity to serve the government, which evinced the necessity of this bill: And as for a clergyman, who had given signal proofs of his zeal for the government in the North, that it was well known he was never rewarded for it, but rather disregarded ever since by his neighbours.' 3. As to what had been suggested, 'That all offices "and places of trust ought to "be in the hands of those of "the established church," his Lordship said, 'he hoped they should never draw precedents from Sweden. He concluded with returning thanks to the lay lords for bearing so long and so patiently with that bench, leaving the issue of this debate to their judgments; and only taking notice, that as the wisdom of Solomon never more eminently appeared than in discovering the true mother of the child, so their lordships might easily know the reason, why some persons spoke with so much tenderness for the acts, which by this bill were to be repealed.' Dr. Gastrel, bishop of Chester, was of the contrary opinion, and, in particular, excepted against a clause in the bill, whereby a punishment or censure was to be inflicted on such clergymen, as should refuse to administer the sacrament to any that desired to receive it; which, he said, was against the canons of the Church.

(c) Sir William Thompson having urged against the Schism-Bill, that it deprived parents of their natural right of educating their children as they pleased, Mr. Shippen answered, 'It was somewhat strange to see so able a lawyer inconsistent with himself: For, when the twelve judges were consulted in a case relating to a great family, he was of the opinion of ten of them, that children may be taken from their parents, and educated as the good of the nation required.' To this Sir William readily replied, 'That, as he never was consulted, so had he never declared his thoughts, in that nice case hinted by that gentleman, and therefore he could not, with any colour of justice, be said to have changed his opinion: But that the member who taxed him with it, and who thereby declared against the opinion of the ten judges, if he would be consistent with himself, must now be for the bill that repeals the Schism Act, which restored parents to their natural right.'

The lord Guernsey proposed the inserting a clause, that any person, when he came to take the abjuration oath, in order to his qualification, should acknowledge, that the Old and New Testaments were given by divine inspiration, and profess his belief of the ever-blessed Trinity. But this motion was rejected. Pr. H. C.

It was observed, that the archbishop Wake had protested against

Geo. I.
1718.

War declared against Spain.

The manner in which the king had, in his speech, mentioned Spain, and his saying, that he was persuaded a British parliament would enable him to resent such treatment, were plain intimations of his intention to declare war against that crown. On the 17th of December, the king sent a message to the commons to acquaint them, that all his endeavours, as well as those of the king of France, to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the king of Spain, to the unspeakable detriment of their trade, or even to obtain a discontinuance of his unjust hostilities, having proved ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against Spain.

After the reading of this message, it was moved for an address, to assure the king, that they would, with the greatest cheerfulness, and the utmost vigour, assist and support him in the war, till Spain was reduced to accept of reasonable terms of peace, and agree to such conditions of trade and commerce as the nation was justly intitled to by their several treaties. Mr. Shippen and some others excepted against the motion, or against some expressions in it, which occasioned a warm debate. They alledged, they did not see the necessity of declaring war against Spain, but were rather inclined to believe the grievances complained of by the merchants might be amicably redressed. Mr. Stanhope assured the house, that he had presented, at least, five and twenty memorials to the court of Spain upon that subject, without any success. Mr. Methuen endeavoured to account for the dilatoriness of the court of Madrid in the dispatch of commercial affairs, occasioned by the different regulations in the several provinces and ports of Spain; which might be the reason why the grievances had not been redressed so soon as might have been expected. It was also suggested, that the ministers had shewn no great concern for the trade and interest of the nation, since it appeared, by the answer from a secretary of state to the marquis de Monteleone's letter, that they would have passed by the violations of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the terms of the Quadruple Alliance; and that his majesty did not seek to aggrandise himself by any new acquisition, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own, to procure the general quiet and tranquillity: That no-body could yet tell how far that sacrifice

against passing the very bill, the repeal of which he now opposed, as did also the earl of Nottingham, the duke of Devonshire, and some others.

was

Geo. I. was to extend; but certainly it was a very uncommon piece of condescension (d). Mr. Horatio Walpole made also a long speech, wherein he found fault with the treaty of Quadruple Alliance, particularly as to the disposition of Sicily, in favour of the emperor, which was a breach of the treaty of Utrecht. Mr. Walpole, his brother, likewise exclaimed against the injustice of attacking the Spanish fleet before a declaration of war. They were answered by Mr. Craggs; and Sir Joseph Jekyll closed the debate with saying: 'That some weeks before, when this affair was first mentioned in the house, he was shy of giving his opinion, because he had not then examined the several steps that had been taken in it; but that now he was fully convinced, that, if there was any injustice, it was on the side of the king of Spain; and that the conduct of his majesty and his ministers was intirely agreeable to the law of nations, and the rules of justice and equity. Was it just, added he, in the king of Spain to attack the emperor's dominions (Sardinia) while he was engaged in a war with the Turks, without any declaration of war? Was it just in the same prince to invade the dominions of one of our allies, the king of Sicily, without the least provocation? And was it not just in his majesty to vindicate the faith of his treaties, and to defend and protect the trade of his subjects, which had been violently oppressed?' After these speeches, the address was carried by a majority of a hundred and seventy-eight against a hundred and seven, and presented the next day.

Earl Stanhope brought the same message to the house of peers, and, the like address being moved for, it was carried without a division.

The declaration of war was published with the usual solemnities, but not with the same acclamations as when war was proclaimed against France in the two former reigns. The declaration was well drawn, and began with an artful turn, which seemed to intimate as if the action off Syracuse had been a consequence of the ill success of Mr. Stanhope's negotiations at Madrid. For after the king had mentioned his being guarantee of the neutrality of Italy, his engagement to defend the emperor's dominions, and the king of Spain's invasion of Sardinia: 'We did send (says he) our fleet into the Mediterranean this last summer, with a full and

(d) By the Sacrifice, was meant the cession of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, which, it was reported, the regent of France

had offered to the king of Spain, in case he would accede to the Quadruple Alliance.

earnest

earnest intention to make use of its appearance there for settling on foot negotiations of peace towards reconciling the parties engaged in war, and thereby preventing the many calamities that must ensue therefrom. And whereas we did likewise, to testify our most sincere inclinations to peace, send our right trusty and right well beloved cousin and counsellor, James, earl Stanhope, one of our principal secretaries of state, to Madrid, with full power and commission to offer our most hearty endeavours for re-establishing the quiet of Europe, and for cultivating and improving the friendship of the king of Spain. And whereas, notwithstanding all the instances we could possibly make, all the tenders of amity and affection we could use, our plenipotentiary returned without the least hopes of peaceable dispositions in the court of Spain, and our admiral in the Mediterranean, finding also no tendency to amicable measures, was obliged to assist and protect the emperor's dominions by force, which were in imminent danger by the further invasion of the kingdom of Sicily, and by the great fleets and armies which the king of Spain had in those parts.'

To shew that the war was not purely on the emperor's account, the declaration set forth the seizing of the effects and persons of the English, in violation of treaties and antient privileges; and then touched upon the true motives of the war, the disabling the king of Spain to unite the crowns of France and Spain, or to assist the pretender. These were just motives, which, though personal to king George and the duke of Orleans, yet were of the utmost concern to the nations they governed.

Cardinal Alberoni was not idle whilst measures were taken to crush him. He raised troops, fitted out ships, put the coasts in a posture of defence, sent succours to Sicily, and provided for the safety of Sardinia. But, what efforts soever Spain might make, he was sensible of the impossibility to resist the three most powerful states of Europe combined against him. To efforts therefore he joined plots and intrigues to support his undertakings. He began with the duke of Orleans, believing, if he could remove him, the forces of France would be at his disposal, at least they would not be employed against him; and king George, deprived of so powerful an ally, would be obliged to moderate his zeal for the emperor's interests.

The plot was easy to be laid, and was so well conducted, that the success seemed infallible. France abounded with male-contents, and the regent had many enemies, who either

Intrigues of Spain.

Alberoni's practices discovered in France.

Geo. I. either wished his removal, or the execution of the late king's will. These male-contents, in order to be supported, had recourse to the Spanish court, where the resentment against the duke of Orleans procured them a favourable hearing. The prince de Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, was ordered to treat with them. The plot was soon formed; bishops, magistrates, nobles, priests, monks, officers, and governors, were ready for the undertaking, and were numbered among the conspirators. The project was to seize the regent in some party of pleasure, which he frequently made about Paris with his mistresses; the king's person was at the same time to be secured, and proper orders were to be issued to the governors of the provinces and towns to assemble the parliaments, for settling the government, whilst the states of the kingdom should meet, and make a final determination of matters. Many papers were kept in a readiness to justify these undertakings, and encourage the people to support them.

The mines were charged and ready to spring, when the affair was discovered. The first advice came from king George, who warned the regent of some attempt contriving against his person and government. This notice, though general only, was of great use. The duke of Orleans and the abbot du Bois were very vigilant. Several persons were suspected, particularly the duke and duchess of Maine, and the Spanish ambassador, all whom were narrowly watched, till the whole affair was discovered by the following accident. The prince de Cellamare, for the greater safety, intrusted his dispatches to the abbot de Portacarrero, nephew of the cardinal of that name, and to one of the sons of the marquis de Monteleone. These gentlemen (with only Sir Joseph Hodges who passed for an English lord) set out from Paris in a post-chaise. They had not gone above two leagues before the chaise broke down in a slough. The postillion observed the abbot shewed much more concern for his portmanteau than for himself, and heard him say, he would not have lost it for a hundred thousand pistoles. The postillion, having conducted them to the first stage, returned to Paris, and gave immediate notice to the government of what he had seen and heard. Upon which they were pursued and overtaken at Poitiers. Their persons were seized, and the portmanteau sent to Paris, wherein were found two letters which plainly discovered the plot. The prince de Cellamare was put under a guard, and his papers were sealed up with his and the regent's seals, to be delivered to the persons the king

king of Spain should send to receive them. A few days after the prince was conducted to the frontiers of the kingdom. The marquis de Pampadour and several other persons of note were imprisoned. The duke of Maine was sent prisoner to the citadel of Dourlens in Picardy, and the duchess to the castle of Dijon in Burgundy. The cardinal de Polignac was ordered to his abbey of Auchin, that place being allowed him for his prison.

Geo. I.
1718.

On the 29th of December, war was declared at Paris against Spain. The declaration was accompanied with a long manifesto, shewing the causes of the rupture between France and Spain, and concluding with the following paragraph, in relation to cardinal Alberoni's plot: 'We now see with horror what it was that made the minister of Spain inaccessible to all projects of peace. He would thereby have seen all the odious plots which he formed against us prove abortive: He would have lost all hopes of laying this kingdom desolate, of raising up France against France, of having the management of rebels among all the orders of state, of kindling a civil war in the bosom of our provinces, and, in fine, of becoming to us the scourge of heaven, by putting in execution those seditious projects, and springing that mine which was (according to the words of the ambassador's letter) to serve as a prelude to the conflagration.' What a recompence is this to France for the treasures and blood of which she has been so profuse for the sake of Spain!

Alberoni's
intrigues
against king
George.

To support the reasons alledged in the manifesto, armaments were prepared in France and England. The beginning of January, an army of thirty-six thousand men were on the march towards Spain. Ships of war were fitted out for several expeditions. The barrenness of the country where the war was to be carried, occasioned great expences, especially for provisions. The duke of Orleans was at some loss for a general: Marshal Villars, to whom he offered the command, refused it, affirming he would never draw his sword against the house of Bourbon; but the duke of Berwick, not being so scrupulous, accepted of the command.

Cardinal Alberoni's intrigues were not confined to France; he had formed the same designs against king George. The pretender was treated with, who readily came into the cardinal's views to annoy his enemy. The duke of Ormond repaired to Spain the latter end of the year, and measures were taken to stir up their friends in Great Britain, and engage them to support the designs of Spain.

The

Geo. I. The pope was doubtless in the secret, and his affection for **1718-19.** the chevalier de St. George hindered him from consenting, that he should be exposed, till it was seen what success the first attempt might have. He suffered him, however, to go into Spain. The Pretender was watched, and there was need of address to escape the vigilance of the Germans, who were spread over the ecclesiastical state. He had lately left Urbino, where he resided, and was come to live at Rome. He went from thence on a sudden, and caused it to be reported, that he was gone to Bologna. He sent thither the earls of Mar and Perth, with one Paterfon, who was to pass for their master. This artifice was attended with the expected success: All three were arrested at Voghera by the imperialists, but presently after released. As for the Pretender, he came to Nettuno without any accident, and embarked for Cagliari, from whence he came to Roses in Catalonia, the beginning of March.

**Invasion
from Spain.**

He was magnificently received at Madrid, where he entered in one of the king's coaches, attended by the guards, and was conducted to the palace of Buen-Retiro. On the morrow he was visited by the king, the queen, the prince of Asturias, and the great officers of the crown, and complimented by them as king of Great-Britain. Upon his arrival, the squadron, which had been fitting out some time for this expedition, sailed from Cadiz towards England, consisting of ten men of war and transport-ships, with six thousand regular troops on board, mostly Irish, with arms for ten or twelve thousand men. The duke of Ormond was the conductor of this undertaking, with the title of captain-general of the king of Spain: He was to publish, in the proper places, a declaration in that king's name, wherein he said, that, for many very good reasons, he had resolved to send part of his land and sea-forces into England and Scotland, to serve as auxiliaries to king James: What had confirmed him in his resolution, was the certain advices he had received, that many of the two nations, notwithstanding their strong inclination to acknowledge that prince for their sovereign, durst not openly declare for him, because they did not see him supported by any of the states of Europe, who had either power or will to assist them: That, to remove this difficulty, and others that might arise, he declared he was determined to use all his power for the restoration of a prince, in a country belonging to him by undeniable right: That he hoped providence would favour so just a cause; but, that the fear of ill success might not hinder any person from declaring readily for him,

he

he promised a secure retreat in his dominions to all that Geo. I.
1718-19.
should join him, and, in case they were forced to leave their
country, he declared, that every sea or land officer should
have the same rank as he enjoyed in Great-Britain, and the
soldiers should be received and treated like his own.

These preparations had not been so secret, but the king
had received timely notice to take the necessary precautions:
The duke of Orleans, in return for the same favour, had ac-
quainted him with all he could discover. A proclamation
was published against the duke of Ormond, and the other
lords that were with him, with a reward of 5000l. for seiz-
ing the duke, and of 1000l. for each of the rest, and of
500l. for every gentleman.

As the rumour of the invasion increased, some forces Preparations
against it.
were ordered into the north and into the west of England:

The States-general had notice to have two thousand men
ready to transport into England when occasion required; and
were, at the same time, desired not to suffer the suspicious
embarkations of ammunition and men that were making at
Amsterdam, which they agreed to, notwithstanding the en-
deavours of the Spanish ministers to the contrary. Above all, The king
acquaints
the parlia-
ment with
the intended
invasion.
the naval armament against the Spanish Squadron was ha-
stened; and, upon the repeated advices of the regent, the
king came to the house of peers, and said, That he had given
orders to the lord-chancellor to declare to both houses a mat-
ter of the greatest importance. Upon this, the lord-chancel-
lor read the following speech:

‘ My lords and gentlemen,

‘ **H**AVING received, from our good brother and ally
‘ the most Christian king, repeated advices, that an
‘ invasion will suddenly be attempted from Spain against my
‘ dominions, in favour of the Pretender to my crown, I have
‘ judged it convenient to make you acquainted with it, and
‘ shall, on my part, take all the necessary measures to defeat
‘ the designs of our enemies.

‘ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

‘ This attempt, if it proceed, must engage me in some
‘ farther expences by sea and land than provision has been
‘ made for. I must therefore recommend it to you, that I
‘ be enabled in such a manner, as you shall judge convenient,
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Geo. I. ' to make the necessary dispositions for our security ; and you
 1718-19. ' may depend upon it, that I shall upon this, and all other
 ' occasions, have as much regard to the case of my people,
 ' as shall be consistent with their safety.

' My lords and gentlemen,

' The many proofs I have had of the affection and loyalty
 ' of this parliament, leave me no room to doubt of your
 ' steady and vigorous perseverance in support of my person
 ' and government upon this occasion.'

The designs
 of the Spaniards de-
 feated.

This speech had all the effect the king could expect or de-
 fire. Both houses assured him of their support ; and the com-
 mons desired him to augment his forces by sea and land, in
 such manner as he should think fit, promising to make good
 any increase of expence on that account. With these assu-
 rances of the parliament, the king had the satisfaction to see
 his allies exert their zeal in his defence. The States sent
 over the two thousand men ; and the marquis de Prié, gover-
 nor of the Austrian Netherlands, six battalions of impe-
 rialists. The duke of Orleans offered no less than twenty
 battalions, but it was not thought proper to accept his offer.
 These precautions taken by the king were very just, but, as
 it happened, they proved needless. The Spanish fleet came
 with a fair wind as far as Cape Finisterre, when a violent
 storm arose, which lasted two days and two nights. The
 fleet was intirely dispersed, and disabled from pursuing their
 course. The admiral's ship of sixty-four guns, having lost
 all her masts, made for the coast of Spain, as did all the rest
 in the best manner they could. By this storm, the men and
 horses were for the most part rendered unserviceable.

Some Spaniards land
 in Scotland.

Though the Spanish squadron miscarried, two frigates ar-
 rived at Kintail in Scotland. These frigates sailed from Port-
 Passage the latter end of February, and came to Kintail the
 16th of April, without having seen any of the Spanish fleet
 in their way. They brought with them the earls of Sea-
 forth and Marischal, and the marquis of Tullibardine, with
 three hundred and seven Spaniards, being a detachment of
 twelve men in a company of Don Pedro de Castro's regiment
 of foot, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel, with six cap-
 tains, six lieutenants, and as many ensigns. They brought
 also arms for two thousand men. The lieutenant-colonel
 was assured there were ten thousand men in arms ready to
 join

join him, but, very few appearing, he kept the frigates two days, resolving to go off again, but he was at last prevailed with to let them sail. The two earls and the marquiss, who had ventured themselves with so small a force, went with the Spaniards and joined the rebels. After this junction, they possessed themselves of Donan-Castle, and put in it a garrison of fifty men; but captain Boyle, in the Worcester, and some other ships, came before the place, and took the garrison prisoners. In the mean time, general Wightman was ordered by the lord Carpenter, to march with the forces under his command in quest of the rebels. He marched from Inverness the beginning of June, and, having halted one day at the head of Lochness, came up with them at a place called the Pass of Glenshill, which they gave out they were resolved to defend; but, upon the approach of the king's troops, they immediately deserted it, and retired to another pass called Strachell, where they were more advantageously posted. The general, having viewed their situation, made the following disposition for the attack: On the right were posted all the grenadiers under the command of major Milburn, being about a hundred and fifty in number, who were sustained by Montague's regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Laurence, and a detachment of fifty men, commanded by colonel Harrison; the rest of the regiment being in garrison at Inverlochy. These were supported by Haffel's Dutch regiment, and four companies out of Amerongon's. This wing had fifty-six of lord Strathnaver's men in the flank, under the command of ensign Mackay; and the whole wing was commanded by colonel Clayton, who acted as brigadier upon this occasion. The left wing consisted of Clayton's regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Reading, and had on the flank about fourscore men of the Monroes, under the command of Mr. Monroe of Calcairn. The dragoons, which were a hundred and twenty in number, commanded by major Robertson, and had made their march from Inverness without the loss of a single horse, or the least inconvenience, were ordered to keep the road, having four cohorts placed in their front. The major-general himself was posted in the centre, where every one had free access to him for orders.

Geo. I.
1718-19.

And defeat-
ed by gene-
ral Wight-
man,
June 10,

The rebels forces consisted of one thousand six hundred and forty Highlanders, besides three hundred Spaniards, and a body of five hundred Highlanders, who were posted on a hill, in order to make themselves masters of the baggage of the king's troops, it being always one of their chief aims. From this disposition it is evident, that the king's forces,

Geo. I. actually engaged, did not exceed eight hundred and fifty men, 1718-19. besides the one hundred and twenty dragoons, and one hundred and thirty-six Highlanders. The left wing was ordered to begin the attack; and the rebels always, as they had fired their muskets, skipping off, and never venturing to come to a close engagement, were driven from rock to rock, the king's forces chasing them above three hours, till they gained the top of the hill, where the rebels were immediately dispersed. The earl of Seaforth and lord George Murray were wounded. There were twenty-one men killed, and one hundred and twenty-one wounded, officers included, of the king's troops, who lay on their arms all night, in order to bring off the wounded; and marched the next morning to Glenhill, where about two in the afternoon the Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion, and delivered up all their arms and ammunition. Their commander said, the earl of Seaforth and all the rest were shifting for themselves, and believed, they would endeavour to get off as soon as possible at the sea-port towns, where they could hope to have friends to let them escape. General Wightman acquainted the lord Carpenter, that he had taken two hundred and seventy-four Spaniards prisoners, and was making a tour through the difficult parts of Seaforth's country, to terrify the guilty, and preserve the well affected; and that he had utterly dispersed the rebels, the chiefs of whom, Seaforth, Tul-libardine, Marischal, and others, were gone off to the Lewis or Orkney islands. Thus ended cardinal Alberoni's enterprise upon Great Britain (a).

When

(a) A marriage was this year agreed upon for the Pretender, with a daughter of prince Sobieski, eldest son of John Sobieski king of Poland, who had gained so much honour by raising the siege of Vienna. But the court of Vienna thought fit to interest itself so much in preventing this intended marriage, that the princess was stopped in passing through Tirol into Italy, and carried into confinement at Inspruck. Great application was made to the emperor for her release; but he continued

inflexible, and seemed the more to extend his authority in this affair, as the whole family of Sobieski lay under great and uncommon obligations to him, on account of pensions and considerable allowances, which they received from him, in acknowledgment of the great services of the late king of Poland to the empire. Prince James Sobieski, father of this young princess, held his subsistence chiefly at the emperor's pleasure. On this occasion he went therefore to Vienna, to make his submission

When the king sent the message to both houses about the Spanish invasion, the lords were debating upon the famous peerage bill. This bill, by which the number of peers was to be limited, is said to have been chiefly intended to put a restraint on the prince of Wales, when his succession should take place, from whom the present ministry could expect but little favour. Be this as it will, the Whigs had exclaimed against the numerous promotion of peers by queen Anne, particularly the creation of twelve peers at once, in order to gain a superiority in the house of lords, and, to prevent the like for the future, it was resolved to bring in a bill to fix the number of peers (b). The person by whom this bill was moved

Geo. I.
1718-19.
The peerage
bill.
Pr. H. C.
Pr. H. L.

to the emperor, whom he understood to be highly displeased with him; but his imperial majesty would be no ways reconciled to him, or agree to a continuance of his customary allowance upon any other terms, but his intirely breaking off the match.

Whilst intercession was making for her liberty, the princess Sobieski escaped from her confinement in the beginning of May, in man's cloaths, and, repairing to Bologna, was there married by proxy to the Pretender, then in Spain. A few days after she went to Rome, where she was very kindly entertained by the pope and some of the cardinals. She seemed impatient to be conducted to her spouse; but the hazard of the present conjuncture, and the uncertainty of his residence, till his projects were brought to some crisis, made the pope continue her under his care at Rome. No other opportunity of correspondence could therefore be obtained but by letters; and, about the latter end of June, an account was brought to England of one Massy, who was sent from Rome with dispatches

from her to the pretender and cardinal Alberoni; and, quickly after, earl Cadogan had notice of a person of the same name in Holland, with letters and papers of consequence; whereupon, at his instances, Massy's lodgings were searched, and his person and papers secured.

(b) The same day this bill was brought in, there was printed, and delivered to the lords, a list of the peers existing at the time of king James I's accession to the crown, and of those who have since been advanced to the peerage; as also of the several peers extinct in his and the succeeding reigns. By this list it appears that,

At the death of queen Elizabeth,			
the number of English peers			
was, — 59 ext. add.			
K. James I. created	62	17	45
K. Charles I. —	59	21	38
K. Charles II. —	64	53	11
K. James II. —	8	8	0
K. William and	} 30	21	9
Q. Mary,			
Queen Anne —	30	24	6
K. George —	20	10	10
	—	—	—
	332	154	119
Extinct	154		
Remains	178		

Geo. I. moved for, was the duke of Somerset, who on the last day
1718-19 of February, represented in the house of lords, that, the
 number of peers being of late years very much increased,
 especially since the union of the two kingdoms, it seemed
 absolutely necessary to fix the same, both to preserve the
 dignity of the peerage, and to prevent the inconveniencies,
 that may attend the creation of a great number of peers to
 serve a present purpose; of which they had a remarkable in-
 stance in the late reign. He therefore made a motion for
 the bringing in a bill to settle and limit the peerage in such a
 manner, that the number of English peers should not be in-
 larged beyond six above the present number, which, upon
 failure of male issue, might be supplied with new creations;
 and that, instead of the sixteen elective peers, twenty-five
 should be made hereditary on the part of Scotland, whose
 number, upon failure of heirs male, should be supplied by
 some other Scots peers. The duke of Argyle (who was
 now lord steward of the household) seconded this motion,
 which was also supported by the earls of Sunderland and
 Carlisle, before they came to any resolution; and therefore
 his lordship, the earl of Oxford, excepted against it, and
 said, 'as it tended to take away the brightest gem from the
 crown, it was matter of wonder to see it supported by those,
 who, by the great employments they enjoyed, seemed un-
 der the strictest obligation to take care of the Royal Prero-
 gative. That therefore there must be a Secret Meaning in
 this motion; but for his own part, though he expected
 nothing from the crown, yet he would never give his vote
 for lopping off so valuable a branch of the prerogative, be-
 cause this would put it out of the power of the crown to
 reward merit and virtuous actions.' To this the earl of
 Sunderland answered, 'That though the number of peers
 were limited, yet the crown should still be the fountain of
 honour, and preserve its prerogative of creating new peers

At the time of debating the bill, Archbishops and bishops 26
 the state of the peers was as Peers of Scotland — 16
 follows :

The prince of Wales and	}	2	220
duke of York ———			
Dukes ———	——	22	
Earls ———	——	73	
Viscounts ———	——	13	
Barons ———	——	68	
			178

upon

upon the extinction of old titles for want of male issue, Geo. I. which happened frequently; and that these extinctions 1718-19. would give the prince on the throne sufficient opportunities to bestow honours upon commoners of distinguishing merit and abilities.' The debate being adjourned to the second of March, upon that day, earl Stanhope delivered to a full house the following message from the king:

George R.

' His majesty being informed, that the house of peers have under consideration the state of the peerage of Great-Britain, is graciously pleased to acquaint this house, that he has so much at heart the settling the peerage of the whole kingdom upon such a foundation, as may secure the freedom and constitution of parliaments in all future ages, that he is willing, that his prerogative stand not in the way of so great and necessary a work.'

A motion being made for an address of thanks for this message, the earl of Nottingham excepted against it, saying, It was unusual for the king to take notice of any thing depending in parliament, before the same was laid before him in a parliamentary way. But the duke of Bucks over-ruled this objection, and said, It could not be supposed, that the king alone should be ignorant of what every body else knew; and that since his majesty was pleased, for the good of his subjects, to suffer his prerogative to be restrained, they ought readily to accept, and thankfully acknowledge, so great and so gracious a condescension. Upon this the address was agreed to, and the debate was put off to the next day; when the earl of Sunderland, in a long speech, ran over the several changes that had happened in the peerage since the reign of queen Elizabeth to this time; urged the necessity of limiting the number of peers; and proposed the duke of Somerset's scheme with relation both to the English and Scots peers. Earl Cowper, in answer to this speech, endeavoured to shew, ' That what was intended to be done with relation to the Scots peerage was a manifest violation of the treaty of Union, and the highest piece of injustice; for it was no less than to deprive persons of their right without being heard, and without any pretence of forfeiture on their part; urging, that the Scots peers, who should be excluded

Geo. I. from the number of the twenty-five hereditary, would be in
 1718-19. a worse condition than any other subjects, since they would
 be neither electing nor elected, nor representing, nor represented; which could not fail of raising dangerous discontents amongst them. That, besides, it would be a breach of trust in those who represented the Scots peerage wholly to divest their principals of a power, with which they had intrusted them only for a few years: And therefore he was of opinion, that the Scots peers ought to have been consulted, before any steps were made in so nice and so important an affair. These objections were answered by the earls of Sunderland, Stanhope, and Cadogan, the dukes of Bucks and Newcastle, the bishop of Gloucester, and some other English lords, who were supported by several Scots peers, particularly the dukes of Roxburgh and Montrose, the marquiss of Annandale, and the earl of Ilay. In the first place, it was alledged, 'That the settling the peerage, in the manner proposed, was rather a benefit than a disadvantage to the Scots peerage, whose representatives were thereby increased by nine, and all made hereditary; and as for those peers, who, for the present, would be excluded, they would afterwards have a chance to come in, upon failure of any of the twenty-five: That this regulation could not be looked upon as a violation of the Union, two things only being made unalterable fundamentals of that contract, Religion, and the proportion of public Taxes: That the consulting of the Scots peers in this affair would be altogether improper and unparliamentary, and attended with great inconveniencies. The earl of Ilay in particular represented, 'That the bringing in a number of peers into that house, by election, was certainly derogatory to the dignity of that august assembly, and of the highest tribunal in the united kingdoms: And therefore he had long before wished to see this defect in the Union rectified, and the Scots peers freed from that ignominious mark of distinction, which made them be looked upon as dependant on the court and ministry, and not at liberty to vote like the other members, for the good and interest of their country.' The earl of Nottingham, the lord Townshend, and some other peers, declared, 'That they were not against the settling and limiting the peerage, but only against the doing it in such a manner, as, in their opinion, was unjust, and might be attended with dangerous consequences.' But, after a long debate, resolutions agreeable to the duke of Somerset's motion

motion were agreed to, and the judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill (c). Geo. I.
1718-19.

As

(c) The resolutions about the Scots peers were these six :

I. That, in lieu of the sixteen elective peers to sit in this house on the part of Scotland, twenty-five peers, to be declared by his majesty, shall have hereditary seats in parliament, and be the peers on the part of the peerage of Scotland.

II That such twenty-five peers shall be declared by his majesty, before the next session of parliament.

III. That nine of the said twenty-five shall be appointed by his majesty to have immediate right to such hereditary seats in parliament, subject to the qualifications requisite by the laws now in being.

IV. That none of the remaining sixteen, so to be declared by his majesty, or their heirs, shall become sitting peers of the parliament of Great Britain, till after the determination of this present parliament, except such as are of the number of the sixteen peers now sitting in parliament on the part of Scotland and their heirs.

V. That if any of the twenty-five peers, so to be declared by his majesty, and their heirs, shall fail, some one or other of the peers of Scotland shall be appointed by his majesty, his heirs and successors, to succeed every such peers so failing; and every peer so appointed shall be one of the peers on the part of the peerage of Scotland, in the parliament of Great Britain, and

so, toties quoties, as often as any such failure shall happen.

VI. That the hereditary right of sitting in parliament, which shall accrue to the twenty-five peers of Scotland, to be declared by his majesty, shall be so limited, as not to descend to females.

The resolutions concerning the English peers (which were agreed to the next day) were these five :

I. That the number of peers of Great Britain, on the part of England, shall not be enlarged, without precedent right, beyond six above what they are at present: But, as any of the said present peers, or such six new peers, in case they be created, shall fail, their number may be supplied by new creations of commons, natural born subjects of this kingdom, and so, toties quoties, as often as such failure shall happen.

II. That no person be at any time hereafter created a peer by writ, nor any peerage granted by patent for any longer estate than for the grantee, and the heirs male of his body.

III. That there be not any restraint on the crown to create any of the princes of the blood peers of Great Britain, with right to sit in parliament.

IV. That, whenever any of the lords now sitting in parliament, whose sons have been called by writ, shall die, then it shall be lawful for his majesty, his

Geo. I. As this affair had made a great noise, and alarmed not only the generality of the Scots peers, but also many of the English commoners, a pamphlet, said to be wrote by Mr. Benson, called the Plebeian, was published against the bill, which was answered by Mr. Addison, in his paper called 'The Old Whig.' In these papers, the chief arguments, on both sides of that important question, are largely and fully displayed (d).

The peerage
bill dropped.

1719.
The parliament is prorogued,
April 18.
Pr. H. C.

Whilst the public was in expectation of the issue of this affair, a sudden stop was put to all further proceedings. Earl Stanhope, when the bill came to be read the third time, made a speech, wherein he observed, 'That this bill had made a great noise, and raised strange apprehensions: And since the design of it had been so misrepresented, and so misunderstood, that it was like to meet with great opposition in the other house, he thought it adviseable to let the matter lie still till a more proper opportunity.' Upon this, the third reading was put off a fortnight, by which means the bill was dropped for this session: For the king, four days after, came to the house of peers, and put an end to the session with the following speech, which the lord chancellor read to both houses:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" **I** AM now come to put an end to this session, in which
" you have shewn many great and seasonable proofs of
" your duty and affection to my person and government,
" and of your care for the safety and welfare of your fellow-
" subjects.

his heirs and successors, to create a peer to supply the number so lessened.

V. That every creation of a peer hereafter to be made contrary to these resolutions shall be null and void to all intents and purposes.

(d) The Plebeian has the following expressions: 'The greatest traitor to civil society, that ever yet appeared, will be the man, if such a one can be found, who shall contend for such a bill, should it be proposed among the commons, with the

assurance in his pocket of being a peer, as soon as the bill passes. And should he succeed, which God forbid, that honour, which is to be the reward of so base a treachery, will be a lasting mark of infamy to the family that bears it, whilst any notion of honour remains among mankind.'

Mr. Benson was soon after removed from his post of surveyor-general of his majesty's works, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Hewet.

" By

" By the blessing of God on our endeavours, we have hitherto disappointed the ill designs of our enemies, who flattered themselves with success from our unhappy divisions.

" We perceive, by the rash and wicked counsels which have lately prevailed in the court of Spain, and the desperate and extravagant projects of one ambitious man, though not capable of giving fears to their neighbours, may occasion to them some expence and trouble.

" That court, being influenced by counsels odious and destructive to the Spaniards, who find themselves neglected and oppressed, after having endeavoured to foment conspiracies and seditions, both here and in France, and stooped to practices unusual, accompanied by manifestoes of a stile unheard of among great princes, has at last proceeded to acknowledge the pretender.

" As this news has given great surprise to all Europe, I question not, but it will be received by every good Briton with indignation and contempt.

" It is our happiness, at this juncture, to find ourselves assisted by the greatest powers in Europe against an enemy, that has no allies, but those, who would betray the government, under which they live and are protected.

" Gentlemen of the house of commons,

" I thank you very heartily for the supplies you have granted me this year. The manner in which you have raised them, without any new burden to my people, the great addition you have made to the fund for sinking the debts of the nation, the discharge of the Exchequer bills, and the provisions you have made to pay whatsoever remains justly due to foreign states and princes, are the strongest proofs of your wisdom, as well as of your zeal for my service and the good of your country. You may observe, I have hitherto been very cautious of making use of the power you have given me, to increase our forces by sea and land. If our enemies should oblige me to a greater expence, it shall be employed for your service. This is what the trust you reposed in me requires at my hands, and what I owe to so dutiful and affectionate a house of commons.

" My

Geo. I.

1719.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ There being nothing more desirable, at all times, than
 “ a firm union among Protestants, I reflect with satisfaction
 “ upon the law you have passed this session, which will, I
 “ hope, prove effectual to that purpose. As it is a signal
 “ instance of moderation and indulgence in our established
 “ Church, so I hope it will beget such a return of gratitude
 “ from all Dissenting Protestants, as will greatly tend to her
 “ honour and security, both which I shall ever have near at
 “ heart.

“ I have always looked upon the glory of a sovereign, and
 “ the liberty of a subject, as inseparable; and think it is the
 “ peculiar happiness of a British king to reign over a free
 “ people. As the civil rights, therefore, and privileges of
 “ all my subjects, and especially of my two houses of par-
 “ liament, do justly claim my most tender concern; if any pro-
 “ vision designed to perpetuate these blessings to your po-
 “ sterity remains imperfect, for want of time, during this ses-
 “ sion, maturely to discuss and settle matters of so great im-
 “ portance, I promise myself, you will take the first oppor-
 “ tunity to render my wishes for your happiness complete
 “ and effectual, and to strengthen the union, which is
 “ of so much consequence to the welfare of this king-
 “ dom.

“ If the circumstances of my affairs shall allow of my go-
 “ ing abroad this summer, I shall take the same care of your
 “ interests, as if I remained here. The many negotiations,
 “ which will be on foot, to restore the peace of the North,
 “ in which the trade and tranquillity of this kingdom may
 “ be very much concerned, will make my presence there of
 “ great use to these my dominions. And, as in that case I
 “ design, by the blessing of God, to meet you early next
 “ winter, I will only recommend to you most earnestly,
 “ that, laying aside all animosities, you would, in your se-
 “ veral counties and stations, use your utmost endeavours to
 “ preserve the public peace, and see a due execution of the
 “ laws.”

After this speech, the parliament was prorogued to the
 19th of May; and afterwards, by several prorogations, to
 the 23d of November (e).

Soon

(e) An act passed, after the and aldermen, &c. at their ad-
 restoration, obliging all mayors mission into offices, to sign a de-
 claration

Soon after the prorogation, the king declared his intention of going to Hanover, and appointed for lords justices, in his absence, the archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor Parker, the dukes of Kingston, Argyle (now also Greenwich) Newcastle, Bolton, Marlborough, and Roxburgh, the earls of Sunderland, Berkly, and Stanhope, and secretary Craggs. The prince and princess of Wales, not being appointed regents, retired into the county, and appeared no more till the king's departure, a few days after which they came to St. James's to see the young princesses, who kept a levy twice a week: And to them it was, that the lords justices, and a numerous appearance of foreign ministers, nobility, and gentry, made their compliments on the king's birth-day, who was entered into the sixtieth year of his age.

Geo. I.
1719.

The king
goes to Ha-
nover.

As the king thought his presence in Germany necessary to forward the many negotiations that were on foot, he set out the 11th of May, and, after a short passage of seventeen hours, arrived in Holland. With the king embarked earl Stanhope, the duchess of Munster (now duchess of Kendal) and the lord and lady Howe, with some others. The king staid two days at Osnabrug, and came to Herenhausen the 18th of May.

The death of the king of Sweden having removed the chief obstacle to the peace of the North, the king turned his thoughts first that way. The new queen, who had succeeded her brother, Charles XII, as well as the whole nation, were desirous of peace; drained of men and money, they were unable to make war: Almost the whole army, led by the late king to the fatal expedition of Norway, miserably perished. But it was not sufficient to give peace to Sweden, it was necessary also to disarm her other enemies, and bound their pretensions. These enemies were the czar, and the kings of Denmark, Prussia, and Poland. King George, displeased with the czar, whom he suspected of having en-

He makes
peace with
Sweden.

claration against 'The Solemn League and Covenant,' on a considerable penalty. As this act was still in force, and all the magistrates liable to the penalty of it, because the declaration had been universally neglected, on a petition of the lord mayor and aldermen of London, an act passed this session to repeal it, under the title of 'An Act for

quieting and establishing Corporations.'

The trustees of the forfeited estates delivered in an account of the value of the estates of Papists, which had, in pursuance of an act, for that purpose, been registered in the several counties of England, amounting to 375,284 l. 15 s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

tered

Geo. I. 1719. tered into all the projects which had been formed against him, resolved to keep no measures with him. He began with a sincere reconciliation with Sweden, then endeavoured to soften the king of Denmark, and induce the two others to proceed with great moderation, to acknowledge him for a mediator, and join with him, if necessary, to compel the czar to accept of equitable conditions.

The duke of Orleans, in concert with king George, had offered his mediation to Sweden for a reconciliation with that prince. The offer was accepted, and, in July, a provisional treaty was signed, by which a peace was to be concluded as soon as possible, agreeable to the plan, and terms agreed upon with the mediator. This was punctually performed, and, in November, the sieur de Bassewitz, minister of his Britannic majesty, as duke and elector of Brunswick, signed the peace with the plenipotentiaries of queen Ulrica.

By this treaty, Sweden gave up for ever, to the royal and electoral house of Hanover, the duchies of Bremen and Verden, with all their rights and dependencies, according to the treaty of Osnabrug, of the 23d of October, 1648, by virtue of which the kings of Sweden had enjoyed them. On the other hand, the elector of Hanover engaged to continue to his new subjects their rights, privileges, effects, and religion; and to discharge the engagements of his predecessors in those duchies. Moreover, he obliged himself to pay to the queen of Sweden a million of rix-dollars, at two payments; the first before the signing of the treaty; the second, five or six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications. He engaged likewise to renew, both as king of Great Britain, and elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly established with his predecessors and the kingdom of Sweden. Lastly, the treaty of Westphalia was renewed, with a reservation of demanding and accepting the guaranty of the emperor, and, according to circumstances, of some other powers.

At the same time the lord Carteret, ambassador plenipotentiary of Great Britain to the court of Sweden, was employed to negotiate the confirmation of this treaty of peace, by an alliance between the two crowns, still under the mediation and guaranty of France. But this alliance was not concluded till the next year, as will be related.

These negotiations with the queen of Sweden were not the most difficult; she readily agreed to a peace, and considered it as the ground of her safety, and the end of her miseries. But it was not the same either with the king of Denmark or the czar, who looked upon these negotiations as the ruin

ruin of their schemes, and an obstacle to their conquests. **Geo. I.**
 As for king Augustus, he entered intirely into the views of **1719.**
 the king of Great Britain, and was contented with being
 acknowledged king of Poland; he did not even require, that
 the interests of his competitor should be abandoned; and
 consented that, in the provisional treaty, the queen of Swe-
 den should reserve to herself the liberty of demanding for him
 what she should think proper.

The king of Prussia was a little more difficult; but he
 complied at last, and, accepting the mediation of Great
 Britain, granted a suspension of arms till the conclusion of
 the peace.

The king of Denmark had made great preparations for an
 expedition against Sweden, which he was to execute in per-
 son: He had already had some success, but of a sudden he
 desisted, and, consenting to a suspension of arms for six
 months, accepted of the mediation of France and Great
 Britain, and, after numberless disputes, gave way to the in-
 stances of the mediators, and accepted of a sum of money by
 way of satisfaction for the conquests, which he was obliged
 to restore. The czar was the only prince, who would not
 comply, but sent his fleet to the Scheuron or Batzes
 of Sweden, where twelve or fifteen thousand Muscovites
 landed, and made a dreadful ravage. The English fleet,
 which, under Sir John Norris, was in those seas, to support
 the negotiations, had orders to treat the Russian fleet, as ad-
 miral Byng had done that of Spain; but the czar recalled his
 fleet, and prevented the blow. Thus stood affairs in the
 North; it is time now to see what war done in the Mediter-
 ranean this summer.

Whilst admiral Byng and the viceroy of Naples were wait-
 ing for the return of count Hamilton, whom they had agreed
 to send to Vienna, to represent the posture of affairs, and
 bring back the final resolutions of that court, concerning the
 operations of the war, the admiral sailed to Port-Mahon to
 refit his squadron (f).

Affairs in
 the Medi-
 terranean.
 Corbet.

Signor

(f) Captain Matthews being
 left with a squadron at Penta-
 melia, to observe rear-admiral
 Cammock, and hinder his esca-
 ping out of Messina to the south-
 ward, had the good fortune to
 run one of them ashore, a ship
 of sixty-four guns, called the St.

Roselia; and another called the
 St. Pedro, of sixty guns, was cast
 away in Tarento bay. Cam-
 mock himself, endeavouring to
 get away to Spain in a small
 frigate of twenty-two guns, was
 chased the 6th of February by a
 ship of captain Matthews's squa-
 dron,

Geo. I. Signor Patinho had hitherto resided at Messina, directing the affairs of the island for the interest of his master with great prudence; but, his presence being wanted at the court of Spain, he embarked on board a felucca, on the 16th of January in the night, and put to sea, attended by two gallees. If the darkness had continued an hour longer, he would have undoubtedly fallen into the mouths of two of the English cruizers, which chased his gallees into a bay near

Patinho returns to Spain.

dron, and escaped with much difficulty in his boat to Catania, but the frigate was taken, with all his effects and papers, among which was a commission from the pretender, appointing him admiral of the white squadron.

This unhappy man was a native of Ireland, and, being bred up at sea, had raised himself to the post of a captain, and served in queen Anne's war, with no bad character. But associating himself with those who were enemies to the house of Hanover, and becoming obnoxious to the government, on the accession of that family to the crown, he abandoned his country, and entered into the service of Spain, where he was promoted to the rank of a rear-admiral, and served in that post in the expedition against Sicily. He had never been noted to want courage, but, in the action of Passaro, he ran away among the first, and escaped to Malta, affording an instance, how much a consciousness of guilt and dread of punishment depress the heart more than the fear of an enemy. He was a vain boasting man, with a roving unsettled head, filled with airy schemes and projects, without any judgment or discretion. He assured signor Patinho, that he could put most

of the English fleet into his hands, in recompence for that which he had lost; and, in that senseless confidence, wrote a letter to the admiral, to let him know, that he had the pretender's commands to assure him, if he would bring over the greatest part of his fleet to Messina, or to any port in Spain, he would create him duke of Albarmarle, with a royal bounty of one hundred thousand pounds to support the honour and dignity of that rank; and that every captain should have ten thousand pounds, and the seamen a gratuity of two months wages. That signor Patinho would satisfy him of the king of Spain's security for the performance of this agreement, and that nobody else but the dukes of Ormond and Mar were in the secret. Whether he wrote by direction or not, does not appear, but the letter met with the contempt it deserved. He likewise sent another letter to captain Walton, with the promise of a reward of ten thousand pounds, a commission of admiral of the blue, and to be made an English peer, if he would bring his ships into Messina, which the honest captain brought to the admiral, with vehement expressions of abhorrence and indignation.

Palermo: but the felucca escaped, and landed him in Italy, from whence he proceeded to Madrid, and, by his counsels and industry, all methods were used for supporting their army in Sicily with recruits of men, and all necessaries of war. The Venetians and Genoese, and even the French consuls in the ports of Italy, notwithstanding the severe prohibitions of the regent, were corrupted to give them all the assistance possible; and, though many vessels were taken, many escaped. As to the French, admiral Byng found himself under a difficulty how to treat the ships of a nation, that was in strict alliance with England. He made loud complaints of their partiality, till at last the regent gave him leave to confiscate all those he met with in the service of Spain, which put some stop to their clandestine proceeding (a).

Admiral Byng, having refitted most of his squadron at Port-Mahon, hastened away from thence with four men of

(a) Mr. Corbet mentions here an instance or two of the unfair practice of other nations at this time upon the English trade, and which, it is apprehended, will always be the case, whenever England is engaged in foreign wars. The admiral having intelligence from Genoa, that a privateer of twenty-four guns had been fitted out by French merchants of that place, and was cruising with a Spanish commission off cape Corso, and having no small frigates with him, he converted the Loo hospital ship into a frigate, and, putting twenty guns and one hundred men into her, sent her under the command of captain Prothero, in quest of the said privateer. The captain fortunately met with her off the island of Capraia, and after a smart engagement took her. She had one hundred and thirty men, most French, of whom fifty-six were killed, and nineteen wounded, with the loss only

of two men killed in the Loo, and four wounded. The admiral directed the prisoners to be sent to Thoulon, and delivered into the custody of the intendant; and he wrote to the English ambassador at Paris, to represent those proceedings to the regent, to whose justice he left the prisoners. Another ship was fitted out at Venice, with fifty guns, and two hundred and fifty men, all Venetians, except three Spaniards, and eight English; and having taken a Spanish commission at Malta, which signor Patinho had lodged there for her, she went a cruising on the coast of Spain. The admiral being informed of it, sent the Orford and Rupert after her, the latter of which, meeting with her off Peniscola, engaged and took her by boarding, having killed sixty-one men, and wounded twenty-nine, with the loss only of one man killed and three wounded.

Geo. I. war the 30th of March, leaving the rest to follow him; and arrived the 4th of April at Naples, where he hoped to find the army from Hungary arrived, and in a readiness to embark; but, contrary to his expectations, he saw every thing in extreme backwardness, partly for want of money.

On the 23d of April, count de Mercy arrived at Naples from Vienna, to take upon him the command of the whole army. He was a native of Lorrain, but brought up in the emperor's service, where he had risen to the rank of general of the horse. He was of a tall graceful presence, with a very soldier-like appearance, but had the misfortune of being short-sighted, almost to purblindness. He had great strength of body and mind, and was indefatigable in the use of both, when necessary. He was full of fire, and his conversation abounded with wit and humour. He had great skill in courting and caressing persons, when he wanted to gain any point, but, at other times, his behaviour discovered much haughtiness. He had an insatiable thirst for glory, which was seconded by a bold and most resolute temper, always heading his troops himself, and seemed to have a sort of passion for fighting. He was seldom in any action but he was wounded, and was not esteemed a fortunate officer. He despised an enemy too much, was impatient for engaging, and had the character of not caring what men he sacrificed to obtain his purpose, when a few days patience might perhaps have succeeded as well without it; which opinion made the soldiers uneasy under him, as they were in continual apprehensions of being led to the slaughter. Upon the whole, as he had great parts, and great experience of service, he must have made a great general (as he was a complete fine gentleman) if he had had a cooler temper, or could have commanded it better. But, with all his faults, he was certainly in the superior rank of men, of which there needs no better proof, than that he was a favourite of prince Eugene. He was now going to encounter an old school-fellow in the marquiss de Lede, who was a Fleming by birth, and a good general under a quite opposite character; being as different from the other in person, as he was in temper. He was of a low mishapen stature, not affable nor open in his disposition, but much esteemed for his judgment and prudence, and was of great military experience too. He was as cautious and circumspect, as the other was bold and enterprising; and, in this respect, both seemed to be in their proper employments, the one in a situation of defence, and the other of attack. It was thought, that, in the course of this war, he slipped
some

some opportunities, which the oversight, or wants of the Germans, gave him, of acting upon them to advantage; but he considered, that he was in a country, where he was

Geo. I.
1719.

shut up from receiving any considerable supplies of men, while the enemy poured in what numbers they pleased, and that any large diminution of his troops might endanger the whole, and therefore made it a principal point to preserve his army as much as possible, and with the advantage of the passes, and the affection of the country people, to distress and disable his adversary, which he effected with much skill and wisdom, and maintained the honour of the arms of Spain with great reputation; and at last, when the king his master was forced by the weight of the alliances against him, to relinquish the island, he brought a gallant army back into Spain (b)

Whilst the troops were arriving, and the vessels to transport them were getting ready, admiral Byng assisted at several conferences with the viceroy of Naples and general Mercy, about the intended descent on Sicily. All agreed, that Syracuse was out of the way, but it was not so easy to determine, whether it would be best to land at Palermo, or near Melazzo. Palermo was judged safest, and would not only make them masters of the capital city, but also of the fertile province of Mazzara, from whence they might easily draw

(b) The city of Naples was at this time full of general officers, and persons of high quality and distinction, and abounded in all the pleasures of that delightful climate. The viceroy was studious of making the place agreeable to the admiral, as much out of affection as politeness. On the festival day of St. Januarius, he appointed him a box near his own, to behold that famous ceremony. The blood continued long without liquefying, at the approach of the head of the saint. The vast concourse of people began to shew signs of concern: They first fell to praying, afterwards proceeded to groans and lamentations; and, at length, such a confused murmuring and un-

easiness was perceived amongst them, that the viceroy, being apprehensive of some ill consequences, sent count Hamilton to the admiral, to beg he would not take it ill, if he desired him to retire, not knowing what effect it might have upon the populace, if they should take it into their heads to attribute the failing of the miracle to the saint's being displeased at his presence. The admiral had no sooner quitted his box, and was stepping into the viceroy's coach, but he heard a prodigious shout of, 'é fatto, é fatto, it is done, it is done;' and such joy and exultation appeared in every countenance, as if they had been delivered from some terrible calamity.

Geo. I. provisions and necessaries for the subsistence of the army.
 1719. But Melazzo was most expeditious, as it would press the enemy closer, and bring matters more quickly to a decision; and this opinion prevailed. But, when they came to examine into the state of their military stores, they were so deficient in a train of artillery, that the admiral yielded to supply them with cannon, powder and ball, from the Spanish prizes, rather than suffer time to be lost for want thereof.

Expedition
to Sicily.

All things being at length got ready, the army embarked, consisting of ten thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, all choice troops, and the flower of those that had lately served victoriously in Hungary. The admiral sailed from the bay of Baiæ, the 22d of May, N. S. with eight men of war, and above two hundred transports; and, on the 27th in the evening, arrived before Melazzo, from whence general Zumjungen came off, and advised count de Mercy to land in the bay of Patti, about twenty miles westward, the coasts to the eastward being all guarded by the enemy. Upon this, so good a disposition and order was made, that, the next morning early, all the foot landed in less than two hours, and most of the cavalry by three in the afternoon, having only lost two horses in the voyage.

Upon the landing of the imperialists, the marquis de Lede decamped with precipitation, and marched, without halting, to Franca Villa, a strong post, thirty-two miles distant in a mountainous country, and from whence three roads led to Palermo, Messina, and Syracuse. Count de Mercy arrived, by easy marches, at Melazzo, and found in the Spanish camp some cannon, with ammunition and utensils of war, which the haste of the Spaniards had left behind.

Whilst matters were preparing here for the further operations of the army, count Seckendorf was detached with a body of two thousand five hundred foot, and one hundred and fifty horse, to reduce the islands of Lipari to the emperor's obedience; which he effected, after some resistance, in four days time. This conquest was absolutely necessary to keep open the navigation between Naples and Sicily, which had been disturbed by the armed vessels of those islands. Lipari, the principal island, is said to contain eight thousand inhabitants, a bold people, addicted to pillage, and the best mariners in those parts.

It was now under deliberation, whether the army should go and besiege Messina, or follow the Spaniards, who were strongly

strongly intrenching themselves at Franca Villa. Messina had a numerous garrison, and was well provided for a long siege, which might waste away the summer, whilst the Spaniards got in the corn, now near ripe, and kept the magazines of the island in their possession. It was therefore determined to march towards the enemy, and to endeavour to bring them to a battle. The hasty retreat they had made from Melazzo animated count de Mercy so much, that he did not imagine they would make any great stand at Franca Villa, but that he should trample them under foot (which was his expression) when he came up with them. The way to the enemy lay through a barren mountainous country, and it took up so much time to get together a few mules and horses for carriage from Calabria, that the army did not move from Melazzo till the 17th of June, N. S. amounting to about twenty-one thousand men. They suffered a most painful march of three days, through wild unknown roads, broken up and rendered almost unpassable by the enemy, conducted by ignorant guides, and climbing over craggy rocks and precipices, the soldiers oppressed with the weight of their ammunition, and six days bread, which they carried, besides their arms, with a fiery sun burning over their heads, and harassed and assaulted all along the heights and eminences by the armed peasants of the country, mixed with some Spanish foot; but arriving, the 19th in the afternoon, on the top of the mountain of Tre Fontane, they discovered the enemy incamped below, in the valley of Franca Villa. At the sight of their camp, a shout of joy ran through the whole army, in hopes of coming to a decisive action, which seemed to promise favourably to them, it not being imagined, that the enemy could post themselves in a bottom, with so much advantage against an army descending from higher ground upon them.

The situation of the Spanish camp was in this manner. The rapid river Cantara, whose banks are of a steep quick rock, from six to eight feet perpendicularly deep, and runs through the valley of Franca Villa, was in their front. Their left was on the rising grounds about Franca Villa (the town lying behind in their center) and extended to a high mountain, where they had placed some armed peasants, and a few foot. On the other side of the river (but joined by a bridge to the town of Franca Villa) was a steep rock, with a convent of Capuchins upon it. Here they placed five battalions of their best troops, in as many rows of intrenchments cut into the rock, one above the other; and at the point of the

Geo. I.
1719.

rock was a small battery of two pieces of cannon of three pounders. On their right they had carried on a fortification of large stones, like a wall, all along the river, as far as a high rocky hill, which had a convent on the top, as advantageously fortified, as that of the Capuchins; and, close behind the hill, the steep river Castiglione runs into the Cantara, by means of whose confluence, and the neighbouring mountains being guarded by armed peasants, the Spaniards were secure from any danger in their rear. It was unfortunate to the Germans, that not one deserter, nor even a peasant of the country (who were all up in arms in favour of the Spaniards) came over to give them the least information, so that they knew little of the strength and advantage of the enemies post, till they came to action, and were within musket-shot of their trenches.

The battle
of Franca
Villa.

Count de Mercy made a disposition for attacking the enemy that evening at three different places. He detached all the first line of foot, consisting of sixteen battalions and twenty-three companies of grenadiers, with three hundred Hussars, under the command of general Zumjungen, to an adjoining hill on the left. He had under him the lieutenant-generals Wallis, Wachtendonck, and the prince of Holstein. Upon that hill general Zumjungen was to separate his men in two bodies, the one under the command of Wallis, consisting of eight battalions and eleven companies of grenadiers, being to descend on the right, whilst Zumjungen did the same on the left with eight battalions, twelve companies of grenadiers, and the Hussars. All the horse and second line of foot, this consisting of twelve battalions under lieutenant-general Seckendorf, and the horse under lieutenant-general count d'Eck, consisting of thirty-five squadrons, including three companies of horse-grenadiers, and as many carabineers, were at the same time to descend from the mountain of Tre Fontane, and join the other bodies below. Before all this could be effected, night came on, which obliged them to put off the attack till the next morning; and at break of day the second line of foot being got down, and meeting with ten or twelve squadrons of the enemy in the valley, they obliged them, as they advanced, to retire towards their intrenchments. When the army was got down to the places appointed in the valley, count de Mercy perceiving that the enemy possessed several considerable posts on a hill to his right, from whence they would flank him in his attack, he ordered lieutenant-general Seckendorf, and the prince of Hesse Cassel, with six battalions, to endeavour to

dislodge

dislodge them from thence, and then to descend and rejoin the army in the general attack, which the generals Zumjungen and Wallis were ordered to defer till they saw Seckendorf engaged, and descending towards them. The hill being very steep and difficult, and the enemy being very advantageously posted, Seckendorf was obliged to make many windings, which took up much time to get up to them. In the mean while the enemy, seeing that detachment, sent more foot thither, which made count de Mercy strengthen him with four battalions more; so that it was four in the afternoon before they all arrived on the top of the mountain. Seckendorf, having his ten battalions together, drove the enemy down from thence to their intrenchments; and, if night had not come on too soon, it was thought he would have been able to have forced his way into their lines, which at that place were weakest, and most easy to be penetrated. At the same time four companies of grenadiers of Wallis's body attacked a post of the enemy on the back of the same hill, and drove them thence, whilst the rest of the grenadiers (being seven companies) sustained by the battalions of the same body, and the regiment of dragoons of Anspach, attacked a small intrenchment, which the enemy had made across the valley, and, having carried it, they advanced on towards the rock of the Capuchins, which they attacked about six in the evening, being reinforced by two battalions of Lesselholz, which count Mercy had drawn from the left to sustain them. Here was very warm and bloody work, the Germans being exposed to a continual fire from the several trenches of the enemy on the sides of the rock. During this attack, count d'Eck, with the carabineers and horse-grenadiers, followed by the regiments of horse of Liege, Hanover, and Portugal, traversed the valley within half musket-shot of the enemy, and placed himself to the left of Zumjungen, the plain there appearing large enough for the horse to act, and to sustain Zumjungen's attack, and penetrate with him into the enemy's intrenchments. But this motion of the horse, crossing Zumjungen in his march, did very much retard his attack, so that it was late before he attacked three cassines, which stood near the river, within eighty paces of the enemy's lines, which he took, not without loss of men. Here the prince of Holstein was mortally wounded, and, being left on the field of battle, he sent to the marquis de Lede, who caused him to be carried into Franca Villa, where he died three days after. While Zumjungen was disposing his troops to attack the intrenchments, by

Geo. I. the way of a mill, which lay on the river opposite to the castles, he perceived the Hessian battalions on his right followed by mistake the two battalions of Lesselholz to the rock of the Capuchins, which disappointed his design, for it was night before they returned. Count de Mercy animated his troops every-where by his presence and example, heading himself the two battalions of Lesselholz, at the attack of the Capuchins, and, after having one horse killed under him, and two disabled, he was at last himself dangerously wounded in the reins with a musket-ball. Night coming on, put an end to the action, and left things undecided, except that the Germans maintained some small posts they had gained, which served to straiten the enemy in their camp. In this action the Germans had eight hundred and forty-six men killed, and two thousand four hundred and forty-nine wounded; amongst the latter, admiral Byng's second son very dangerously, who served as a volunteer. The Spaniards had one thousand five hundred killed or wounded.

Count de Mercy, having withdrawn his wounded men in the night, ranged his army in order to renew the attack next morning; but, the action of the day before having convinced the other generals of the strong situation of the enemy, and perceiving the soldiers extremely dispirited and dejected with their hardships and ill success, they, with much difficulty, prevailed upon him not to persist in that resolution, but, by extending to the left, endeavour to cut off the enemy from Messina, and open a communication with the English convoy, which (according to agreement) was to rendezvous in Schiso-Bay near Taormina, a sea-port town, about three hours distant from Franca Villa, with the transports laden with provisions, ammunition, baggage, and other necessities, which the army stood in extreme need of. Here was a contingency of great hazard and danger, which gave the Germans much fear and uneasiness. For it might have happened, that the winds had hindered the convoy from passing through the Faro. Or, if they should have gained their passage into Schiso Bay, Taormina and all that coast was possessed by the enemy, and it was possible, that the ships might not be able to open a communication with the shore: Or still, if both these points succeeded, the establishing a correspondence between the sea and the camp, through an hostile country, was another work of hazard and difficulty; and a disappointment, in any one of them, was the inevitable ruin of the whole army, who saw themselves near the end of their provisions, without any other possibility of getting

ting more. But they were soon delivered from their fears, Geo. I. by hearing, that the convoy was safely arrived in Schifo-Bay; 1719. that the sailors had taken and destroyed a small fort of two guns, which had endeavoured to molest their anchoring; and that the guns of the men of war had dispersed a body of troops which the marquis de Spinola had sent from Messina to the sea-side to oppose them. Upon this reviving news, count de Mercy sent general Wachtendonck, with three thousand foot and five hundred horse, down to encamp at the sea-side, where the ships lay at anchor, and ordered the roads, which were hardly passable, to be repaired, under the direction of engineer-general Schmettau; and, having got some field-pieces from the ships up to the camp, he greatly annoyed the enemy, who lay beneath him. This communication was too important for the marquis de Lede not to endeavour to interrupt it; and, amongst many skirmishes that daily happened, a party of seven hundred Spanish horse fell in with the bread-waggons and mules, that were returning from the sea-side, laden with provisos for the camp, and guarded only by three hundred horse. The defence, which the Germans made, was reckoned a gallant action. A small party of foot, that happened to be in the neighbourhood, hearing the fire, and presently coming up, they put the Spaniards to flight, and conducted the waggons and mules safe to their camp.

When count Mercy parted from admiral Byng at Melazzo, to go in quest of the Spanish army, it was the admiral's design to return to Naples, and put things there in motion for an intended expedition to Sardinia, which the duke of Savoy had much at heart, and was no less pressed by the courts of England and France. But reflecting within himself, that the impetuous temper of the German general, and the contempt he saw he had of the enemy, might possibly bring about some occasions, that would want his assistance, he tarried a few days on the coast, in uneasy expectation of the news of the success of their march from Melazzo. The armed peasants had cut off all communication between Franca Villa and Melazzo; so that the first misdoubt he entertained, that things had not gone well, was from hearing the guns firing at Messina and at the Faro, and seeing great illuminations along the coast. Soon after he saw the Neapolitan gallies rowing out of the Faro, and their general gave him an imperfect account of the action, but enough to satisfy him, that it had not been fortunate; upon which he immediately embarked two battalions from the garrison of Melazzo, and about a thousand recruits, who were just arrived there, and sent them, the same day, under a convoy, through the Faro

Geo. I. Faro to Schifo-Bay. In the evening he received letters from
 1719. count de Mercy, informing him of the particulars of the
 whole action, with the great difficulties he laboured under,
 and uncertainty what to do; earnestly pressing him to come
 to the camp, that they might confer and consult together.
 Upon this, the admiral sent his first captain with his own
 ship and two others to Naples, by whom he sent a letter to
 the viceroy, giving his opinion, that all thoughts of an expe-
 dition to Sardinia should be laid aside for the present, and the
 troops, which could be spared from his government, sent
 immediately into Sicily, till whose arrival all things there
 would be at a stand; and that he had sent his officers and
 ships to promote that service. He then embarked on board
 the general of the gallies, laying aside the ceremony of his
 flag and character, and, in his way to Schifo, count de Lig-
 neville came to him in a felucca, bringing fresh letters from
 count de Mercy, which expressed his great impatience to see
 him. Being landed at Schifo, general Wachtendonek re-
 newed the same intreaties, which the admiral's zeal did not
 want; who, accepting that general's horses, and forgetting
 for a while his own station and element, set out under a
 strong escort, attended by captain Matthews and his eldest
 son, and passing through roads strewed with dead bodies of
 men and horses, that had fallen in skirmishes the day before,
 between the sea-side and the camp, he alighted at count
 de Mercy's tent in the evening, where a guard of grenadiers
 being drawn out for his reception, one of them was shot
 through the head by a musket-ball from the enemy's camp,
 at the door of his tent, and fell down dead at his feet. He
 found the general very weak and faint with his wound, the
 ball still remaining in his reins; but as he had a magnani-
 mity of spirit superior to his condition, it did not hinder them
 from entering into conversation on the melancholy situation
 of their affairs. The general 'made great complaints of
 Zumjungen, to whose slowness in marching, and coming so
 late into action, he attributed his ill success. He said, he
 himself was still of opinion to make another attack upon the
 enemy, rather than decamp and retire; but that his officers
 in general were against it; and in that case he saw nothing
 left for them to do, but to go down, and join the forces at
 the sea-side, and march into the country about Catanea and
 Syracusa, for their better subsistence. That he had wrote
 for two battalions of Savoyards to be sent to him from Syra-
 cusa, which, with the troops the admiral had sent from Me-
 lazzo, would repair his loss of men; but that the loss of his
 officers

officers was irretrievable; for, besides many killed, a considerable number of the best and principal were wounded, and incapable of present service.' After many propositions and schemes started and discussed between them, without any being concluded on, the count desired the admiral to stay in the camp that night, to be present at a consultation of general officers next morning. The conversation being ended, the admiral went to see his son, who (as was mentioned before) was wounded in the action, and whom he found languishing in his tent, in a way that gave very little hopes of his recovery, not so much from the malignity of the wound (though that was in a dangerous part) as from the unskilfulness of those, who attended him, the German army being very ill provided with surgeons and medicines (c).

Such an universal dejection had reigned throughout the army, on account of the ill success of the late action, and for the loss and disability of so many brave officers, and they had such continual apprehensions, that the fiery temper of their general would order them on another attack, that their joy on the arrival of the admiral was inexpressible. They looked on him as their deliverer, who alone, they thought, could extricate them from their present difficulties and misfortunes, and influence their general with cool and prudent counsels. In the morning early he visited general Zumjungen, the second person in the army, whose sedate deliberate temper had

(c) Mr. Corbet observes here, It may be wondered that the emperor is so well served in the courage of his troops, when so little care is generally taken of their preservation in accidents of wounds or sickness. Surgeons and medicines are few and bad in their armies, and there is little difference between being wounded and killed in action, except that of a lingering or a sudden death. After the battle of Franca Villa, the wounded men were laid on the ground, with their ammunition-bread set by them, and left exposed to the sun and fortune. The general himself had only his own Valet de Chambre to dress his wound,

and attend him. It was a moving spectacle to the admiral, to meet with great numbers of poor wretches in his way up to the camp, some endeavouring, with the support of their wives or comrades, to crawl down to the sea-side, in order to get a passage over to the hospital at Reggio; others, unable to go on from pain or faintness, falling down on the earth, and left to die there. This is a great blemish of their service, and gives a handle to the maxim which their enemies would fix on them, that they account it cheaper to get a man than cure one, and so give themselves little concern for his recovery.

procured

Geo. I. 1719. procured him great esteem and confidence among the soldiery. He complained much ' of the general's rash impatience, in not giving time to all the troops to come up; which if he had done, and had delayed the attack till next morning, they would have had the whole day before them, have judged better of the measures for carrying it on, which would then have been disposed in another manner, and with more reasonable expectation of success; and that this was not his own single opinion, but that of all the other officers. He bewailed the little regard the general gave to the advice of his officers; and intreated him to oppose any overture he might make at the consultation for another attack, which he feared was not out of his head, and that he (the admiral) only had credit enough to dissuade him from it.'

The principal officers of the army being met in the general's tent, the first point he put in question was, Whether the enemy should be attacked again? The officers keeping a long silence, and directing their looks to the admiral, he addressed his speech to the general, wherein he ' reminded him of the warning he had formerly given him, not to despise the enemy, whose numbers and resolution he now experienced to be otherwise than what he expected. He said, that he had viewed the situation of the enemy's camp, the night before; and, though he did not pretend to much judgment in the operations of land-service, yet it seemed to his plain understanding, that for one army to attack another equal in number, under the shelter of strong and almost impregnable intrenchments, was rather an undertaking of despair than discretion, and could not be attended with any reasonable hopes of success.' All the other officers declaring themselves of the same opinion, that question was laid aside. It came next under deliberation, What the army was to do? The general's opinion was, ' That it was insufficient for a speedy conquest of the island, in regard the enemy had as numerous an army, with all the strong-holds and magazines in their possession, and the affection of the people on their side. That, as they could not continue where they were, it was his opinion they should march into the fertile country about Catania, and endeavour to make themselves masters of Augusta; or else canton themselves about Syracuse for their better subsistence, till new and effectual supplies of troops were sent from Germany.' To this the admiral replied, ' That he was so much of his opinion, that they wanted a further reinforcement of men, that, upon the first news of the

the ill success of the battle, he had wrote to the viceroy of Naples his sentiments accordingly: That indeed the courts of London and Paris did earnestly press the carrying on the enterprize against Sardinia; but, when they should come to be informed of the state of affairs, they would probably consent to have the army, designed for that expedition, pass first into Sicily, which, as things stood, he thought the nearest way to the conquest of both islands. That, after his departure from them, he would immediately go to Naples, and labour that point with the proper courts, with all the earnestness and application possible. That, as to their marching in the mean time into the country about Catanea for subsistence, he apprehended it would give the world a worse opinion of the late action than it deserved, and make it be concluded, that they had been defeated and disabled; which would blemish the credit of their arms, and give too much spirit to the enemy, and to the Sicilians in their interest. That, being now joined by the recruits he had sent them, and battalions from Syracuse being daily expected, they would be in a condition to act offensively, and advance the emperor's affairs: That Augusta was out of the way, and not worth their attention; and delaying their time there was drawing the war into unnecessary length; but that the way was open to Messina, the besieging of which city would support the character of their arms, and the taking of it make the reduction of the rest of the island easy. That, as to what regarded the fleet, the experience of the last winter in keeping two squadrons, one within, the other without the Faro, to block up the ships in Messina, and secure the passage of the provisions, which the army at Melazzo drew from Calabria and Apulia, had determined him never to hazard again the destruction of his master's ships on a sea-service of such evident danger in that tempestuous season, without having a port to shelter or befriend him. That the reduction of Messina was their mutual interest, as his ships would then clean there, and be more at hand to assist them; and, the cause of the blockade being removed, he should be able to send a detachment to cruise on the coasts of Spain, which would straiten the enemy, and obstruct their sending succours into Sicily. This remonstrance had the weight it deserved, and not only convinced, but gave great satisfaction to the general and his officers; especially after his removing an objection of their being in want of cannon for battery, by agreeing to spare them out of the Spanish prizes twenty-seven cannon of twenty-four pounders, twelve of eighteen, and as many of
twelve

Geo. I.
1719.

Geo. I. twelve pounders ; with a proportionable quantity of powder
 1719. and ball, to enable them to begin the siege, and promising to
 solicit strongly at Naples for remitting to the army all things
 necessary for carrying on that important service with suc-
 cess.

The conference being over, the admiral took his leave, the general and all his officers expressing the greatest esteem and affection for him at their parting, and, being escorted down to the water-side, he embarked in the nearest man of war, and, without regard to his own dignity of moving at the head of a fleet, sailed away with two ships only, and after an impatient passage of eleven days, a time tedious to a mind active and charged with important affairs, he arrived at Naples, where the first thing he heard, with great surprise and concern, was, that his friend count Daun was removed from the government, and departed for Vienna, though his time was not expired, and that count de Gallas was come thither in his room. The displacing at that juncture a man so experienced in military affairs was a step very inconvenient to the emperor's interest, and an unhappy effect of court faction ; for, though the new viceroy was a man of undoubted worth and honour, and had sustained the character of ambassador at the courts of England and Rome, with proper dignity and magnificence, and in quieter times might have filled his government with great sufficiency and applause, yet, not being bred a soldier, it was not to be expected he could so readily comprehend the springs of motion in armies, or foresee every provision necessary for military operations, the timely supplies of which are the surest foundations of success in war.

After the first civilities, the admiral, entering into conferences with the viceroy, painted out to him in very lively colours the state of the imperial army in Sicily, ' where the event of things, he said, had not answered the sanguine hopes they had flattered themselves with, on their landing on that island ; that, instead of trampling over the enemy, they had received such a shock themselves, as very much humbled their spirits and expectations, and had been so far from making impression on an army favoured and assisted by the natives, that they were reduced to think of their own preservation, being entangled among barren mountains, depending on a precarious subsistence from the sea, and in a country where every man they saw was their enemy ; and finally, that, without a reinforcement equal to another army, the conquest of that kingdom was impracticable.' The admiral,
 having

having proceeded thus far, was cautious of touching on the army that lay in the Milanese, designed for Sardinia; for, by the last letters, the courts of England, France, and Turin, were still very pressing for that expedition: But he demanded of the viceroy, Whether the emperor had any considerable number of troops in Italy, besides those designed for Sardinia? To which he replying, he believed not, the admiral asked, Whether, if those troops designed for Sardinia were immediately sent over to Sicily, they could soon be replaced by other troops from Germany, to go on that expedition? Which the viceroy doubting, he then spoke out his opinion plainly, 'That the expedition to Sardinia ought to be laid aside for the present: That the carrying on both undertakings together would end in the failure of both; and that the shortest way of getting both islands was by conquering one first.' The viceroy replied, 'That the proposition was so much for his master's interest, that his concurrence with it was not to be doubted, but that he feared he was not at liberty to divert those troops, without the consent of the other courts in alliance; and prayed the admiral to make the proper representations thereupon to them, as he would do himself to the emperor.' The conference being over, the count de Ligneville, whom count de Mercy had sent with the admiral to Naples, was dispatched away to Vienna, with instructions to lay before that court the state of their affairs in Sicily, and the measures proposed for retrieving them.

Naples seemed to be, at this time, the center of affairs in Europe. All the powers in the quadruple alliance, as well as those who had any concerns with them, had ministers there, to watch over their respective interests, and drew their measures from information of what passed there. The admiral went to the viceroy to visit the marquiss de Breille, the king of Sardinia's minister; and shewing him the weak condition of the imperial arms in Sicily, and that the expedient of sending the troops designed for Sardinia thither was the effect of invincible necessity, and not a pretence for postponing his master's interest, which the courts of England and France had as much at heart as those of the emperor, he convinced that minister of the reasonableness of the measure, who, at his request, represented the matter in a true light to his own court, and obtained his master's concurrence.

During the admiral's stay at Naples, the Grafton brought in two Genoese ships, which she had taken off Palermo, with six hundred Swiss recruits on board for the Spanish army,

who

Geo. I. who were committed prisoners to the castles. The Lenox 1719. ran a third a-shore, with about two hundred more soldiers, and burnt her, but most of the men escaped.

There being nothing more to do at Naples, till the sentiments of the several courts were known, upon the proposed alteration of measures, the admiral determined, in the mean time, to pass over again into Sicily, hoping to find the army before Messina, in which case his assistance would be wanting. He had then a strong feverish disorder hanging on him, which had reduced him to a very low condition; a little rest seemed necessary for his recovery; but his heart was with the army, and his health had no part in his thoughts. The viceroy too was ill in bed of a fever; they were desirous of seeing each other before the admiral departed, having some necessary points to settle together. The admiral, scarce able to stand, was carried to the viceroy's bed-side, where being seated, they could do little more than give broken and imperfect hints to each other of what their minds laboured with, and were soon obliged to put an end to a conference, wherein the weakness of their bodies did not second the zeal of their hearts for the public. The admiral complimented the viceroy with as many of the Swiss prisoners, as would be necessary to exchange what Germans were prisoners in Sicily; and, taking a final leave of him, embarked for that island. The viceroy died two days after, whose sickness the Italians attributed to his travelling through the Campania of Rome in the dog-days, which they esteemed fatal. His death threw the affairs of that kingdom into great confusion; the collateral council assuming the government, and the military power refusing to obey their orders, which proved no small disservice and retardment to the affairs in Sicily.

During the admiral's absence, count de Mercy, being struck blind with an apoplectic fit, was obliged to quit the camp, and pass over to Reggio for advice, leaving the command of the army to general Zumjungen. General Wachtendonck had taken by stratagem the town of Taormina, a strong pass in the way to Messina, upon which encouragement Zumjungen broke up from Franca Villa with his army, on the 17th of July, without any molestation from the enemy, and forcing the strong passes of Alexis and la Sceletta, with less opposition than was expected, after a painful march through a mountainous country and excessive heats, but, assisted by the transport-vessels coasting along with the provisions, artillery, and heavy baggage, he sat down the 20th, before Messina; in which the enemy had three thousand men,

under

under the command of the marquis de Spinola, an officer of great reputation, and well furnished with provisions and all necessaries for a long and obstinate defence. In the mean time, count de Mercy, burning with impatience to lie idle at Reggio, notwithstanding the anguish of his wound, and the surgeon's not being able to get the ball out of his body, as soon as ever he began to see a little with one eye, returned to the camp before Messina. The admiral, after a passage of five days, anchored the 28th, off the point of the Faro, and, being too weak to go out of his ship, sent his first captain ashore to the general, to acquaint him with his proceedings at Naples; and learning, that he was in great want of powder, sent him a considerable supply.

The imperialists having taken the castle of Gonzaga, which stands on a hill over the city; and the bastion of the town, called Secreto, having a considerable breach made in it, and the governor having withdrawn his troops from the town into the citadel, the senate of Messina sent out deputies to capitulate upon articles; but the general desiring to know whether he was to treat with them as subjects of the emperor, or as enemies; if as the former, he bid them open the gates, and receive his troops, and he would interpose his good offices with the emperor in their favour; but, if he was to treat with them as enemies, they were to get the best terms they could for themselves; and he gave them leave to go back into the town to consider with their principals about it. They returned the same evening, and told the general, that the next morning, as soon as it was day, they would open the gates, and rely on the emperor's clemency; and accordingly the troops marched on the 8th of August, N. S. and took possession.

The city being taken, the admiral landed some English grenadiers, who took the tower of the Faro; which opening a passage for his ships, he came to an anchor in Paradise Road, which the officers of the Spanish men of war in the Mole perceiving, and despairing now of getting out to sea, they unbent their sails, and unrigged their ships, expecting their fate with that of the citadel. This gave the admiral great ease, and enabled him to employ ships on other services, which had long attended the blocking up of that port.

It came now to be matter of debate, what was to be done with those ships, when the citadel should be taken, and they fall into their hands. Signor Scarampi, general of the king of Sardinia's galleys, first started the question, and claimed

Geo. I. 1719. the two best of sixty and sixty-four guns, new ships, which had belonged to his master, and were seized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo. He grounded his right on a convention made at Vienna, the 29th of December, 1718, in which it was said, 'That as to the ships belonging to the king of Sardinia, if they be taken in port, they shall be restored to him: But that this shall be referred to admiral Byng to answer.' To this the admiral replied, 'That, this convention having been only a ground-work for another to be made at Naples, he could be directed by none but that, which was made in consequence thereof in April, 1719, between the viceroy of Naples, the marquís de Breille minister of Sardinia, and himself, in which no mention is made of those ships; and, as to the reference to his opinion, he did freely declare, he could not think the king of Sardinia had any shadow of title to them: That they had been taken by the enemy, and were now fitted out, and armed at their expence, and under their colours: That they would put out to sea, if he did not hinder them, and attack all English ships they met with; and, if stronger, take them; so that he could not consider them in any light, than what they were, the ships of an enemy.' Count de Mercy put in his claim for the emperor, alledging, 'That as those ships would be found within the port of a town taken by his master's arms, according to the right of nations, they belonged to him.' The admiral replied, 'That it was owing to his keeping two squadrons on purpose, and at a great hazard, to watch and observe these ships, that they were now confined within the port, which if he was to withdraw, they would still be able to go to sea, and he should have a chance of meeting with and taking them.' But reflecting afterwards with himself, that possibly the garrison might capitulate for the safe return of those ships into Spain, which he determined never to suffer: That, on the other hand, the right of possession might breed an inconvenient dispute among the princes concerned; and if it should prove, that they did not belong to England, it were better they belonged to no-body; he proposed to count de Mercy, to set up a battery and destroy them as they lay in the basin; who urging, that he had no orders concerning those ships, and must write to Vienna for instructions about it, the admiral replied with some warmth, that he could not want a power to destroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and insisted on it with such firmness, that the general, being concerned in interest not to carry matters to a disagreement, caused a battery to be erected,

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notwithstanding the protestations of Scarampi, which in a little time sunk and destroyed them, and completed the ruin of the naval power of Spain. Geo. I. 1719.

In five days after the taking of the city, the imperialists obliged the castles of Castellazzo and Matagriffone to surrender; and, being thus become masters of all the castles and eminencies about the city, they applied themselves to the siege of the citadel, where, from the strength of the place, the numerous and well-provided garrison, and the great reputation of the governor, they were sure to meet with a very warm and vigorous resistance, and the more, as the Germans were ill provided with necessaries for such an undertaking.

On the 13th of August, N. S. the count de Ligneville arrived in the camp from Vienna, with the good news of the emperor's having dispatched orders to the governor of Milan to send his troops, which lay in the Milanese, and were designed for Sardinia, down to Vado, in order to be transported into Sicily. He brought a gracious letter from the emperor to the admiral, wherein he signified to him 'his approbation of a project, that was the effect of his zeal and activity; the satisfaction he had in his wise conduct, and for his love and attachment to his imperial person and august house; and on all occasions he should give him marks of his affection and esteem, and of his good remembrance of the services he had done him.'

The transportation of the troops from Genoa to Sicily was a service of such moment, and dispatch in it so necessary, that the admiral determined to conduct that affair himself, well knowing from his experience of the slowness of the Germans in all their undertakings, how much his weight and credit were necessary to give their motions that quickness which their affairs required; and having intimated his resolution to count de Mercy of passing over to Naples, and from thence to Genoa for that purpose, he prayed the admiral to represent plainly his wants to the government of Naples, which no-body knew or understood better than himself; and giving him a list of what particulars he wanted, added joyfully, 'That as the siege was a child of his own begetting, he ought to nurse it, as well for his own sake, as for the common interest.'

The admiral sailed the 16th of August, N. S. and anchored the 23d before Naples, where the cardinal de Schrottenbach was newly arrived by sea from Rome in quality of viceroy. The next day the admiral went to the palace, and,

Geo. I. entering into conference with the cardinal, represented to him, how much the army had suffered from the divisions of the government during the interregnum. That the siege they were employed in was a decisive point, on which the fate of the island depended; and setting before him the evil consequences, that would attend a miscarriage by the want of necessary supplies from his government, he put into his hands a list of particulars he had received from the general. The cardinal was an honest good-natured man, and very willing to forward business, but had no great talents for it. His high quality had advanced him to the purple, being lord of a principality in Bohemia, with some marks of sovereignty. He was appointed to manage the emperor's affairs at Rome, after the departure of count Gallas, and, at his death, succeeded him in his government. He told the admiral, 'That, by the accounts he had received from the proper officers, there was not in the stores the quantity of cannon and ammunition, which the general demanded: That he would send to Mantua for cannon, which might be transported down the Po into the Adriatic, and so on by sea to Messina, where possibly, if no cross accidents happened, they might arrive in two months time.' The admiral coming to know, that those cannon had no carriages, the cardinal thought he satisfied that objection, by saying, 'he would send some carpenters into the woods of Abruzzo to cut down timber for carriages.' Those and the like unfoldierlike proposals gave the admiral a sensible regret of the loss of count Daun, in whose room he found himself co-operating with a viceroy better qualified for his breviary than for council in operations of war, and whose court was crowded with monks and priests, and such-like disagreeable objects, instead of men of business and service (a).

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(a) The viceroy returned the next day the admiral's visit, and, upon reconsidering the several points in the general's demands, the same difficulties recurred about complying with them, especially as to the cannon and ammunition. The viceroy said, 'he would summon all the general officers in town, and consult with them about finding out expedients to

satisfy the wants of the army which was all that was in his power to do.' Upon which the admiral desired his eminence, 'That, after they had attended him, and taken those matters into consideration, he might have a conference with them.' Accordingly the next day the general officers came to the admiral's house, and entering into conversation together, upon the par-

The admiral, perceiving that the army had no resource, but what lay in himself, generously sent them twenty-four pieces of cannon of eighteen-pounders, belonging to the Spanish prizes, and a proportionable quantity of powder and shot, contenting himself with the single credit of the general for repayment to the captors, and at the same time wrote to Genoa and Leghorn, to purchase one thousand barrels more of powder, engaging his own security to the British consuls for their repayment.

During these transactions, a number of transports having been provided at Naples, the admiral sent them under a convoy to Vado, and, having dispatched his other affairs with the cardinal, departed after them, and arrived at Genoa the 7th of September, N. S.

He had been made to believe, that, by the time of his arrival there, the army would be ready to embark; but he found every thing in extreme backwardness. The troops had not so much as begun their march from the Milanese, nor could get to Vado in less than a fortnight: Very few provisions or necessaries had been bought up, and none shipped, nor were the transport-vessels properly fitted for the reception of the troops. Count de Bonneval, who was to command this body, arriving the next day, went on board the admiral, and understanding that he intended to transport his army to Melazzo, and even to Messina, if count Mercy

particulars of the general's demands, which lay before them, the articles relating to corn and recruits were soon got over; but the main difficulty was the demand of cannon and ammunition. The admiral told them, 'That count de Mercy had not above twenty cannon in battery: That he was within two hundred paces of the counterscarp of the citadel; and hoped he should not be forced to stop in so fair a way, for want of necessary supplies; and that he would be contented, if they could send him but ten or twelve cannon from Naples, with a proportionable quantity of powder and ball.' The officer of the ordnance, attending, gave in

a list of eight cannon, which he said might be taken from the mole and batteries of the city, and sent to Messina; but, upon inquiry, they appeared to be of fifty and sixty pounders, some without ball, others without carriages, all of them too unwieldy and unfit for battery. He then delivered in to them a state of all the ordnance stores in the kingdom; upon examining of which the general officers unanimously confessed, that the whole country was not able to furnish the cannon and ammunition, which count de Mercy wanted. This was such a declaration of weakness, as was not to be expected in so fine a kingdom.

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Geo. I. should think it necessary, he was mortified to the last degree, 1719. He had been appointed to command these forces on the intended expedition to Sardinia, and the diverting them to a different service so disgusted him, that, instead of forwarding the embarkation of the troops, he resolved to retard it all he could. Accordingly, whilst the admiral gave himself incredible pains at Genoa and Vado, to quicken their departure, he threw in the way all the secret obstructions he could, till he knew the issue of the solicitations he was carrying on at Vienna, to be continued in a separate command. However, after twenty days labour and pains, and at last such menaces as even Bonneval himself began to be afraid of, the admiral shipped off the troops to the number of about six thousand, on the 27th of September, N. S. with such provisions as could be got, and, leaving a man of war to convoy the remainder when ready, sailed the 28th from Vado (b). The admiral receiving letters in his passage from count de Mercy, requesting, that the troops might not land at Melazzo, but go on to Messina, he stood away for the Faro, and arrived before Messina, the 8th of October, N. S. which so elevated the spirits of the army, that, upon the first sight of the fleet, lieutenant-general Wallis, with five thousand men, made a vigorous attack upon the half-moon, which was nearest to their approaches, and carried it with the loss of only one hundred and three killed, and eight hundred and thirty wounded. The admiral, going ashore to the general's quarters, was embraced by him, and all the general officers, with the most tender marks of affection and gratulation, the whole army being overjoyed to see a man, who always brought them relief and success, and every good that attended them. On the 17th at ten in the morning, the imperialists assaulted the counterscarp, and mounted to the top of the breach with great gallantry: but, after two hours very warm work, were repulsed with the loss of one hundred and twenty men killed,

(b) Bonneval, finding his troops incorporated with the army, and his projects of a separate command vanished, pretended sickness, and, getting leave to go to Reggio for advice, he repaired to Vienna, and returned no more to the army. He was a native of France, and had all the sprightliness and levity of that nation.

He was a gallant officer, had received many wounds, and still feels the painful remembrance of a most terrible one he got in Hungary. He had no zeal for the service of his prince, any farther than it suited his own interest or ambition, to which he willingly sacrificed his duty, Corbet.

and

and six hundred and seventeen wounded. The governor having acquitted himself with great honour in this repulse, as well as in the general defence of the place, and finding himself unable to hold it longer, beat a parley the next day, and surrendered it upon articles. The Spanish garrison marched out through the breach, and were transported by sea to Augusta. Thus ended a siege of twenty-one days, which cost the Germans above five thousand men killed or wounded.

Whilst the siege of the citadel was depending, the Spanish army decamped from Franca Villa, the 31st of August, and marching towards Rametta, the marquiss de Lede gave out, that he would attack the imperialists, and appeared upon the hills in sight of the camp, attended by a great number of peasants he had drawn together; but, finding it well guarded, and his army being sickly, he fortified a strong and advantageous post at Castro Giovane, in the center of the island, where he laid in large magazines, in order to retire thither in case of necessity; and in the mean time cantoned his troops about Aderno, Palermo, and Catanea (c).

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Geo. I.
1719.

Messina
surrenders
to the im-
perialists,

(c) It was during this siege, that the admiral having received information, that vessels belonging to Malta had gone to sea with Spanish commissions, and taken some English merchant-ships, sent a letter to the grand master, 'complaining of his partiality and injustice, demanding satisfaction for the damages the merchants had sustained, and his giving strict orders to prohibit the like unfair proceedings for the future.' He wrote, at the same time, to Mr. Alexander Young, the English consul at Malta, to make a strict enquiry what merchant-ships had been taken by privateers fitted out from Malta, or wherein Maltese subjects had been concerned, and to lay a state thereof before that government, with a demand of reparation, and to let him know their answer. The grand master and

his council, being alarmed at this message, sent the chevalier Balbini to the admiral, to represent and excuse the proceedings of their government in the point complained of, and to lay before him the difficulties they were under, from their dependence on Spain, and to endeavour to remove all causes of his dissatisfaction with them. But the admiral, not having yet received any specific account of the particular losses of the merchants, and so not able to settle the terms of restitution with Balbini, sent his first captain, Saunders, with two men of war, to Malta, directing him, 'to make an exact enquiry into the several captures, that had been made, and to lay the same before the grand master and his council, and to demand reparation, so far as their subjects had been concerned therein; and, in case

Geo. I.
1719.

The imperialists having spent some time in levelling the line, trenches, and batteries before Messina, and in putting the

he found them willing to give reasonable assurances of doing justice for what was past, and of a better behaviour for the future, he was to enter into a convention with them for that purpose, and for establishing a good agreement with them; but, otherwise, he was to take all ships and vessels he should meet with belonging to that island. Captain Saunders, arriving at Malta, found a fair disposition in those people to give the admiral and the English nation all reasonable satisfaction in their proceedings.' They shewed, 'That they had never consented to, or approved of their subjects entering into the service of Spain, but had issued strict proclamations, prohibiting them to be any ways concerned on either side in the war. They did not deny, that one of their vessels had taken a commission from the marquiss de Lede, to cruize upon the enemies of Spain, but made appear, that they had sent one of their order to intreat him to revoke that commission, and had made the same application to the court of Madrid, but had been answered with great roughness and menaces. That, to avoid as much as they could all occasions of complaint, they had called in all their privateers, which had been cruizing in the Levant against the Turks, in order to disarm them; but they could not always govern the unruliness of their people, when they would enter into the service of any

Christian prince, whose colours protected them from their inquiry or visitation, which was the misfortune of their constitution, as they depended upon the Christian princes of Europe for their revenue, and, in particular, drew at that time their daily sustenance of provisions from that part of Sicily, which was under the subjection of the Spanish general; and, finally, that they received no part or benefit from the prizes, which had passed intirely through the hands of the Spanish agent, and in which they had no manner of interest or concern.' The captain was convinced of the sincerity and truth of their declaration; but, on the other hand, told them, 'That it was not his business to enquire into the nature or dependance of their government; and it was for them to accommodate their grievances with Spain as they could. That his instructions were plain, and founded in justice, demanding redress for the losses his countrymen had sustained, from those who occasioned them, who were their subjects; and that, if they would not enter into a negotiation for that purpose, he should be obliged to put his orders in execution.' Intimidated by these threats; they immediately appointed two commissaries to treat with him; and it being made out by proof, that five English merchant-ships had been taken by Maltese ships under Spanish colours, they submitted

the place into a posture of defence, they held several consultations, at which the admiral assisted, concerning what measures were next to be taken. The reduction of Messina had brought Val Demona under the obedience of the emperor; but the whole province, being mountainous and barren, was so little able to supply the army with provisions and forage, that the inhabitants of Messina and other towns daily petitioned the general for their own subsistence, since they could draw no corn as they used to do, from the plentiful parts of the island, which were in the possession of the Spaniards. To march after the enemy in a wintery season, with their horse already harrassed, and almost starved, through an adverse country, and without any provisions but what they carried; and, if they surmounted all these difficulties, to attack them in the strong camp at Castro Giovane; was judged too rash to be attempted, after the experience of Franca Villa. To march to Palermo, and get possession of the capital, was more desirable than easy of execution. It was a march of seventeen days, along the northern coast of the island, through an unknown, mountainous, sterile country, where they should be exposed to sudden insults, great part of the way being so narrow, that two men could hardly go a-breast; and, if they met with no enemy, they had no forage for their horse, no magazines in the way of their march, nor a sufficient number of beasts of burden to carry provisions along with them, nor money to buy them, if they could be got. The next project that occurred, was to go to Trapani, where the Piedmontese had a garrison. This would be changing the scene of the war to great advantage; for, in-

to pay the full value of them and their lading, within twelve months after application from the claimants. But thinking themselves aggrieved by this treaty, and protesting themselves to be under a force to sign any terms, rather than feel the effects of the admiral's displeasure, they reserved to themselves a liberty of appealing to the equity of the admiral, and from him to the king, for a mitigation of the severity of the conditions. They dispatched away, accordingly, the chevalier de la Val

to the admiral, who not thinking he had any right to compound for other men's properties, the deputy passed on to the English court at London, to execute his commission. He had likewise a private instruction, to implore the king's interest with the several princes at the approaching congress, that Malta might be freed from its subjection to Sicily, and enjoy the rights and privileges of a free and neutral port in time of war, among the Christian powers.

stead

Geo. I. 1719. stead of being confined and famished in the mountains, they should be able to enlarge themselves in a plentiful country, and, by acting on equal terms with the enemy, have a reasonable chance to drive them out of the island. But to go thither by land was impracticable; and, as their transport-vessels could not carry above a third part of the army at a time, the division of their troops was hazardous, and might be fatal. For, Trapani being situated on an isthmus, and having no magazines of corn, the marquís de Lede might march, and pen up the first detachment within that narrow neck of land, where they would starve for want of provisions, before the rest of the army could join them. The only choice remaining was to go to Syracuse; but that too was impracticable by land, by reason of the same objections, as are already mentioned; and besides, there lay in the way several deep and rapid rivers, where the enemy might defend the passages with great advantage. And, though it was not difficult to transport the army thither by sea, yet it was an uncomfortable reflection, that they should be then the whole length of the island distant from Palermo, and could only propose to subsist themselves from day to day during the winter, the enemy lying between them and the great caricatori, or subterraneous magazines, where the inhabitants usually lay up their corn, which were ninety miles distant. With these disagreeable prospects they passed away some days under uncertainty what to do; when, one evening, the generals Mercy and Zumjungen repairing on board the admiral, and renewing the subject of their late conferences, they told him, in a very desponding manner, ‘That, having thoroughly weighed the situation of their affairs, and finding they could neither subsist nor undertake any action where they were, they had come to a resolution to leave a strong garrison in Messina, and transport the horse over by sea to Calabria, and the foot to Syracuse, where they might be able to maintain themselves during the winter, and be ready to make use of such advantages as might offer, for acting against the enemy in the spring; and prayed his assistance in that service.’ The admiral replied, ‘That he hoped, that their affairs were not so desperate as they apprehended: That he had been employing his thoughts for their service, and believed he should be able to extricate them out of their present circumstances: That, of all the late propositions, the transporting the army to Trapani pleased him best, as it would turn the difficulty upon the Spanish army, by obliging them to make uneasy marches, and to keep the field in the winter. That, when the

the whole army was at Trapani, they should be able to enlarge their quarters; the granaries of corn would fall into their hands, and their neighbourhood to Palermo keep that place in awe, till the season should favour their marching towards it, the reduction of which would bring the war to a speedy issue. That he had considered of the difficulty of subsisting one part of the army at Trapani, till the rest arrived; and, as England was in peace with the governments of Barbary, he would send his secretary to Tunis, which was the nearest African port to Trapani, and employ him, and the English consul, to buy up whatever quantity of corn was necessary, and transport the same to Trapani. That he knew very well they had no money, and therefore would employ his own cash, and credit, to procure this supply, depending upon their honour for repayment, and did not doubt to lodge the corn at Trapani, before the first detachment of troops arrived there.' Count de Mercy, penetrating immediately into the facility and advantageous consequences of this scheme, rose up, and, embracing the admiral in a kind of transport, acknowledged, 'That he had hit on the only method practicable, not only for the preservation of the army, but even for pushing on the war with success. That, as it was a Protestant scheme, he should have Protestant troops and Protestant generals to put it in execution.' And accordingly general Zumjungen, with count Seckendorf, the prince of Hesse, and general Schmettau, embarked the 23d of November, with seven thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and arrived fortunately in three days at Trapani, where finding a plentiful remittance of corn ready arrived from Tunis, they not only posted themselves there in security, but, enlarging their quarters into the country, brought the cities of Marsala and Mazzara to submit to the obedience of the emperor. The transports and convoy, returning, brought thither more troops. Count de Mercy and the admiral departing with the last convoy from Messina, on the 19th of January, consisting of five thousand four hundred foot, and eleven hundred horse, they were overtaken by a violent storm off the isle of Alicudi, which drove all the transports into Melazzo and Messina, the admiral, with the general on board his ship, getting with difficulty to Trapani on the 29th, but the whole convoy did not arrive there till the 2d of March, many soldiers dying in the passage, and amongst them general Wachtendonck, regretted by every body. The whole army, being got together, amounting to fourteen thousand

Geo. I. sand foot, and three thousand horse, besides the garrisons
 1719. left in Messina, Melazzo, Syracuse, and the adjacent
 parts.

These motions of the imperialists made the marquiss de Lede quit the posts of Mola, Taormina, and Catanea; and leaving a detachment in his strong camp at Castro Giovane, to secure the magazines he had erected there, he marched and fixed his camp from Alcamo to Salama, with his head quarters at Castel Vetrano, from whence he continually sent out detachments to destroy the country about Marsala and Mazzara, and to carry off all the cattle, grain, and wine; which Zumjungen could not at first prevent, but, being strengthened with new supplies by sea, he at last obliged their parties to retire, and, on the arrival of count de Mercy, the Spanish general was reduced to fortify his camp with strong intrenchments and redoubts, and with batteries of cannon.

Count de Mercy making a motion of extending his quarters beyond Mazzara, the marquiss de Lede quitted Castel Vetrano, and retired with his army to Alcamo, from whence he sent his mareschal de camp, signor d'Aponte, on the 6th of February, 1719-20, N. S. with overtures to count de Mercy and the admiral, for evacuating Sicily, on condition of leave to transport his army into Spain, and, in order thereto, desiring a suspension of arms. This proposition contained nothing disagreeable to the Germans, who would thereby obtain all they wanted, by becoming masters of the kingdom, without any further trouble; but the admiral protesting against it, and declaring, that not a man of the Spanish army should pass out of that island, until a general peace was made, for that it would be to furnish Spain with a body of their best troops to strengthen their army acting against France, or else they might be employed in disturbing England, he was dismissed with this counter-proposition from the count de Mercy, that, if the marquiss would surrender Palermo, and the south-side of the island, and retire with his army into the middle of the country towards Castro Giovane, or to any other pass proper for his security, he would consent to a suspension of arms for six weeks, till the sentiments of the several courts might be known; which being an advantage more than equivalent to the operations of six weeks in that early season, the admiral consented thereto, with this restriction, that, if the Spaniards attempted to withdraw any of their men in the mean time, the suspension should be void, and he would act against them with all his force.

force. Count de Mercy dispatching lieutenant-colonel Bel-
laire to Vienna, to acquaint that court with these overtures,
and bring back their directions, the admiral sent away thither
his eldest son, Mr. Byng, with instructions, if the imperial
court listened to the proposals of the Spanish general, to de-
clare, that his father could never suffer any part of the Spa-
nish army to depart out of the island, till the king of Spain
had acceded to the quadruple alliance, or till he received po-
sitive instructions from England for so doing.

The 12th of February, N. S. count de Mercy marched
towards Castel Vetrano, for the more commodious subsist-
ance of his cavalry, from whence he detached general Secken-
dorf, with fifteen hundred men, and some cannon, to reduce
Sacca, where there was a large caricatore of corn. The
town immediately surrendered, but the Spaniards, to the
number of three hundred, retired into the castle.

The marquiss de Lede, finding his first propositions ines-
fectual, sent two general officers, the marquiss de San Vi-
cenza and signor d'Aponte, to the imperial camp, the 19th
of February, N. S. with instructions to treat about the sur-
render of Palermo, and a considerable part of the adjacent
country, in consideration of a suspension of arms for three
months. But, whilst the negotiation was depending, the
marquiss receiving an express from Madrid, on the 28th,
with advice, that a general peace was made, he sent imme-
diately to break off the treaty. This seemed matter of great
surprise; but the secret reason was, that Spain was at that
time treating with France, to restore Fontarabia, St. Seba-
stian's, and other places taken in the war, and hoped to get
in exchange, for the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, the
restitution of those towns, and of Gibraltar, or, at least, to
have both the one and the other referred to a congress.
Upon this, count de Mercy gave fresh orders for attacking
the castle of Sacca, which had been retarded by the great
rains. The castle, being battered with four pieces of cannon,
and not very strong, surrendered the 6th of March, the gar-
rison being made prisoners of war. The taking of this
place gave great relief to the imperial army, who found
there twenty thousand solms of wheat.

During these transactions, a courier dispatched from Paris
by the earl of Stair, the British ambassador there, brought
the admiral information, that the marquiss de Beretti Landi,
the Spanish minister at the Hague, had signed the quadruple
alliance the 17th of Feb. N. S. and he brought likewise a
packet from that minister to the marquiss de Lede, and ano-
ther

Geo. I. 1719. ther from the emperor's minister to count de Mercy, to acquaint them therewith. A trumpet was sent with the Spanish ministers packet to the marquiss de Lede, and to know his sentiments thereupon. He returned answer, 'That, his master's minister having signed the quadruple alliance, he looked upon the peace as a thing concluded, and was therefore ready to treat of a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, until they should receive further orders from their respective courts.' To this it was replied by the admiral and count de Mercy, 'That, as the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia was to be performed within two months after the said signing, they were ready to consent to a suspension of arms, upon his delivering up the city and castles of Palermo, at which place transports would be best provided, and other necessary measures concerted for the transportation of their army into Spain.' The marquiss returned answer, 'That, as he understood, the plenipotentiaries of their masters at the Hague were in treaty for settling the terms of evacuating those islands, he did not think himself authorised to agree to a cessation on any other condition, than that each party should remain on the ground they occupied, and expect further orders from their respective principals.'

The disadvantages arising from such an agreement were too obvious to be submitted to; for the men of war and transports lay very inconveniently at Trapani, an unsafe road, where they had sustained considerable damage, and some of the transports had been lost. It was therefore necessary to have possession of Palermo, as a secure retreat for the fleet, and the most commodious port for shipping off the troops. Besides, it was a pledge of the sincerity of the intentions of Spain to evacuate the island. In the next place, it put the Germans under a manifest inequality, to be confined to the ground they occupied, while the Spaniards were in possession of the principal caricatori of corn, and plundered and rifled at pleasure a country they were soon to leave. Nor could they comprehend, how an enemy, who, six weeks before, offered to leave the whole island, on condition of being sent back into Spain, should now scruple to surrender Palermo; and therefore, as it had the appearance of chicaning, they resolved to go on with the operations of the war. But, before they proceeded to action, they agreed to send a joint letter to the marquiss, proposing an interview between them at the Cassine de Rossignola, half-way between the two armies, where accordingly they met the second of April, N. S. at noon, with an escorte of two hundred horse. In the conference

ference the marquiss de Lede owned, 'That he knew the king his master had signed the quadruple alliance, and did not doubt of his intention to evacuate Sicily; but declared, he had no orders yet about it: That he expected full powers and instructions soon, and wished they would, in the mean time, come to a cessation of arms.' He was asked, 'What proposals he had to make for that purpose?' He answered, 'None, but that both armies might hold the country that was in their possession, until he received orders to treat about the evacuation.' Count de Mercy, thinking it unreasonable to be tied down to a small tract of the country, where he could not subsist, asked him, 'Whether, in case they should consent to his keeping possession of Palermo, he had power to deliver up Augusta, and the other posts they held on that side of the island, which were now of no use to him, but it would be rather a conveniency to him to draw away the garrisons and troops he had in those parts to join his army, in order to the intended evacuation?' He confessed, 'He could not give up, nor quit the possession of any part he had of the island, until he received further orders from his master;' and read part of his instructions to them. Count de Mercy, on the other side, shewed him part of the emperor's orders, which directed him, 'to agree to a suspension of arms, in order to the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, and to concert with the marquiss de Lede the necessary conditions for facilitating the same, and to adjust that affair by all reasonable measures: But that, if the marquiss de Lede should not own his having orders, or endeavour to evade them, and gain time, by pretending to send to Madrid for further instructions, and not name a reasonable time for beginning to embark part of his troops, in that case he was to make use of his arms to oblige him to execute the treaty, which the Spanish minister had signed at the Hague.' He farther told the marquiss, that the 17th of April was understood to be the time they should go upon the evacuation; but, if it was not possible for him to begin so soon, he would not differ about a few days, provided they entered now into some agreement about the manner of doing it. He offered him the transports he had in his service, and assured him, that he should be accommodated with provisions, and every thing he could in reason demand. The admiral, on his part, gave him the like assurances, and that he should be escorted by as many of his master's ships as he should desire. The marquiss owned, that all they said was reasonable; but, complaining of the want of orders, the conference broke

Geo. I. broke off, without coming to any issue. At parting, the
 1719. marquiss desired the admiral to release the bishop of Mazza-
 ra, who was his prisoner, which the admiral readily consen-
 ted to.

During these debates, one of the English ships cruizing off Palermo, took a felucca, sent by cardinal Aquaviva from Rome, with packets of letters from Spain, to the marquiss de Lede, which he delivered to the admiral; who, seeing the king of Spain's seal to the letters, generously sent them unopened to the marquiss, and set the felucca and crew at liberty.

The conference being broken off, the admiral returned to the fleet at Trapani; and count de Mercy, resolving to attack the Spaniards, marched towards Alcamo, where he arrived the 8th of April, N. S. the marquiss having retreated the night before with precipitation, leaving some sick men behind, whom he could not carry away. The marquiss incamped at Valguernera and Sala di Partenico; but, fearing to be followed by the imperialists, he retired on to Montreale. The retreat of the Spaniards made count de Mercy resolve on the siege of Palermo; in order to which, he sent colonel baron Neyperg to confer with the admiral about the necessary assistance to be given by the fleet in facilitating the march of the army towards that place, by coasting along with the provisions and necessaries they should want in their march, as well as in the siege, and supplying them with cannon and ammunition for that enterprize. The necessary dispositions being concerted between the army and fleet, the count decamped from Alcamo the 18th of April, N. S. and followed the marquiss de Lede, who, retreating towards Montreale, kept possession of that and other advantageous posts, which led into the plains before Palermo, fortifying at the same time a strong pass by the sea-side, called Sferra Cavallo, which was another way between the sea-shore and the mountains into the same plain. Count de Mercy being arrived at Sala di Partenico, and not judging it adviseable to attempt the passes, which the enemy possessed on the road of Montreale, he divided his army into two bodies, sending general Zumjungen, with all his cavalry (except the hussars and a regiment of dragoons) and seven battalions of foot, with the artillery and baggage, to the sea-side, with orders to force the pass of Sferra Cavallo, and enter that way into the plain of Palermo, whilst he himself with the rest of the army ascended the difficult mountains about Carini, in order to get down that way into the same plain, judging, that, if
 the

the marquis drew his army to defend the pass of Sferra Cavallo, he should get between him and Palermo, or, at least, have the advantage of falling upon his rear. The count, having gained the heights of the mountains, from whence are discovered the plain and city of Palermo, perceived the Spanish army incamped in the bottom, intending to obstruct his descent, and occupying all the passes in the way. Here count de Mercy sent to Zumjungen to rejoin him, which he did by the assistance of guides, provided by the magistrates of Carina, leaving a detachment under the command of colonel baron de Witgenau, to convoy the artillery and baggage by the way of the sea-side, who, arriving at the pass of Sferra Cavallo, found it abandoned by the Spaniards. On the 21st, the Germans began to descend from the mountains, and, forcing the several passes, with less opposition than was expected, were almost all got down before night to the bottom. The whole was a most difficult and fatiguing march, through ways that the inhabitants themselves had rarely practised, but which the count surmounted with great expedition and military judgment.

The admiral coasting along, in conformity to the motions of the army, came to an anchor with the fleet the 20th, in Mondello-Bay, and sent some of his soldiers to take possession of a tower on the point, and another at the landing-place, as also three castles, that stood between, in order to preserve their communication. On the 22d, the marquis de Lede sent colonel Lacy, his aid de camp, with a letter to the admiral, inclosing a Spanish Gazette, wherein was published the treaty of suspension of arms at sea, concluded at the Hague between the ministers of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, which was to take place on the 10th instant; and therefore he proposed to the admiral, 'to come to an agreement with him, for a separate cessation of hostilities, as they had both full powers for that purpose; and protested against any violences he should commit, contrary to the plain instructions of their sovereigns.' This snare, laid to separate the admiral from the German army, had no effect, the admiral returning answer, 'That he could give no regard or credit to a pretended convention, published in a foreign news-paper, and even in which there was a clause, that nothing in it should derogate from what should be agreed between him and the marquis, for what concerns the Mediterranean sea. That, as the Spanish minister had signed the quadruple alliance ever since the 17th of February last, it was surprising, that in all this time the marquis had re-

Geo. I. received no orders for treating about the evacuation of the
 1719. island, which was the necessary consequence of it, but that
 he still maintained every point and post with the same zeal
 and ardour, as before his master's accession to the alliance.
 That the time for beginning the evacuation was elapsed;
 and therefore, without some reasonable security, that he
 really intended it, he could come into no agreement for a
 suspension of arms; but, whenever he should be impowered
 to treat for both, he would most gladly go more than half-
 way to meet him, and not only agree on such measures as
 might put an end to the present differences, but which
 might restore and cultivate a good understanding, which no-
 body more ardently wished for, than he did.' This was an
 adventurous proceeding in the admiral; for his instructions
 from England directed him to come to a suspension of arms with
 Spain, without staying for settling the terms of evacuation,
 which might take up time. But his penetration shewed him,
 that, if a suspension took place at sea, the Spaniards might
 introduce what succours and troops they pleased into the
 island, which would unravel all they had been doing; and,
 if any interruption happened in the negotiations on foot, put
 the Spaniards in a better state of prosecuting the war, and
 perhaps protract it another year. Their late conduct had
 made him jealous of their artifices, seeing them lay hold of
 every advantage to evade the evacuation of the island, which
 this separation would encourage, and render the way to
 peace more distant and difficult. He determined therefore,
 as the convention for a cessation of arms at sea, signed at the
 Hague the 29th of February, N. S. left him at liberty of
 treating as he thought proper, to remain united to the Ger-
 mans, which, he prudently saw, was the quickest way to
 bring the Spaniards to a compliance, and to come into real
 measures for the evacuation of the island. The event justified
 his precaution, and his conduct received at home the appro-
 bation it deserved.

The march of the Imperialists had made the Spaniards
 change the situation of their camp, which they pitched across
 the plain before Palermo, extending their left to Monte Ca-
 puto, and their right to the sea near the mole of Palermo,
 the whole army being under the cannon of that city, and
 having strong intrenchments before them, lined with forty
 pieces of cannon. They were provided with plenty of all
 things, and seemed determined to stand the fate of a battle.
 The Germans incamped on the same plain, in the front of
 the enemy, and within a mile and a half distance, with
 their

their right at the foot of the mountains, from whence they had descended, and their left reaching to Monte Pelegrino, near the sea-side, the artillery and baggage being arrived in their camp by the way of Sferra Cavallo. Count de Mercy seeing himself straitened in room, and under difficulty of subsisting, whilst the enemy plundered and enriched themselves with the spoils of a country they were quickly to abandon, he determined to bring matters to an engagement as soon as possible. In order to it, his scheme was to endeavour to get possession of the mole, by which means he should flank the enemy, and oblige them either to come to a battle with disadvantage, or else to retire to Termini. For this purpose he detached baron Neyperg on the 26th, with six companies of grenadiers, to dislodge the enemy from some posts, which they had fortified on the sea-side; and, to facilitate the same, sent baron de Witgenau, with six other companies of grenadiers, to seize on Monte Pelegrino. At the same time the admiral detaching three ships to cannonade the posts on the sea-side, their fire made the Spaniards abandon them, and the Imperialists took possession of them without any loss. These advantages confirmed count de Mercy in his resolution to push his point that way; and, having made the necessary dispositions, the next day he caused to be attacked a cassine that stood a little distance from the enemy's trenches, but strongly fortified with lines, and some cannon, drawing out his whole army at the same time in order of battle, in case the enemy should come out of their camp to support it. The lines were soon taken, but the cassine was not carried till after a very vigorous defence of above an hour, wherein the Germans had about one hundred and forty men killed or wounded; among the former a prince of Anhalt, and lieutenant-general Seckendorf wounded in the shoulders. On the 2d of May, about two in the afternoon, the weather being very hot, and the Spanish guard taking a siesto, according to the custom of that nation, the Germans surprised a redoubt near the enemy's lines, entering the same without firing a shot, and pushing the Spaniards out with their bayonets in their pieces. The marquiss de Lede, being informed of it, rose from table, and ordered the army to be immediately drawn out, in order to retake that fortification, which commanded the whole line of the camp. On the other hand, count de Mercy being determined to maintain his hold, both armies were in motion, and just on the point of engaging, when fortunately a courier, arriving in the very instant from Spain, in a felucca, delivered to the marquiss a

Geo. I. packet, containing full powers from the king of Spain to
 1719. treat and agree about the evacuation of the islands of Sicily
 and Sardinia, and the transportation of the army into Spain.
 The marquiss upon this drew off his army, and sent letters
 by a trumpet to the general and admiral, to inform them of
 his orders. The next morning early, the admiral repairing
 to the German camp, officers were appointed on each side,
 to treat of the suspension of arms, and to regulate the manner
 of evacuating both islands; and conventions were drawn up
 for that purpose, and signed, that for Sicily on the 6th of
 May, and that for Sardinia two days after.

In pursuance of these conventions, the Germans were put
 in possession of Palermo and the citadel of Castelamare the
 10th, and the Spanish army marched to Termini, a sea-port,
 about twenty-five miles distant, from whence the first im-
 barkation, consisting of about twelve thousand foot, and six
 hundred horse, sailed the 20th of June for Barcelona, and
 the remainder arrived at the same place the 25th of August
 following.

Nothing now remained to be done, but to put the duke
 of Savoy in possession of the island of Sardinia: In order to
 which, four battalions of Piedmontese troops embarked at
 Palermo, under the command of baron St. Remi, and sailed
 under the convoy of some English men of war to Cagliari,
 where the admiral arriving as soon as he had settled all affairs
 in Sicily, he assisted at the conferences with the ministers and
 generals of the several powers concerned, wherein was regu-
 lated the manner of surrendering the island by the Spanish
 viceroy to the emperor, and the cession of the same from the
 emperor to the duke of Savoy; and, at the instance of this
 prince, the admiral did not depart, till he had seen the whole
 fully executed; the Spanish troops returned into Spain, and
 the duke of Savoy put into quiet possession of his new king-
 dom.

Thus ended the war of Sicily, wherein the fleet of Great-
 Britain bore so illustrious a part, that the fate of the island
 was wholly governed by its operations, both competitors
 agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the
 other have been subdued without it. Never was any service
 conducted in all its parts with greater zeal, activity, and
 judgment: nor was ever the British flag in so high reputation
 and respect in those distant parts of Europe (a).

During

(a) As this history will not go down so low as the admiral's
 death,

During these transactions in the Mediterranean, the French army, under the command of the duke of Berwick, advancing

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Progress of
the French
against
Spain.

death, it may not be improper to insert here what Mr. Corbet says of him: King George, who had named him for the expedition to Sicily, and knew his abilities, used to say to his ministers, when they applied for instructions to be sent to him for his guidance, on certain important occasions, that he would send him none, for he knew how to act without any; and, indeed, all the measures he took abroad were so exact and just, as to square with the counsels and plan of policy at home. The cause of the emperor being become the cause of his master, he served the interests of that prince with a zeal and fidelity, that stood a pattern to his own subjects. He lived in such harmony with the imperial viceroys and generals, as has been seldom seen among fellow-subjects united in command, the want of which has proved the ruin of many important expeditions. He was incapable of performing his duty in a cold or negligent manner; and, when any service was committed to his management, he devoted his whole time and application to it; nor could any fatigue, or indisposition of body, ever divert his attention from any point that required present dispatch. To this it might be in a great measure owing, that he was never unfortunate in any undertaking, nor miscarried in any service that was intrusted to his direction. For whoever will trace upwards, to the springs

and causes of public or private events, shall find (except where the immediate finger of providence is visible) that what is usually called ill-luck, is generally the effect of negligence or imprudence. He always proceeded upon solid principles, and left nothing to fortune, that could be accomplished by foresight and application. His firmness and plain-dealing were so apparent to the foreigners, who treated with him upon business, that it contributed much to the dispatch and success of his transactions with them; for they could depend upon what he said, and as they saw he used no arts or chicanes himself, and had too discerning a spirit to suffer them to pass unobserved in others, they often found it their best policy to leave their interests in his hands and management, being very sure of a most impartial and punctual performance of whatever he engaged in. His reputation was so thoroughly established in this particular, that in the frequent disputes and altercations which arose between the Savoyards and Germans in the course of the war, and between the latter and the Spaniards at the conclusion of it, wherein little faith or confidence was given to the promises or asseverations of each other, he was the common umpire between them, always stemming and opposing any extravagant or unjust demands (which the over-bearing temper of the German general was very apt to suggest,

Geo. I. vancing to the frontiers of Spain, took Fort-Passage, where
 1719. they destroyed six men of war on the stocks. Then the duke
 formed the siege of Fonterabia, which was taken the 5th of
 June. The king of Spain made an unsuccessful attempt to
 relieve the place, and approached with an army of nine thou-
 sand foot, and four thousand horse; but it was in the hands

suggest, where he had the superior hand) and reconciling, as much as possible, the violences of war with the rules of honour and justice. When he departed from Italy to attend his late majesty at Hanover, the king, among many gracious expressions, told him, that he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as friends, and that the court of Spain had mentioned, with great acknowledgements, his fair and friendly behaviour in the provision of transports and other necessities for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexations and oppressions that had been attempted. No wonder, that a man, endowed with such talents and such a disposition, left behind him in Italy, and other foreign parts, the character of a great soldier, an able statesman, and an honest man.

To give some description of his person, he was of a slender constitution, but well supplied with spirits, which did not display themselves so much in gaiety of conversation (for he was modest in his nature) as in activity in all the duties and functions of life or business, in which he was indefatigable, and, by a continued habit of industry, had hardened and inured a body, not naturally strong, to patience of any fatigue. He had made no great proficiency in school-learning (which the early age

of going to sea seldom admits of) but his great diligence, joined with excellent natural parts, and a just sense of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult negotiations and commissions with proper dignity and address. In his younger days he was both in the sea and land service, being an officer of foot in the garrison of Tangier, but, preferring the sea, he was soon distinguished and favoured by that great seaman admiral Ruffel (afterwards earl of Orford) who made him his first captain at the age of twenty-nine, a post equal in rank to a rear-admiral; and, by degrees, he arrived to be a commissioner of the admiralty, and first admiral of the fleet, in which quality he commanded in the war of Sicily. On his repairing to Hanover, his late majesty was pleased to express his regard to his eminent services, by making him treasurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great Britain; and soon after a privy-counsellor, and peer of Great Britain, with the title of viscount Torrington; and afterwards knight of the Bath, upon the revival of that order. When his present majesty came to the crown, he was pleased to place him at the head of his naval affairs, as first lord commissioner of the admiralty, in which high station he died, in the year 1733, in the 70th year of his age.

of

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of the French before he could draw near enough to it; so he marched back to Pampeluna, doubly disappointed, both of raising the siege, and of the French forces desertion: For he depended as much on an insurrection in France, as on a rebellion in England; upon both which cardinal Alberoni's projects were founded. The cardinal still refusing to accede to the Quadruple Alliance, the duke of Berwick took St. Sebastian's; and a party of French, joined by two hundred English seamen, made themselves masters of Port Antonio, in the bottom of the bay of Biscay, where two sixty-gun ships were destroyed on the stocks, and all the naval stores were burnt by the English.

About this time the cardinal received the news of the action at Franca Villa, in a letter from the marquiss de Lede, who assumed to himself the victory. The cardinal chose that occasion to yield to the pressing instances of the Dutch ambassador to consent to a peace: He declared to him, that his Catholic majesty's intention was, that the States-general should be mediators.

Negotiations
with Spain.

A few days after, he sent the marquiss de Scotti to Paris, from whence he was to pass into Holland, to carry instructions to the marquiss de Beretti Landi, how to proceed with the States. The duke of Orleans, to whom he had orders to declare his intentions, refused him a passport, saying, he could not do it without the knowledge of the emperor and king George, who were still more concerned than himself in this affair; and that the passport would be a tacit approbation of the conduct of the States-general, and a sort of acceptance of their mediations; decisions, said the regent, that become me not to make. And indeed the emperor and king George, being consulted on that head, absolutely rejected it.

Besides that, they were unwilling the States (with whom they were displeased for their slowness in acceding to the Quadruple Alliance) should have the honour of this mediation, and reap as it were the fruit of their conduct, they had each their particular hopes and views, which a sudden peace would have disappointed. The emperor wanted to repair the glory of his arms by the conquest of Sicily; and king George had a mind to be revenged for the uneasiness given him, on account of the intended invasion of Scotland. He was resolved to make some conquest that should indemnify his subjects for the charge they had been at. He formed two projects, to take the Corunna, the best port of Biscay, and to make himself master of Peru in America. Great preparations were made, fifty transports were provided, with three

Geo. I. bomb-veffels, and four thousand men were ordered to be in
 1719. readinefs to imbark in the ifle of Wight (b). The lord Cob-
 ham was appointed to command in chief, with the title of
 captain-general (c). Thefe forces, being imbarked, failed
 from St. Helen's the 21ft of September, under convoy of five
 or fix men of war, commanded by admiral Mighels, who
 was to be joined by captain Johnson, then cruizing off Fon-
 terabia. But this junction was never made, and the impor-
 tant and Secret (as it was called) expedition upon the Co-
 runna ended only in the taking of Vigo, which furrendered
 at the firft fummons; the citadel made fome refiftance, but
 furrendered likewise in a few days. On the 10th of October
 the garrifon marched out, confifting of about three hundred
 men, befides one hundred and fifty peafants, there having
 been above three hundred killed or wounded by the bombs.
 The Englifh loft but two officers and three or four men.
 There were in the town about fixty pieces of large cannon,
 which, when the enemy abandoned, they nailed and damaged
 them, as much as the time would give them leave. In the
 citadel were forty-three pieces, of which fifteen were brafs
 guns, and two large mortars; befides above two thousand
 barrels of powder, and feveral chefts of arms, amounting to
 about eight thousand mufkets. All thefe ftokes, and the brafs
 ordnance, had been lodged there from on board the fhips
 which were to have vifited Great Britain, and the very
 troops which gave up Vigo were likewise of that expedition.
 The lord Cobham had fummoned the adjacent country to
 furnifh provifions, and pay contribution, on pain of military
 execution; and had fent a party to Redondella, where
 they found the old fort abandoned, and run to ruin, and the
 inhabitants fled. That part of the province was under fuch
 confternation, that it was thought half the people had run
 away into Portugal. There were but few regular troops
 in the province; but the marquifs de Rifburg had drawn
 together as many as he could get near Tuy, which is within
 three or four leagues of Vigo.

(b) Seven companies out of each of the three regiments of guards; colonel Chudleigh's regiment, lieutenant-general Wallis's regiment, lord Hinchinbrook's regiment; and the regiments of Howard. Grove, Hurley, and Barrel, and fifty dragoons.

(c) He had under him major-general Wade, the lords Mark Kerr and Dunmore, colonel Honeywood, brigadier-general; colonel Armstrong, quarter-master-general; and colonel Ligoniere, adjutant-general.

Two days after the surrender of the citadel of Vigo, one thousand men were ordered on board four transports under the command of major-general Wade, to sail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo, and to march from thence to Pont a Vedra, ten leagues off. The magistrates of the town met them with the keys; and there were found in the place two forty eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, six eight pounders, and four mortars, all brass; besides seventy pieces of iron cannon, two thousand small arms, and some bombs. The Biddeford man of war, and two transports, were sent thither, to bring away the brass cannon, arms, and stores; after which the detachment under major-general Wade was ordered on board their ships, and the major-general returned to Vigo, the 23d of October. Four days after, the troops being embarked, the fleet sailed for England (d).

Vice-admiral Hosier was to sail to the West-Indies with a squadron of men of war, where he was to be joined by all that were in those parts; but this expedition was frustrated by the winds, and Peru was not so much as attacked.

Attempt
upon the
West-Indies
frustrated.

Spain, oppressed on all sides, and drained by the great efforts she had made, began to think seriously of peace. A plan was sent to the marquiss de Beretti Landi, which he delivered to the States the 22d of December. By this plan, England was to restore Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, and France all the conquests she had lately made: The successions of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, were to be settled on the queen of Spain's son, without being held either of the emperor or empire: All the ships taken this war were to be restored to Spain: Sicily, in the hands of the emperor, was to be subject to the same right of reversion, as when granted to the duke of Savoy: The pope was to be obliged to restore to the duke of Parma the duchy of Castro, and the country of

(d) While the English were at Vigo, captain Johnson, commander of the Weymouth, the Winchester, and another English man of war, came up with a Portuguese carval from Ribadeo, and being informed that there were two Spanish men of war in that port, about sixteen leagues to the east of cape Ortigas, he made thither; sent the boats in a-head to sound, and followed with the ships. He

anchored within musket-shot of the enemy's ships and a battery of eight guns, fired on both, and soon beat the Spaniards out of the battery, which he took possession of, and entirely demolished. In the interim, the two Spanish men of war blew up; and, after some small firing on the town, he sallied out of the harbour, taking with him a Spanish merchant-ship, which he found there.

Ron-

Geo. I. Ronciglione, usurped by Innocent X. from the house of Farnese: Lastly, the dominion and commerce of the West-Indies should be regulated, according to the treaty of Utrecht.

Alberoni
disgraced.

These proposals had been preceded by a step very grateful to the allies. The ambition of cardinal Alberoni had rendered him personally odious to the emperor, to king George, and to the duke of Orleans. All three had declared, at least intimated, that they would hearken to no peace as long as he was in place: The king of Spain thought it proper to make him a sacrifice, and purchase the tranquillity of his people at the expence of a minister ever unfortunate. The king writ to him with his own hand, forbidding him to meddle with the affairs of state, to appear any where in his presence, to remain in Madrid above eight days, and in Spain above three weeks.

Spain ac-
cedes to the
Quadruple
Alliance.

The plan of the court of Madrid was rejected as subversive of the treaty of London, and nothing less would be accepted, but a full accession to the Quadruple Alliance; which, after immense charges, and many mortifications, was submitted to by the king of Spain. The war with Spain has been thus related, without regard to the order of time, that an idea of the whole might be formed, without having recourse to different parts of the history.

The king
intercedes
for the Pro-
testants of
Germany.

Whilst the king was at Hanover, memorials full of grievances were presented to him by the Protestants from Hungary, Poland, Spire, Mentz, and particularly from the Palatinate. In Poland, contrary to the fundamental constitutions of the kingdom, and the express tenor of the treaties, the Popish clergy had engaged the diet of Grodno to take from some of their reformed towns their right of suffrage. In Hungary, by the credit and practices of the Jesuits, many books of divinity, brought from England and Holland, were confiscated. At Spire and Mentz, several churches were taken from them, and given to the Catholics.

The greatest complaints came from the Palatinate. The catechism of Heidelberg was suppressed, after having been received above a hundred and sixty years as a formula of union among the Reformed. The church of the Holy Ghost at Heidelberg was also taken from the Protestants, on pretence of its belonging to the court, and likewise the church of Creutzpach, with the revenues of several others; and, what seemed still more intolerable, the disposal of the alms of the Reformed were given to the Catholics, who forced them,

more-

moreover, to contribute to the Popish ceremonies, and forbid them to open their shops, or to work on the holy days. Geo. I.
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Almost all the Protestant states and princes interposed in behalf of the oppressed. King George distinguished himself by his zeal on this occasion, and writ very pressing letters, which were supported by memorials from his ministers. But this affair succeeded not to his wish: His representations were well received, as they could not fail to be, considering his great weight; the elector Palatine gave favourable answers, and made fair promises; but the grievances were not redressed (e).

During the king's absence all was quiet at home, and the regency had little to do. There was however a kind of dispute with the czar's minister about his secretary, who had been committed to prison by a justice of peace. But, upon the first complaint of his master, the secretary was released, and the justice put out of his office, and obliged to beg pardon for his imprudence. There was also a great riot in June, raised by the journeymen weavers about Bishopsgate and Aldgate. They insulted the women for wearing calicoes, and tore their gowns off their backs. The militia was ordered

(e) The king, in his letter to the king of Poland, in behalf of the Protestants, expressed himself thus: 'That they may, for the future, enjoy their former liberty of conscience, which cannot be forced by any human power, and over which God hath reserved to himself the sole command.'

At his return to England, the archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied with ten other bishops, in a congratulatory speech said, among other things, 'I am also directed by my lords the bishops to return our most humble acknowledgment to your majesty, for the protection your majesty hath been pleased to give to our brethren, the Protestants of the Palatinate, and of Poland and Lithuania, per-

secuted for the faith of Christ: We are persuaded, that this royal charity will draw down innumerable blessings from Heaven, upon the person of your sacred majesty, and your affairs.'

In the address from the university of Cambridge, presented by Dr. Gooch, the vice-chancellor, were the following words: 'It is with particular pleasure we behold your majesty, in conjunction with other powers, asserting the cause of liberty, and supporting the interest of our Protestant brethren abroad, whose deplorable condition every day convinces us, that the Protestant Profession must stand or fall with the Protestant Succession.'

Geo. I. out to suppress the rioters, of whom some of the ring-leaders
1719. were taken, and condemned to stand in the pillory (f).

The

(f) During the king's absence died Mr. Joseph Addison, June 17. He was son of Dr. Lancelot Addison, dean of Litchfield; and, being educated at the Charter-house school, was sent from thence to the university of Oxford, where he finished his studies in Magdalen-college: He became first known to the world by the excellency of his Latin poems, which he published in the *Musæ Anglicanæ*, and dedicated to Charles Montague, earl of Halifax, who, together with the lord Sommers, then lord-keeper (to whom he inscribed the first piece he published in English, viz. A poem to his majesty king William III. on the taking of Namur, in the year 1695) recommended him to that prince, who gave him a pension of 300l. per ann. and sent him to travel. At his return from his travels, he was made commissioner of appeals in the excise; afterwards he was under-secretary to the two secretaries of state, and secretary of state himself in Ireland, under two lord-lieutenants: Upon the death of queen Anne, he was made secretary to the regency, after that one of the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, and then advanced to be one of the principal secretaries of state to king George; which office, by reason of his ill state of health, he was obliged to resign some time before his death. He married Charlotte, daughter of Sir Thomas Middleton, of Chirk-Castle, in the county of

Denbigh, Bart. and relict of Edward Rich, earl of Warwick, by whom he left issue only one daughter.

July 6, died Meinhardt Schomberg, duke of Leinster, marquis of Harwich, &c. knight companion of the most noble order of the garter, and count of the sacred Roman empire: He married Charlotte, eldest daughter of Charles Lewis, elector-palatine, by whom he left issue only two daughters; Frederica, married to Robert d'Arcy, earl of Holderness (the present countess Fitzwalter) and Mary, married to count Dagenfelt of the empire.

July 24, died Heneage Finch, earl of Aylesford, second son of Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham. He was succeeded by his son of the same name.

When the king was abroad, a great dispute and difference arose between the Dissenting Ministers in London, about subscribing and non-subscribing Articles of Advice for the conduct of their congregations.

The Dissenters at several places, but more especially at Exeter, being jealous that their ministers were not as orthodox as themselves, in the article of the Trinity, had demanded of them a confession of Faith; and upon advice of the differences between their pastors and them, on this occasion, the Dissenting Ministers, in and about London, held a synod, to consult of Articles of Advice for Peace. They met at Salters-Hall. The main de-

The parliament of Ireland met the 1st of July. The duke of Bolton, lord-lieutenant, pointed out in his speech the subjects of their deliberations. He said, they were called together to consult of proper measures, and to make necessary provisions to repel or suppress any attempt to involve the kingdom in the calamities of a rebellion, or a foreign invasion. He represented it as a delusion to imagine, that the designs of their enemies did not extend to Ireland, as well as to Eng-

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The parliament of Ireland meets,
July 1.

debate was inserting in the Advice the first article of the Church of England, and the answer to the fifth and sixth questions in the Assembly's-Catechism. But, upon the question, it was carried by a majority of fifty-seven against fifty-three, 'That no human compositions or interpretations of the doctrine of the Trinity should be made a part of these Articles of Advice,' which they were met to draw up. How far the heats carried them on both sides, may be seen by what happened at the division. One of those, who were against human compositions, saying, as he went out, 'You that are against persecution, come up stairs;' and another, who was for them, 'You that are for the doctrine of the Trinity, stay below.'

The Subscribers withdrew from the assembly, notwithstanding the question had been carried against them, and set their names to a paper containing the first article, and the two answers before-mentioned.

At the same time the Non-Subscribers made the following declaration:

'We freely declare that we utterly disown the Arian doctrines, and sincerely believe the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Proper Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we appre-

hend to be clearly revealed in the Holy Scriptures; but are far from condemning any who appear to be with us in the main, though they chuse not to declare themselves in other than scripture terms, or not in ours.'

Which they farther explained thus:

'The human words, Trinity and Proper Divinity, in this declaration of our faith, are used only to notify the things we speak of; and we do not presume in the way of Test to go into any particular explanations of those things, either in our own, or other men's words: But for that we refer to the Holy Scriptures, whence it may appear, that we take the scripture-account of those things to be the best and fittest we can use on such occasions.'

Whilst these matters were transacting at London, three congregations at Exeter proceeded to the actual exclusion of their pastors, Mr. Pierce, Mr. Withers, and Mr. Hallet, for refusing to subscribe certain articles of Faith, which had been prepared for them.

It is not unlikely (says a certain author *) that a leading man or two among the subscribers had private encouragement from a great prelate to proceed as they did.

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land and Scotland: And, though these designs had been hitherto prevented by the king's counsels and indefatigable endeavours, yet it would be prudent to provide such effectual remedies as might render it impracticable to proceed farther with any prospect of success.

‘It is obvious and visible to every considering man, that a good agreement and union among all Protestants will greatly contribute to this end; and the numbers, as well as strict union, of the Papists, among themselves, together with their apparent inclinations and attachment to the interest of the Pretender, seem to make it more immediately necessary at this time. In what manner a thing so desirable may be obtained, his majesty leaves to your consideration, and has commanded me to acquaint you, that as he has the welfare of the church, by law established, under his peculiar care, and resolves always to support and maintain it; so it would be very pleasing to him, if any method could be found (not inconsistent with the security of it) to render the Protestant Dissenters more useful and capable of serving his Majesty, and supporting the Protestant interest, than they now are; they having, upon all occasions, given sufficient proofs of their being well affected to his majesty's person and government, and to the succession of the crown in his royal house: And this I am ordered to lay before you as a thing greatly importing his majesty's service and your own security.’

The method here mentioned was already found. The act passed in the last session in England was an ample direction to proceed by. Both houses assured, that they thought it their duty and interest to promote a good understanding and union among all Protestants, to enable them to withstand the designs of such numerous and malicious enemies, and therefore they would readily enter into the consideration of such methods as might render the Protestant Dissenters more easy and capable of supporting the Protestant interest. Accordingly, an act passed for that purpose, under the title of ‘A bill for exempting the Protestant Dissenters of the kingdom of Ireland from certain penalties, to which they are now subject.’

The parliament made other useful regulations, for preventing the marriage of infants against the will of their parents or guardians; for encouraging the cultivation of lands; for preventing tumults and seditious assemblies; for suppressing Tories, robbers, and rapparees; and for the better maintenance of schools, and teaching the English tongue throughout the kingdom.

In

In Scotland there appeared no remains of rebellion. The Geo. I. chiefs being retired, the Highlanders surrendered their arms, 1719. and the regency seemed to fear no disturbance from that quarter, nor had they any orders to give. However, the evil was not quite cured, of which were seen now and then some strange proofs. At Edinburgh alone, five ministers, cited before the magistrates, refused to acknowledge king George, and their churches were forced to be shut up.

After six months absence, the king returned to London, The king's the 14th of November, more respected than ever, on account return, of the great things he had done for the welfare and interest of Nov. 14. his dominions. He was received with demonstrations of the liveliest joy, and those who were not forward to shew it were punished by the populace, and the windows broken that were not illuminated. Whilst in Germany, he had sent orders for the meeting of the parliament on the 23d of November, and for the members to be all there, by reason of the importance of the affairs he had to communicate to them.

On that day the session was opened with the following speech, read by the chancellor to both houses :

The parliament meets,
Nov. 23.
Pr. H. C.

‘ My lords and gentlemen,

‘ **T**HE satisfaction, with which I always meet you, is
‘ very much increased at this time, when it has pleased
‘ Almighty God so to strengthen the arms of Great Britain
‘ and our confederates, and so to prosper our several nego-
‘ tiations, that, by his blessing on our endeavours, we may
‘ promise ourselves to reap very soon the fruits of our suc-
‘ cesses. I am persuaded, it will be accounted by all my good
‘ subjects a sufficient reward for some extraordinary expence,
‘ that all Europe, as well as these kingdoms, is upon the
‘ point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the
‘ influence of British arms and counsels. One Protestant
‘ kingdom * has already been relieved by our seasonable in- • Sweden.
‘ terposition ; and such a foundation is laid, by our late trea-
‘ ties, for an union amongst other great Protestant powers,
‘ as will very much tend to the security of our holy re-
‘ ligion.

‘ I believe you cannot but be surprised at the continuance
‘ of the war, where our enemies have nothing to hope, and
‘ so much to fear. It is indeed difficult to frame any judg-
‘ ment of those counsels, which have broke out of late in so
‘ many rash and ill-concerted measures. If they depend upon
‘ our divisions at home, I doubt not but, in a very short
‘ time,

Geo. I. ' time, their hopes, founded upon this expectation, will
 1719. ' prove as vain and ill-grounded, as any of their former pro-
 ' jects.

' In congratulating with you on this happy posture of af-
 ' fairs, I must tell you, that, as I have been very just and
 ' faithful to my engagements, so I have met such frank and
 ' powerful returns of assistance from my allies, as will, I
 ' doubt not, establish a lasting friendship among us.

' Gentlemen of the house of commons,

' You will see, by the accounts I have ordered to be deli-
 ' vered to you, how moderate a use I have made of the power
 ' intrusted with me, to augment my forces by sea and land.
 ' I depend upon the eminent duty and affection you have al-
 ' ways shewn to my person and government, that you will
 ' be vigorous in dispatching the necessary supplies for the
 ' year; to which purpose I have ordered the estimates to be
 ' laid before you. And, at the same time, I must desire you
 ' to turn your thoughts to all proper means for lessening the
 ' debts of the nation.

' My lords and gentlemen,

' You all must be sensible of the many undeserved and un-
 ' natural troubles I have met with, during the course of my
 ' reign. Our divisions at home have been magnified abroad;
 ' and, by inspiring into some foreign powers a false opinion
 ' of our force, have encouraged them to treat us in a man-
 ' ner, which the crown of Great Britain shall never endure
 ' while I wear it. The trouble and expence, which this
 ' brought upon us, have been the most loudly complained of
 ' by those who were the occasion of them. But with your
 ' assistance I have hitherto got through all these difficulties,
 ' and, by the continuance of your help, I hope very soon to
 ' overcome them, since the hand of God hath so visibly been
 ' with us in all our undertakings.

' If the necessities of my government have sometimes en-
 ' gaged your duty and affection to trust me with powers, of
 ' which you have always, with good reason, been jealous,
 ' the whole world must acknowledge they have been so used,
 ' as to justify the confidence you have reposed in me. And,
 ' as I can truly affirm, that no prince was ever more zealous
 ' to increase his own authority, than I am to perpetuate the
 ' liberty of my people, I hope you will think of all proper
 ' me-

‘ methods to establish and transmit to your posterity the freedom of our happy constitution, and particularly to secure that part, which is most liable to abuse. I value myself upon being the first who hath given you an opportunity of doing it; and I must recommend it to you, to complete those measures, which remained imperfect the last session.

‘ So far as human prudence can foretel, the unanimity of this session of parliament must establish, with the peace of all Europe, the glory and trade of these kingdoms on a lasting foundation. I think every man may see the end of our labours. All I have to ask of you is, that you would agree to be a great and flourishing people, since it is the only means by which I desire to become a happy king.’

The addressees were agreeable to the speech, the king was thanked and congratulated for the great success of his measures to establish the peace of Europe. ‘ It is with the utmost pleasure and satisfaction (say the lords) that we see the present happy union between your majesty and the other great Protestant powers, which does so visibly tend to the security of our holy religion; and we desire to express the deep sense which we have of your majesty’s seasonable interposition for the poor persecuted Protestants abroad; and we humbly beseech your majesty, that you would be pleased to continue your powerful protection and offices in favour of them.’ They concluded with saying, ‘ We promise ourselves, that the whole world will soon be convinced with how little foundation the enemies of your majesty and your kingdoms have flattered themselves to reap any benefit from our intestine divisions.

We should be wanting in our duty to your majesty and our country, if we did not return you majesty our most hearty thanks for that tender and unprecedented care and concern, your majesty has been pleased to express in your most gracious speech from the throne, for the liberties of your people, and the freedom of our happy constitution.’

The commons, after thanks and congratulation, very strongly expressed their assurances in these words:

‘ We crave leave to assure you majesty, that we will, on our parts, by the vigour of our resolutions, for the support of your government, and by the dispatch which we will give to the necessary supplies, convince the world, that, if our enemies have conceived any hopes from our divisions at home, this hath been the vainest of all their projects. And

Geo. I. we will enable your majesty, in concert with your allies,
 1719. effectually to support and perfect those just and equitable
 ————— measures which have been taken to establish a general
 peace.

And we farther assure your majesty, That we will apply ourselves to find out the best means for lessening the debts of the nation, and supporting the public credit, and will concur in all proper methods to establish and preserve the freedom of our happy constitution, for which your sacred majesty has given so many tender proofs of your care and affection.

The peerage
 bill rejected.

As the king had recommended, in his speech, the thinking of proper methods to establish the freedom of the constitution (by which was meant the peerage-bill) the duke of Buckingham, two days after the beginning of the session, revived the bill for limiting the peers, which had been dropped by the prorogation. In opposition to this bill, earl Cowper said, ' Besides the reasons that induced him last session to be against this bill, he had now another, that weighed no less with him than all the rest, the earnestness with which it was recommended, and the eagerness with which it was brought before them at the beginning of a session. He had observed both from history, and his own experience, that, in affairs of moment, precipitation was ever dangerous, and, in many cases, to be suspected; and, for his own part, he could not help being of opinion, that, if there were no secret meaning in this bill, some men would not be so pressing for it.' To this the earl of Sunderland answered, ' That it could not with any justice be said, that any precipitation had been used in this affair, since the bill in question had been brought in the last session, and then thoroughly examined; so that he doubted not, but every member of that house was fully apprised of it, and ready to give his vote for or against it. That the reason why it was brought in so soon at this time, he conceived to be, that it might give no interruption to the other important affairs, which the king had recommended to his parliament. And, as for any secret meaning in this bill, he solemnly declared, he knew of no other, but what his majesty had been pleased graciously to intimate in his speech, the securing the freedom of our constitution, by preventing, for the future, the abuse of one branch of the royal prerogative, of which they had a fatal instance in the late reign, and which had given just offence, and terrible apprehensions to all sober men.' To this it was replied, ' That if it was foreseen, that bill might interrupt the other important affairs,

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Geo. I.
1719.

it had been adviseable to keep it till the middle, or towards the end of the session, and to begin with the king's business.' But the duke of Bucks compromised the matter, by saying, 'That, for his own part, he apprehended no danger from this bill; and if it was attended with any inconveniencies, as all human affairs are apt to be, time would discover it; and then, as in all other cases, they might apply a remedy to it. As to the time of bringing it in, he thought it no material objection, since this house had no other business to go upon; but that he foresaw, that, whatever dispatch they made in that bill, it would not get so quick a passage in the other house.' After these speeches, the bill passed the lords without any farther opposition, and was sent to the commons, where it was opposed by a great many members. Mr. Craggs urged in favour of the bill, 'That his majesty, since his accession to the throne, had had no other view than to procure the good and happiness of his subjects, and to secure their rights and liberties. That having, in his royal wisdom, considered the abuse that was made, in the last reign, of that branch of the prerogative relating to the creating of peers, which abuse had brought the liberties of Great-Britain, and of all Europe, into immediate danger, his majesty, through a condescension worthy of a prince truly magnanimous, had graciously been pleased to consent, that such bounds be set to that part of the prerogative, as may prevent any exorbitant and dangerous exercise of it for the time to come. That it was only in the reign of good princes, that legislators had opportunities to remedy and amend the defects, to which all human institutions are subject: And that, if the present occasion of rectifying that apparent flaw in our constitution were lost, it might perhaps never be retrieved.' Mr. Walpole spoke on the other side, and endeavoured to answer all that had been offered for the bill. He took notice, 'That among the Romans, the wisest people upon earth, the temple of Fame was placed behind the temple of Virtue, to denote, that there was no coming to the former, without going through the other. But that, if this bill passed into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no coming to honour, but through the winding-sheet of an old decrepit lord, and the grave of an extinct noble family. That it was matter of just surprise, that a bill of this nature should either have been projected, or at least promoted by a gentleman, who not long ago sat amongst them, and who, having got into the house of peers, would now shut up the door after him. That this bill would

Geo. I. not only be a discouragement to virtue and merit, but also
 1719. indanger our excellent constitution: For, as there was a
 due balance between the three branches of the legislature, if any more weight were thrown into any one of those branches, it would destroy that balance, and consequently subvert the constitution. That the peers were already possessed of many valuable privileges; and to give them more power and authority, by limiting their number, would, in time, bring back the commons into the state of the servile dependency, which they were in, when they wore the badges of the lords. That he could not but wonder, that the lords would send such a bill to the commons; for how could they expect, that the commons would give their concurrence to so injurious a law, by which they and their posterities are to be excluded from the peerage? And how would the lords receive a bill, by which it would be enacted, that a baron should not be made a viscount, nor a viscount be made an earl, and so on? That, besides all this, that part of the bill, which related to the peerage of Scotland, would be a manifest violation of the act of Union, on the part of England, and a dishonourable breach of trust in those who represented the Scots nobility. That such an infringement of the Union would endanger the intire dissolution of it, by disgusting so great a number of the Scots peers, as should be excluded from sitting in the British parliament. For as it was well known, that the revolution-settlement stood upon the principle of a mutual compact, if we should break first the articles of union, it would be natural for the Scots to think themselves thereby freed from all allegiance. And as for what had been suggested, that the election of the sixteen peers was no less expensive to the crown, than injurious to the peerage of Scotland, it might be answered, that the making twenty-five hereditary sitting Scots peers would still increase the discontents of the electing peers, who thereby would be deprived of a valuable consideration for not being chosen.* After these, and several other speeches, the bill was at last rejected by a majority of two hundred and sixty-nine against one hundred and seventy-seven. Thus the prerogative of increasing the number of the peers, as the king should think proper, which he seemed so willing to divest himself of, was, as it were against his consent, preserved to him. It was observed by an * opposer of the bill, that some persons had, through indiscretion, occasioned an unhappy difference [in the royal family] and he was apprehensive if that bill, so prejudicial to the rights of the next heir,

* Sir J.
 Packington:

heir, should pass into a law, it might render that difference irreconcilable. This was said chiefly with regard to the earl of Sunderland, who promoted the bill with the greatest eagerness. It was also reported that Mr. Craggs was to have been one of the six English peers, to be created after the passing of the bill.

Geo. I.
1719.

During this session, a bill, for better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great-Britain, passed both houses. This bill took its rise, from an appeal to the house of peers in England, by Maurice Annesley, against a decree of the house of peers in Ireland; which the British house of peers received, and ordered the barons of the Exchequer in Ireland to cause Mr. Annesley to be forthwith put in possession of certain lands in the county of Kildare, of which he had been dispossessed by virtue of a decree of the house of peers in Ireland. Pursuant to this order, the barons of the Exchequer in that kingdom issued out an injunction to Alexander Burrows, sheriff of the county of Kildare, and set several fines upon him, for refusing to put it in execution; which the house of peers in Ireland discharged, and voted, that Jeffrey Gilbert, lord chief baron of the Exchequer, John Pocklington, and Sir John St. Leger, the other barons of the Exchequer in Ireland, had acted in manifest derogation to the king's prerogative, in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of this kingdom, and of the parliament thereof. These barons were also ordered to be taken into custody of the usher of the black-rod (a).

A bill for
securing the
dependency
of Ireland.
Pr. H. L.
Pr. H. C.

The house of peers in Ireland drew up a long representation to be transmitted to the king, setting forth their right to the final judicature of causes in that kingdom; and the duke of Leeds, in a protest against a vote passed in the house of peers in England, gave fifteen reasons to support the claim of the house of peers in Ireland. But the house of lords in England resolved, 'That the barons of the Exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great-Britain;' and ordered an address to the king, 'for conferring on them some marks of his royal favour, as may be a recompense for the ill usage they have re-

(a) Several lords dissented from these resolutions, viz. the lord Middleton, lord high-chancellor, the lords Donerayle and Fitz-Williams, and the bishops of Meath, Kildare, Killala, Kilmore, and Derry.

Geo. I. received, by being unjustly censured, and illegally imprisoned
 1719-20. for doing their duty.' Then it was that the bill, 'for better
 Feb. 22. securing the dependency of Ireland,' was brought in, and, having passed the house of lords, was sent down to the commons. Mr. Pitt was the first, who spoke against the bill, because, as he said, it seemed calculated for no other purpose, than to increase the power of the British house of peers, which, in his opinion, was already but too great. He was seconded by Mr. Plummer, who excepted, in particular, against the preamble of the bill, as incoherent with the enacting part; which was partly owned by Sir Joseph Jekyll, who, in the main, spoke for the bill. Mr. Hungerford, on the other hand, endeavoured to shew, that Ireland was ever independent with respect to courts of judicature; and he was supported by the lord Molesworth, the lord Tyrconnel, and some other members; but, Mr. Yorke having supported the master of the rolls, the bill was at last agreed to, and received the royal assent (b).

About

(b) The act was as follows:
 'Whereas attempts have been lately made to shake off the subjection of Ireland unto, and dependance upon, the imperial crown of this realm, which will be of dangerous consequence to Great-Britain and Ireland.

And whereas the house of lords in Ireland, in order thereto, have, of late, against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine, correct, and amend the judgments and decrees of the courts of justice in the kingdom of Ireland: Therefore, for the better securing of the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great-Britain, may it please your majesty, that it may be enacted; and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament

assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and, of right, ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon, the imperial crown of Great-Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the king's majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great-Britain in parliament assembled, had, hath, and, of right, ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity, to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland.

And be it farther enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, That the house of lords of Ireland have not, nor, of right, ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence,

About this time a misunderstanding happened between Geo. I. Mr. Lechmere, attorney-general, and Sir William Thompson, 1719-20. solicitor-general, which was carried so far in a grand committee of the commons, the 16th of March, that Sir William charged Mr. Lechmere with breach of his oath, trust, and duty, as a privy-counsellor; urging, 'that he acted as council, and received sums of money for his advice, in matters to him referred by the privy-council, as attorney-general.' After this, he proceeded to the reading of several reports, made either by the attorney-general or himself, but was interrupted by Mr. Craggs, who said, 'They were not there to examine, who was the best lawyer; but that, a heavy accusation having been raised against a gentleman of distinguished merit, and in very eminent stations, it was incumbent upon the accuser to produce clear evidence to make good his charge.' Upon this, Mr. Lechmere stood up in his own defence, and said, 'he had the honour to be a privy-counsellor, chancellor of the duchy, attorney-general, a member of that house, and a gentleman; and therefore such a heinous accusation could not but fall the heavier upon him: That he owned himself liable to a great many human frailties and imperfections; but, as his conscience intirely acquitted him of the crimes laid to his charge, so he defied all the world, and the worst of his enemies, to prove him guilty of corruption or unwarrantable practices: That, though he was thus wrongfully accused in so solemn a manner, yet, as a good Christian, he did heartily forgive his accuser, and was willing to believe, that he was prompted to this rash action, rather by mistake, or ignorance, than by malice; concluding, with desiring that honourable assembly to sift and weigh the whole matter with their usual candor, impartiality, and equity, and to excuse any unguarded expressions, that might escape him, in vindicating his innocence.' After this several witnesses were sworn, and eight or nine of them examined; but, their depositions amounting to no more, than that Mr. Lechmere had taken nothing but his usual fees, as chamber-counsellor, the accusation laid against him appeared groundless to the committee, and was declared by the house to be malicious, false, and scandalous.

tence, or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said house of lords, upon any such judg-

ment, sentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.'

Geo. I. On the 8th of March, Sir Joseph Jekyll presented to the
 1719-20. house a bill, to prevent the impious practice of duelling; which was occasioned by a duel between Mr. William Aldworth of Windfor, and Mr. Owen Buckingham, member of parliament for Reading; who, quarrelling after having drank too freely, fought in the dark, and Mr. Buckingham was killed. But this bill was dropped in the house of lords.

A bill against duelling dropped by the lords.

The South-Sea scheme.

The king had earnestly recommended, in his speech, the consideration of all proper means for lessening the debts of the nation. Accordingly, a scheme was laid to reduce all the public funds into one, for discharging the national debt. The South-Sea company and the Bank of England presented their several proposals to the house of commons. The liberty of taking in the national debts, and, in consequence thereof, of increasing their capital stock and yearly fund, was looked upon as a very valuable benefit; and therefore the contest between the Bank and the South-Sea company was great. They endeavoured to outbid each other in parliament. The South-Sea company, for the liberty of taking into their stock the irredeemable and redeemable debts, by purchase or subscription (amounting to above thirty millions) offered at first 3,500,000*l.* to be paid into the Exchequer by four equal quarterly payments, beginning at Lady-day 1721. And agreed, that their whole capital should be reduced to 4 per cent. after Midsummer 1727, and be thenceforth redeemable by parliament.

The Bank, for the like liberty, offered, upon the long and short annuities, three years purchase, which (if the whole purchase was completed) would amount to about 2,367,600*l.* and 20 per cent. upon the redeemable debts, amounting to about 3,180,000*l.* So their whole offer was above five millions and a half.

But the South-Sea company, being resolved, at any rate, to obtain the liberty of taking in the public debts, offered, in a second scheme, not only 500,000*l.* more, but also four years and a half's purchase upon all the annuities they should take into their capital stock, which (if all the annuities were taken in) would amount to about 3,567,503*l.* So that their whole offer was about 7,567,500*l.* They likewise offered to circulate 1,000,000*l.* in Exchequer bills gratis, and pay 3 per cent. interest for that million; as also one year's purchase upon such annuities, as should happen not to come into the company's capital, before the 1st day of March 1721.

Though

Though the Bank made some farther advances, this scheme Geo. I. of the South-Sea company was approved of by the commons, 1719-20. and a bill was ordered to be brought in.

While this affair was debating in the house of commons, the stocks of the South-Sea company gradually rose from 130 to above 300, and advanced to near 400; but, after some fluctuation, settled at about 330, in which state, with little variation, they continued to the end of March. This great rise was chiefly owing to the rejection of a motion for a clause in the South-Sea bill, to fix what share in the capital stock of the company the proprietors of the annuities should have, who should voluntarily subscribe, or how many years purchase in money they should receive upon subscribing, at the choice of the proprietors. It was pretended, that the obliging the company to fix a price upon the annuities might endanger the success of so beneficial an undertaking: That, as it was the interest of the company to take in the annuities, so it was not to be doubted, they would use all their endeavours for that purpose, and offer such terms to the annuitants, as would encourage them to come in voluntarily: That therefore the company ought to be allowed a competent time to try what they could do; and if, in a subsequent session of parliament, it should appear, that the conditions offered to the annuitants were not reasonable, and consequently had been ineffectual, the commons, in such a case, might give what directions they should think proper about the matter. Upon these and other reasons, the motion was rejected; and soon after, the bill for enabling the South-Sea company to increase their capital stock, passed the commons, by a majority of a hundred and seventy-two against fifty-five, and sent to the lords for their concurrence, where it occasioned a long debate. April 2.

The lord North and Grey spoke first against the bill, which he represented to be 'unjust in its nature, and might prove fatal in its consequences, since it seemed calculated for the enriching of a few, and the impoverishing of a great many, and not only made way for, but countenanced and authorised the fraudulent and pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, which produced an irreparable mischief in diverting the genius of the people from trade and industry.' His lordship was supported by the duke of Wharton, who endeavoured to shew, 'That the South-Sea project might prove of infinite disadvantage to the nation: First, as it gave foreigners an opportunity to double and treble the vast sums they had in our public funds, which could not but tempt them

Geo. I. them to withdraw their capital stock, with their immense gains, to other countries, which might drain Great-Britain of a considerable part of its gold and silver. Secondly, That the artificial and prodigious rise of the South-Sea stock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy many unwary people to their ruin, and allure them, by a false prospect of gain, to part with what they had got by their labour and industry, to purchase imaginary riches. And, in the third place, that the addition of above thirty millions capital would give such a vast power to the South-Sea company, as might endanger the liberties of the nation, and in time subvert our excellent constitution, since by their extensive interest they might influence most, if not all the elections of the members, and consequently overrule the resolutions of the house of commons.' Earl Cowper spoke also against the bill, which he observed to be ushered in and received with great pomp and acclamations of joy, but which was contrived for treachery and destruction' His lordship urged in particular, ' That in all public bargains, it is a duty incumbent on them, who are intrusted with the administration, to take care, that the same be more advantageous to the state, than to private persons ; but that a quite contrary method seemed to have been followed in the contract made with the South-Sea company. For if the stocks were kept up to the advanced price, to which they had been raised by the oblique arts of stock-jobbing, either that company, or its principal members, would gain above thirty millions sterling, of which they gave but one fourth part towards the discharge of the national debts. That, though this scheme carried the face of public good, yet nothing could be so, that was founded on injustice ; as his lordship took this bill to be. That he apprehended, in particular, that the main publick intention of it, viz. The re-purchase of annuities, would meet with insuperable difficulties ; and that, in such a case, none but a few persons, who were in the secret, and had early bought stocks at a low rate, and afterwards sold them at a high price, would, in the end, be gainers by this project.' The duke of Bucks and some other peers spoke on the same side ; but the earl of Sunderland answered most of their objections ; and, among other things, said, That they who encouraged and countenanced the scheme of the South-Sea company, had nothing in their view, but the easing the nation of part of that heavy load of debt it labours under. That, on the other hand, the managers for that company had undoubtedly a prospect of private gain, either to themselves or to their corporation ; but

but that, when that scheme was accepted, neither the one nor the other could foresee, that the stocks would have risen to the price they were now advanced. That, if they had continued as they were at that time, the public would have had the far greater share of the advantage accruing from that scheme; and if the stocks were kept up to the price they had been raised to, which was not unlikely, it was but reasonable, that the South-Sea company should enjoy the profits procured to it, by the wise management and industry of its directors, which would enable it both to make large dividends among its members, and thereby compass the ends intended by this scheme.' After these debates, the bill passed without any amendment or division; and, on the 7th of April, the king came on purpose to the house of lords, to give the royal assent to it. What were the effects of this famous act, will hereafter be largely shewn.

This act recites the several public debts and funds, the acts by which they were established, the terms and conditions of their continuance, the amounts of the respective sums of principal and interest due and payable, and dividing them into several classes and species of debts, namely, long and short annuities, redeemable and irredeemable debts, and stating what rate of interest they bore, computes the principals and annuities at certain sums, in order to settle the different rates and values at which they were to be estimated, to be redeemed, purchased, or taken in by the South-Sea company.

The redeemable debts are stated at 16,546,482 l. 7 s. 1 d. ¹/₄ (c), the irredeemable annuities, being for the remainder of several long terms of 89, 96, and 99 years, are com-

(c) 5 l. per cent. annuities	l.	s.	d.
Principal sum —	11,779,660	11	3 ¹ / ₄

4 l. per cent. annuities.			
Principal sum —	4,766,821	15	9 ¹ / ₂
	<hr/> 16,546,482	<hr/> 7	<hr/> 1 ¹ / ₄

The 5 l. per cent. annuities consisted of several lotteries, bankers annuities, blanks in lottery 1714, navy deficiency, and bank annuities.

were the civil list lottery, prices in lottery 1714, deficiencies on low wines, &c. on funds, Canada bills, army debts and debentures, first and second lottery 1719.

The 4 l. per cent. annuities

puted

Abstract of
the act for
increasing
the capital
stock of the
South-Sea
company.

Geo. I. 1720. puted to amount to 666,821 l. 8 s. 3 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ a year, besides some unsubscribed lottery annuities and short annuities for 23 and 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ years then standing out.

The company is declared willing, and is accordingly authorised to take in by purchase, or subscription, the irredeemable debts, at such time or times as they shall find convenient, before the 1st of March 1721, and without any compulsion on any of the proprietors, 'at such rates and prices as shall be agreed between the company and the respective proprietors.'

The company is likewise declared willing, and is authorised at such time and times, as they shall see convenient (but subject to such notices of redemption as are therein mentioned) to take in all and every the redeemable debts, amounting to 16,546,482 l. 7 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{4}$, either by purchase, taking subscriptions, or by paying them off.

Provided that the company for every annuity, part of the long annuities computed at 666,821 l. 8 s. 3 d. so to be taken by them, may, in lieu thereof, have an addition made to their capital stock, after the rate of twenty years purchase; and such respective additions to their present yearly fund or annuity, as is after limited.

And for all such short annuities, as shall be taken in, to have an addition to their capital stock, after the rate of fourteen years purchase, with a proportional addition to their present annuity or yearly fund.

And for all and every of the redeemable debts that shall be taken in by purchase, subscriptions, or paying off, to have an addition of 100 l. to their capital stock, for every 100 l. of the principal monies so taken in, with a proportional addition to their present yearly fund.

Remarks.

Thus far it appears, that the proprietors of these public debts amounting to above twenty-six millions, that subscribed into the South-Sea stock, by virtue of this act of parliament, acted by their own choice and option without any compulsion. The irredeemables were left at full liberty to have remained in the condition they were, and an express provision was made for the security of such as did not subscribe.

The redeemables had their option to have waited for the terms of redemption, to which they were before liable, and to have taken their money, when the public had been in a condition to pay them.

So that subscribing and accepting South-Sea stock, in lieu and discharge of their former debts and annuities, was the voluntary act of them all, induced, no doubt, by the general infatuation that every where reigned, and the imaginary prospect of great advantages. Geo. I.
1720.

For the liberty of thus taking in the national debts, and increasing their capital stock, the company in the first place have desired and consented that their present and to be increased annuity may be continued at 5 l. per cent. till Midsummer 1727, and from thence be reduced to 4 l. per cent. and be redeemable by parliament. In consideration of this and other advantages expressed in the act, the company are willing to make such payments into the Exchequer, as are herein specified, for the use of the public, to be applied for paying off the public debts incurred before Christmas 1716.

The sums, which they were obliged to pay, were 4,156,306 l. 4 s. 1 d. for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, and four years and a half's purchase for all the long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase for such long annuities as should not be subscribed. These sums, upon the execution of the act, were found to amount to about 7,000,000 l.

For enabling the company to raise this sum, they are empowered to make calls for money from their members, or open books of subscriptions, or grant annuities redeemable by the company, or by any other method they shall think fit in a general court. They might also borrow money upon any contract, bill, &c. under their common seal, or on the credit of their capital stock. The money, called for from their members, shall (if thought proper) be an additional stock, but there shall be no addition thereby to the company's annuities, to be paid out of the public duties.

Out of the first monies arising for the several sums to be paid by the company into the Exchequer, such public debts carrying interest at 5 l. per cent. incurred before the 25th of December 1716, founded upon any former act of parliament, as are now redeemable, or may be redeemed before the 25th of December 1722, shall be paid off in the first place: Then all the remainder shall be applied towards paying off so much of the capital stock of the company as shall then carry an interest of 5 l. per cent. Provision is also made, that, after Midsummer 1727, the company is not to be paid off in any sums, being less than one million at a time.

Several projects were now set on foot, particularly for establishing the two companies of the Royal Assurance, headed

The Royal
and London
Assurance
companies
erected.

Geo. I. headed by the lord Onslow, and of the London Assurance by 1720. the lord Chetwynd. The projectors had been very industrious to bespeak the countenance of the house of commons, for which they had caused two letters to be printed and given to the members. But, these and all other solicitations having proved ineffectual, the managers for the two companies had recourse to other methods, and being informed that the civil list was considerably in arrears (for which no provision had been, or could conveniently be made by the parliament, because the grand committee of supply had been inadvertently dismissed) they offered to the ministry 600,000*l.* towards the discharge of that debt, in case they might obtain the king's charter, with the parliamentary sanction for the establishment of their respective companies. The ministers, being at a loss for means to pay the civil list debt, readily embraced the offer, and, Mr. Craggs having the day before prepared the leading members of the house of commons, Mr. Aislaby presented, May the 4th, to the house the following message:

‘ His majesty having received several petitions from great numbers of the most eminent merchants of the city of London, humbly praying, that he would be graciously pleased to grant them his letters patents for erecting corporations to assure ships and merchandize; and the said merchants having offered to advance and pay a considerable sum for his majesty's use, in case they may obtain letters patents accordingly: His majesty being of opinion, that erecting two such corporations, exclusive only of all other corporations and societies for assuring of ships and merchandize, under proper restrictions and regulations, may be of great advantage and security to the trade and commerce of the kingdom, is willing and desirous to be strengthened by the advice and assistance of this house, in matters of this nature and importance: He therefore hopes for their ready concurrence to secure and confirm the privileges his majesty shall grant to such corporations, and to enable him to discharge the debts of his civil government, without burdening his people with any new aid or supply.’

Pursuant to the message, a bill was brought in to enable his majesty to grant letters of incorporation to the two companies, which passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

The parliament is prorogued,
June 11.

The business of the parliament being now finished, the king came to the house of peers, and put an end to the session with the following speech to both houses:

‘ My

My lords and gentlemen,

I AM now come to put an end to this session, which, though it hath advanced so far into the summer, cannot be thought a tedious one, when we consider how much business hath been done, and the great advantages that may be expected from it.

Your seasonable vigour and perseverance to support me in the measures I have taken with my allies, for restoring the tranquillity of Europe, have produced most of the effects I could desire. Much the greatest part of Christendom is already freed from the calamities of war; and, by what hath happened both abroad and at home, my people must be convinced that their welfare is inseparable from the strength and security of my government.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I return you my thanks for the supplies you have raised for the service of the current year; and it is a particular satisfaction to me, that a method has been found out for making good the deficiencies of my civil list, without laying any new burden upon my subjects. The good foundation you have prepared this session for the payment of the national debts, and the discharge of a great part of them, without the least violation of the public faith, will, I hope, strengthen more and more the union I desire to see among all my subjects, and make our friendship yet more valuable to all foreign powers.

My lords and gentlemen,

You will see the good effects, which our steadiness hath produced. There remains but little on our part, to satisfy the world, that more credit, security, and greatness, is to be acquired by following the views of peace, and adhering strictly to just engagements, than by depending on the advantages of war, or by pursuing the measures of ambition. To complete what remains unfinished, I propose very speedily to visit my dominions in Germany, hoping to put an end to those troubles in the north, which are now reduced to a very narrow compass. I flatter myself, that my presence this summer in those parts will prove useful to our
poor

Geo. I. ' poor Protestant brethren, for whom you have expressed such
1720. ' seasonable and charitable sentiments.

' I doubt not but to meet you again next winter, disposed
' to put a finishing hand to all those good works, which, by
' your assistance, I have brought so near to perfection. I
' could wish, that all my subjects, convinced by time and
' experience, would lay aside those partialities and animosi-
' ties, which prevent them from living quietly, and enjoy-
' ing the happiness of a mild and legal government. It is
' what I choose to recommend at this time, when I am sensi-
' ble, that all opposition to it is become vain and useless, and
' can only end unfortunately for those who shall persist in
' struggling against it. I am persuaded, that, during my
' absence, every one of you will take particular care to pre-
' serve the peace in your several counties; and that I shall
' find you at my return in such a state of tranquillity, as will
' shew mankind how firmly my government is established,
' which I chiefly desire, because I think the security and pre-
' servation of my people, and of this happy constitution, de-
' pends entirely upon it.'

After this speech the parliament was prorogued to the 28th
of July.

Before the proceedings of the South-Sea company are rela-
ted, it will be proper to give some account of the foreign af-
fairs during this session.

Particular
Alliance
with Swe-
den.

The negotiations with Sweden, Prussia, and Denmark,
were far advanced, when the king left Germany to return to
England. Soon after his arrival, he received an account of
the conclusion of his treaty of alliance offensive and defensive
with Sweden. The lord Carteret, assisted by the French
minister, had laboured with such application, that the treaty
was finished and signed at Stockholm on the 20th of January.
It contained one and twenty articles, several of which were
expressly against the czar.

The peace and alliance were to be perpetual and universal.
The contracting powers were not only not to injure, but to
procure to each other all kinds of advantages.

They were obliged to inform each other of every thing
they should discover, that might injure or disturb them, and
to assist each other with advice and forces against all enemies;
and not to give protection, much less advice or support to
rebellious subjects, nor to permit them to continue in their
dominions; and those were to be esteemed rebels, whom one
of

of the contracting powers shall declare to the other to be so.

In case Sweden should be attacked in any part of its dominions, in its rights and privileges, in its navigation or commerce, Great Britain was to furnish that kingdom with an aid of six thousand foot, who were to be sent four months after the demand should be made, and to that place which should be appointed. The disposition of the enemy to peace, the good offices, that should be employed to produce that disposition, were not to prevent the sending of that aid. The power, who was to send the troops, was obliged to pay and maintain them; but the other was to take care, that in his dominions they should be furnished with every thing necessary, at the same price with his own troops.

The contracting powers were allowed to demand the aid, in whole or in part; to demand ships, provisions, and ammunition, for the surplus of the money; and it was settled, that a thousand men a month should be valued at four thousand six-dollars. These troops and their commander were to be subject, with respect to all the operations of war, to the power, to whose assistance they came; and the ships were to bear his colours.

If this number of troops was not sufficient for the pressing occasions, a more considerable aid was to be sent. 'And as Sweden (says the treaty) is now in these unhappy circumstances, with regard to the czar of Muscovy, whom many fruitless attempts have been made to induce to a peace, Great Britain, conformably to its engagements, in the treaty 1700, which is renewed by the present, obliges herself to send a strong squadron in the spring, to the assistance of his Swedish majesty, to act in concert against the Czar, in order to oblige him to desist from his invasions, and to consent to the just and reasonable conditions of peace, which have been offered him.'

This was the main article of the treaty; in order to obtain assistance against that formidable enemy, Sweden had resigned to the elector of Hanover the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and, in order to be revenged for the czar's intrigues, the king of Great Britain renewed the ancient treaties, and entered into new engagements with the Crown of Sweden.

The other articles related to commerce, the particulars of which were to be regulated afterwards, for the contracting parties were desirous to put an immediate stop to the conquests of the Muscovites, and oppose the execution of their designs. The succours, that were to be sent, did not a-

Geo. I. mount to a declaration of war, nor hinder a communication
 1720. with the prince, against whom they were sent, provided
 — however it was not prejudicial to the party assisted. And
 therefore it was not permitted to furnish the czar with any
 thing, that served directly for attack or defence, as powder,
 artillery, or ammunition; and their subjects were likewise
 forbid to serve him as soldiers or sailors.

If the succours caused an open war, it was to be carried
 on in concert, no proposition of peace or truce, or any ac-
 commodation and convention whatever, was to be hearkened
 to but by mutual consent. If one of the contracting powers
 was engaged in war, he was dispensed with sending the sti-
 pulated succours, and had even a right to recall his troops
 three months after having given notice of the necessity he was
 under of so doing. ‘ But the king of Great Britain (adds
 the treaty) as a strong mark of his friendship, promises, that
 the war, which he is now engaged in with Spain, shall not
 prevent his sending, the next spring, a squadron sufficient to
 stop the progress of the czar, and induce him to peace, nor
 from furnishing the supplies of money, as long as the war
 with Denmark shall last.’

These obligations were reciprocal between the two crowns.
 Sweden, in particular, was obliged not to enter into any en-
 gagement with Spain, which might be contrary to the views
 of supporting the emperor against that kingdom. She under-
 took likewise to guaranty and maintain the succession of
 Great Britain in the house of Hanover, and not to give any
 protection, refuge, aid, or counsel, in any manner what-
 ever, to the person, who, in the life-time of king James II,
 styled himself prince of Wales, and who, since that king’s
 decease, had assumed the name of James III. king of Great
 Britain.

Both crowns had it so much at heart to limit the preten-
 sions and undertakings of the czar, and to divest him by a
 peace, or by arms, of part of his conquests, that the follow-
 ing words were inserted in the XVIIth article: ‘ As it is of
 the utmost concern to the Protestant religion, to the com-
 merce of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Sweden, and
 even to the repose of Christendom, that the czar should not
 gain the ascendant in the Baltic; if therefore that prince shall
 refuse to make peace with Sweden, and to restore to that
 crown the cities and provinces necessary to establish her secu-
 rity and the liberty of commerce, as they were before the
 present war; his Britannic majesty engages, not only to fur-
 nish Sweden with the succours, which he is obliged to by the
 pre-

present treaty, but likewise to use all his endeavours and interest with his other allies, that, by their assistance, they may enable Sweden to repel the czar, and force him to agree to a peace upon such conditions, as may secure that kingdom from insults, and establish the liberty of commerce in the Baltic.

The same day, by the mediation of France and England, the peace was likewise signed between Sweden and Prussia. This treaty was the work of king George, who had laid the foundations of it in the preliminary treaty of the 25th of August, the last year. Sweden, by the advice and instances of the mediators, gave up to the king of Prussia the city of Stettin, the district between the rivers of Oder and Pehnne, with the isles of Wollin and Usedom, to possess and enjoy them for ever, with all their rights, and in the same manner as the whole had been ceded and transferred by the emperor and empire to the crown of Sweden, by the 10th article of the peace of Westphalia, in the year 1648, except the right of sitting and voting in the diet of the empire, and in those of the circle.

The king of Prussia obliged himself, on his part, to preserve to the inhabitants their liberties, rights, and privileges, as they now enjoyed them, as likewise the free exercise of their religion, according to the confession of Augsburg. He likewise undertook to pay the debts, and to discharge the obligations due from the crown of Sweden to the inhabitants and communities of these countries. He also promised not to assist or succour, in any manner, nor under any pretence, the czar, in his war against Sweden, to join with the king of Great Britain, to engage the king of Denmark to make peace, and to restore that part of Pomerania he had seized.

Lastly, the king of Prussia engaged to pay two millions of rix-dollars of Leipzig money of 1690. This was almost purchasing what was ceded to him; but that prince abounded in ready money, and he could not better employ it, than in aggrandising himself. Besides, Sweden, exhausted by a war, which had lasted twenty years, and was not yet ended, was very glad Prussia would purchase what she was not in a condition to retake.

Thus king George, in concert with the regent of France, disposed of the affairs of Europe at pleasure, and obliged the foreign princes to submit to his determinations. Spain, after having made several fruitless attempts to oppose him, was obliged to submit to the strict execution of the treaty of London.

Geo. I. don of 1718: The emperor was put in possession of Sicily; the duke of Savoy had Sardinia; Gibraltar and Port-Mahon remained in the hands of Great Britain; the investiture of the states of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, was not given; the emperor continued to take the title of king of Spain, and to act as such; the only favour, allowed that crown, was the restoration of two or three places, taken by France; but the emperor still delayed the execution of his treaty with Spain, of which the mediators took little notice.

The czar's
memorial.

The czar was the only prince, who would not comply: Instead of submitting, he continued the war a year or two longer, and made peace without any mediator. Whatever reproaches might be cast upon him, he loudly complained of the elector of Hanover and king of Great Britain, alledging, that king George in both qualities had failed in his engagements. His resident at London presented a long memorial, in which he represented, that the particular engagements, which the king had entered into the last summer with the queen of Sweden, and his negotiations with the kings of Poland, Prussia, and Denmark, in order to detach them from their alliance with his czarish majesty, were inconsistent with the obligations, he had entered into as elector of Brunswick, never to treat with Sweden without the participation of the czar, to use all possible means to procure him the cession of Ingria, Carelia, Esthonia, and Revel, and not to oppose in any manner the other pretensions he might form; obligations (added the memorial) contracted likewise as king of Great Britain. Afterwards, by way of reproach, it was remarked, that the acquisition of the duchies of Bremen and Verden was owing to the earnest solicitations of the czar with the king of Denmark; that his czarish majesty had moreover offered a treaty of defensive alliance (like that of 1716) to maintain the succession of the crown of Great Britain in the Protestant line: That the rest of the czar's conduct had been answerable to these his proceedings: That, notwithstanding these advances so often repeated, and ever neglected, not to say despised, no endeavours had been omitted to stir up enemies against the czar, and to render him odious to the English, by making them believe he intended to place the pretender upon the throne: That every thing had been done to embroil him with the court of Vienna: That no explanation or accommodation was ever listened to; and all his proposals for a reconciliation remained without any answer: That a strong squadron had been sent to the Baltic: That, warned by what had happened on other occasions, he had

had desired to be informed of the design of that squadron. That his desire had been haughtily received: That the squadron, at the end of the campaign, had joined the Swedish fleet: And, to complete all these grievances, letters had been wrote to him in very imperious terms, and such as ought not to be used to a sovereign.

‘Your majesty (said the memorial) who knows so well what is due to sovereigns, when they are to be treated with, may judge by all that has passed on this occasion, whether the manner, in which your ministers proceeded in offering the czar your mediation, was agreeable to the friendship, which has subsisted at all times between the crowns of Russia and Great Britain; and whether a mediation, offered with circumstances so little equitable, can be considered as impartial. To tell a sovereign, in an imperious and threatening manner (as your ministers did) that he must put an end to the war, in order to obtain a reasonable peace; and to propose to him the mediation of a power, at the same time that he is told, that power is in league with his enemy, this is not endeavouring to induce him to peace, but rather seeking pretences for a rupture.’

The memorial concluded with demanding a positive answer, in order to know what was to be expected on the part of his Britannic majesty.

This memorial, though seemingly expressed in a plain manner, was very artfully worded. Accordingly it was answered very carefully by the ministry of Hanover, and of Great Britain.

The Hanoverian ministry said, it was the czar, who had violated the treaty of 1715, by coming with an army to settle in the empire, and by seizing the provinces contiguous to Hanover. That the least, that could be done in those circumstances, was to shew these proceedings were not approved of: That the instances, which had been made for the withdrawing this army, were indispensable, considering the rank the elector of Hanover bore in the empire: That, however, this was the ground of the czar’s resentments, of which he had given many proofs, by his correspondence with the enemies of king George, and by his endeavours to deprive him of his friends. The particulars were then given of the czar’s intrigues with baron Gortz, with the pretender’s emissaries, and with the court of Madrid, and especially of the projects formed with the king of Sweden to carry the war into the empire, and to assist that crown to recover the dominions in Germany, which had been taken from him.

The answer to it.

Geo. I. 1720. That, besides these designs, an invasion of Scotland had also been concerted, and the czar was upbraided with having continually endeavoured to deceive and amuse his allies.

It is therefore evident (concludes the answer) if the czar has been prevented by a treaty with Sweden, he gave just cause for it, by his proceedings, as he had long been treating for a separate peace, and was upon the point of reducing Sweden, and carrying the war into the bowels of the empire.'

Earl Stanhope answered the complaints, which related to the king of Great Britain. He represented the extravagant conditions, upon which the czar had offered to enter into a strict alliance with Great Britain. 'He required, said the earl, that his conquests upon Sweden should be guaranteed to him; that he should be assisted with an English fleet, and that the fleet should be under his command, which would have made all accommodation with Sweden wholly impossible, and incensed those powers, who were concerned in the preservation of that crown, and whose friendship was so necessary to accomplish the projects formed for the tranquility of Europe.'

The earl then observes, that the czar's complaints were intended only to cause his own designs to be overlooked: 'For if it be true (says the earl) that the czar, intimate ally of the king of Denmark, had meditated no less than to make himself master of the Sound, and of Copenhagen (instead of making the descent on Schonon, with which the public had been amused for some months) it is natural to endeavour to put the change upon the public in that particular, and to wipe off the impressions of such notions, by recriminations destitute of all manner of ground: And, if the czar had really such designs in view, it is probable that nothing kept him from putting them in execution, but the just apprehension that the same should be opposed by his majesty's fleet: which would infallibly have happened in such a case. And may not the czar's resentment of the miscarriage of so great a project, through the apprehension of the British fleet, be the cause of this great estrangement from his majesty since that time; from whence one may date the beginning of the animosity he has shewn against his majesty on so many occasions.

This was plainly perceived some time after, when by the letters of baron Gortz and count Gyllenburg, it was discovered, that the czar was so offended with his majesty, that he entertained serious thoughts of making a separate peace

peace with the king of Sweden, and assisting the pretender. And indeed, whatever assurances have been given to the contrary, the czar's conduct seems to have been intirely agreeable to that plan. The negotiations of the Russian minister with the pretender's agents are well known (a). All the world has seen the great number of English rebels, to whom the czar has given all manner of protection and encouragement. It is known, that the conferences at Aland, which were begun without his majesty's participation, were the result of an interview at Loo with baron Gortz, in August 1717. That minister's papers have shewn, that the invasion of Scotland was to have immediately followed the conquest of Norway; it is therefore no wonder, the czar was not solicitous either to prevent that conquest, or to assist the king of Denmark on so pressing an occasion. In fine, information hath been had of the propositions the czar has made, more than once, to the court of Spain, to engage them in an offensive alliance against England, in favour of the pretender.

It was shewn likewise, that the czar had persisted in his designs since the death of the king of Sweden: That he had endeavoured to engage queen Ulrica in the schemes of her predecessor: And, not succeeding by his insinuations, he had attempted to constrain her by force, and by almost unparalleled insults: ' But, notwithstanding all this, his majesty (continues the earl) persists in the same sentiments of moderation towards the czar, and renews the offer of his mediation. Nothing is more conformable to the interest of that prince, since it is intended to procure him a peace, which will secure him a considerable part of his conquests. It is hoped, that so wise a prince as the czar will not only be inclined, for the general good of peace, to moderate his pretensions, but likewise acknowledge, that it is more consistent with prudence to obtain by good treaties, and the consent of other great powers, such considerable territories as may be

(a) People (says the memorial) are not ignorant of the negotiations of one Jerneghan, and of Sir Hugh Paterson, brother-in-law to the late lord Marr, with the Russian minister, during the czar's stay in Holland. Intelligence has been had of the same minister's intrigues, both with the late duke of Ormond, during the stay he made incognito at Mittau, and with Sir Henry Sterling and the said Jerneghan at Petersburg, as well as of the correspondence established, by means of this last person, between the czar and the court of Spain.

Geo. I. yielded to him by the crown of Sweden, than to expose the fruits of his successes to the events of a war, which he will be obliged to support alone. Sweden neither ought nor can give up to him Revel. If the czar, after such offers, persists in his unwillingness to restore Revel, he will only alarm all the other powers, and unite the most of them against him.

The sincere desire the king has to restore a general peace, and his zeal to be reconciled with the czar for that purpose, incline his majesty to give him, on this occasion, the advice of a friend, and to exhort him seriously to consider it.

But if, contrary to all expectation, the king's good intentions should prove fruitless by the czar's refusal; and if his majesty, by virtue of his engagements with Sweden (which he is fully resolved to maintain) should be obliged to take measures disagreeable to Russia, he will, however, have the consolation of having neglected nothing to prevent the fatal consequences which may result from it.

These memorials and answers produced no reconciliation between the two princes. The answers, however, made an impression upon the nation in favour of the king. And indeed it must be confessed, that it was sound policy to join with Sweden against the czar, and by that means make amends for uniting with that prince to strip a crown, which religion and commerce ought always to endear to Great Britain.

Reconciliation in the royal family.

During the session of parliament, the reconciliation of the royal family was effected, chiefly by the endeavours of the duke of Devonshire and Mr. Walpole. They had several conferences for that purpose, with the ministers, with such success, that, on the 23d of April, the lord Lumley, gentleman of the prince of Wales's bed-chamber, waited on the king, to know his pleasure, when the prince should attend him. He was answered, immediately; and Mr. secretary Craggs having accompanied the lord Lumley to Leicester-Fields, to acquaint the prince with it, he immediately went to St. James's house, and was half an hour in private conference with the king. Having made his submission in the manner agreed on, he went to see his eldest daughter, the princess Anne, who, five days before, was taken ill of the small-pox. The prince, at his return to Leicester-house, was, by the king's command, attended by a party of the yeomen of the guard, and of the horse-guards, and the foot-guards began also to mount the guard at his house. In the evening, the princess of Wales had an interview with the king;

king; and, the next morning, the duke of Devonshire, earl Cowper, the lord Townshend, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pulteney, were admitted to kiss the king's hand; and the duke of Devonshire carried the sword of state before the king to the royal chapel, the prince of Wales accompanying them thither; and, at their return, the officers and retainers to the two courts congratulated each other upon this reconciliation. The next day, the great officers and ministers of state, and of the household, and other persons of distinction, waited on the prince of Wales, who, in the evening, went with his whole court to the apartments at St. James's, and had a long conference with the king. Most of the foreign ministers had also, on this occasion, a private audience of the prince of Wales.

Upon the rising of the parliament, the king held a great counsel, in which he declared his design of visiting his dominions in Germany, and named the lords justices during his absence. They were the same with those of the last year; to whom were added the lord Townshend (who was declared likewise lord president of the council) and the duke of Devonshire. The king, in the same council, conferred also several honours and preferments: The earl of Dorset was created duke of Dorset; the earl of Bridgewater, duke of Bridgewater; the lord viscount Castleton, earl Castleton in the county of York; Hugh Boscawen, baron Boscawen, and viscount Falmouth in the county of Cornwall; John Wallop, baron Wallop of Wallop, and viscount Lymington in the county of Southampton (b).

On

(b) The rest of the honours and preferments were: Matthew Ducie Morton, baron Ducie de Morton, in the county of Stafford; John Barrington, of Becket in the county of Berks, baron Barrington of Newcastle, and viscount Barrington of Ardglass in the kingdom of Ireland; Thomas Gage, baron Castlebarr, and viscount Gage of Castle-Island, in the kingdom of Ireland; William Vane, baron Vane of Dungannon in the county of Tyrone, and viscount

Vane; Sir Marcus Beresford, baron Beresford of Beresford in the county of Cavan, and viscount Tyrone in the kingdom of Ireland; John Blunt, of the city of London, Sir William Chapman and Thomas Coleby, of Kensington, were created baronets. The duke of Kingston was appointed lord privy-seal; the duke of Grafton lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Robert Walpole, paymaster-general of the king's forces; Mr. Methuen, comptroller of the household; the

Geo. I. On the 15th of June, the king embarked at Greenwich
1720. on board the Carolina yacht, and landed the next morning

The king
goes to Ha-
nover.

Negotiations
with Den-
mark.

at Helvoetsluys, from whence he proceeded to Hanover. At his arrival in Germany, he found the peace concluded between Sweden and Denmark. This peace was of great importance; for the czar was left alone, and had reason to fear (as he had been threatened) that all his allies, who had been drawn off from him one after another, would unite against him, to reduce him within his ancient bounds.

The treaty was signed at Fredericstadt, on the 22d of June. The preamble did great honour to king George; setting forth, that it was resolved to put an end to the cruel war, which had lasted ten years, by the pressing instances of the king of Great-Britain, who has taken all imaginable pains to reconcile the parties, and has engaged them to consent to a suspension of arms, the more easily to come at a peace, for which his majesty has offered them his mediation, which they have accepted. By this treaty, every thing that had passed during the war, was to be buried in eternal oblivion; liberty of commerce was intirely restored; both sides renounced, in the strongest manner, all treaties, agreements, and alliances made with other powers, as far as they should be contrary to the present treaty of peace, and, for the future, neither party should enter into any treaty or alliance, which might be prejudicial or inconvenient to the other.

As the czar and his pretensions were chiefly aimed at in these negotiations, it was required of the king of Denmark, that he should, in the most express terms, oblige himself not to assist the czar, during the war, under any pretence whatsoever, either with advice or forces: ‘And because, (added

the duke of Queensbury and the earl of Harold, gentlemen of the bed-chamber; the earl of Sunderland, John Aislaby, George Baillie, Sir Charles Turner, and Richard Edgcombe, commissioners of the treasury; the earl of Westmoreland, John Chetwynd, Sir Charles Cook, Paul Docminique, Martin Bladen, and John Ashe, commissioners of trade and plantations; Sir Wilfred Lawfon, groom of his ma-

jefty’s bed-chamber; Sir David Dalrymple, auditor of the exchequer in Scotland; Edward Elliot, commissioner of the excise; Henry Cartwright, commissioner of the victualling-office; Charles Withers, surveyor general of his majesty’s woods; colonel Charles Churchill, governor of Chelsea-Hospital; the lord Glenorchy, ambassador to the king of Denmark; and Mr. Molesworth, envoy to the court of Turin.

the

the treaty) it is the interest, not only of the king and crown of Denmark, but also of other nations, that this war should end in such a manner, that the liberty of commerce should be restored in the Baltic, his Danish majesty promises not to suffer any Muscovite ships in any of his ports in the sea of Denmark or Norway; nor will permit them to bring in thither prizes of any nation whatever; and if it shall happen, that these prizes should enter into his ports, he will restore them to the owners.'

The king of Denmark was put in possession of Sleswick, and resolved to keep it. It was necessary likewise, in order to engage him to peace, that the king of Great-Britain should guaranty to him the peaceable possession of it, which had been done the 30th of October the last year. On the other hand, Sweden, indispensably engaged as she was with the duke of Holstein, could not, with any decency, give up that duchy to the king of Denmark. But the following expedient was made use of to surmount these difficulties: 'Forasmuch (says the treaty) as the duke of Sleswick-Holstein has been concerned in the war of the North; and as the strict alliance between that prince and the crown of Sweden might be an obstacle to peace with regard to the duchy of Sleswick; his Swedish majesty declares for himself and the crown of Sweden, and promises not to oppose, either directly or indirectly, what may have been stipulated concerning that duchy, in favour of the king of Denmark, by the mediating powers, which have co-operated in the present treaty; and Sweden will not give any assistance to the duke of Holstein against Denmark, which may be prejudicial to this stipulation.'

The king of Prussia, in making peace with Sweden, had been enjoined by the mediators to purchase the countries he had taken from that crown. The king of Denmark, on the contrary, was obliged to sell his conquests to Sweden, or, what amounted to the same, to give them up for an equivalent.

Thus the king of Denmark consented to restore Upper Pomerania, the isle of Rugen, the towns and fortresses of Marstrand and Stralsundt, and all the other islands and dependencies without any exception, which had been taken from Sweden, in the state they were in at the publication of the suspension of arms, with the artillery and magazines, which were there when Denmark seized them. He likewise gave up the city of Wismar, with its territory and dependencies.

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In return for these restitutions, Sweden consented, that, for the future, and from the day of the ratification of the treaty, there should be no longer any difference of nation in the Sound and the two Belts; so that the kingdom of Sweden renounced the exemption from toll in those parts, and consented that her subjects should pay them to Denmark for their ships and cargoes, upon the same foot as the subjects of Great Britain and the United Provinces paid them.

Moreover, Sweden, to give a still more sensible proof of her desire for peace, bound herself to pay to the king of Denmark six hundred thousand rix-dollars at one payment. This sum was to be put into the hands of the mediators, not to be delivered till after the stipulated cessions were executed by the court of Denmark. It was added, in express terms, that all the pretensions of Denmark upon Sweden should be extinct, by the obligation to the payment of toll in the Sound and Belts, and by the payment of the six hundred thousand rix-dollars. The other articles contained various regulations, all proper to strengthen the peace, and prevent, as far as possible, all occasions of complaint.

The mediators took great pains to prevail with the king of Denmark to grant Sweden such moderate terms. Besides the antient and natural antipathy between the two nations, which was to be surmounted, the conquests, which had cost him so much, and were so very convenient for him, were to be renounced. Undoubtedly, the apprehension of seeing the forces of all the allies of king George united against him made a greater impression upon him, than the hopes of assistance from the czar, who would not hear either of peace or any mediation from the king of Great-Britain.

The czar
refuses the
mediation of
England.

Admiral Norris had sailed in April with a squadron strong enough to give weight to the king's mediation. When he arrived at Copenhagen, he wrote to prince Dolgorouki, the czar's ambassador at the court of Denmark, to notify to him, ' That the king, his master, had ordered him to come into those seas with a squadron of his ships, to procure a just and reasonable peace between the crowns of Sweden and Russia; and that his majesty, having at heart the welfare of his subjects, as also the concerns of such nations as live in amity with him, ardently wishes, that this affair may be accomplished in a Christian, effectual, and speedy manner: That, for this end, he was commanded to notify to the ministers, generals, and admirals of the czar, the repeated offers of his Britannic majesty's mediation of peace between the two
CROWNS;

crowns; and that his czarian majesty, duly considering the present state of affairs, would listen to reasonable conditions for an accommodation; and lest, for want of full powers, this affair should be obstructed, the same were sent to his envoy at Stockholm, and likewise to himself as his admiral, to the end, jointly or separately, they may act in the quality of his majesty's plenipotentiaries, in order to effect a peace between the two crowns, by way of mediation.' Prince Dolgorouki returned for answer, 'That the czar had nothing more at heart than peace and tranquillity, of which he had given clear proofs during the war; but, because Sweden had never expressed the like sentiments, the continuation of the war could be imputed only to that crown. That, as for the expressions in the admiral's letter about the means of a peace, he could return no answer to that; and, in case his Britannic majesty had any proposals to make to the czar, he hoped the admiral would excuse him from doing it, since it could be done a more compendious way.'

Upon this answer, the English fleet joined that of Sweden, but however as auxiliaries only. The Russian fleet had prevented them, and landed near Ulma five thousand men, who met with no resistance; they set fire to that town, and to all the villages in the neighbourhood. As the inhabitants did not expect such an attack, all their effects were seized by the Muscovites, who without any loss returned to their ships. The combined fleets did not arrive till the enemy had reached the port of Revel, where it was not judged proper to attack them, but rather to make a diversion in Finland. Nothing material was done, and some Swedish ships, having imprudently engaged a superior force without being timely supported, were very near being destroyed.

The czar was not so easy to be reduced as Spain had been. Poland, the only country contiguous to his dominions, did not think fit to attack him: And it was a great point gained, that king Augustus, notwithstanding his obligations to the czar, had consented to a separate peace with Sweden.

Though king George could not at this time succeed in making peace between Russia and Sweden, he had however, at the end of the campaign, some hopes of it. Ulrica, who had been placed on the throne of Sweden in the room of her brother Charles XII, and had married the head of the family of Hesse, was extremely desirous he should be joined with her in the administration of the regal power. To this end she writ with her own hand a letter to each of the four orders of the States, representing how necessary in the present difficult

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cult juncture, and how conducive to the public welfare, would be the assistance of his royal highness in the administration of the government, and therefore hoped the States would gratify her in conferring on him the regal dignity.

As the proposal of placing the prince of Hesse on the throne, jointly with the queen, met with great opposition from the nobles, she writ a second letter to the States, offering to resign her share of the regal power, and to be content that it should be executed by her royal consort alone. Upon this the States unanimously elected him king (c).

The advancement of Frederick to the throne of Sweden gave him occasion to send one of his principal officers to notify it to the czar, who in return sent one of his generals to congratulate the new king. Upon this were grounded the hopes of a reconciliation. But the Russian envoy was commissioned only to demand some passports, and propose an exchange of prisoners, and a suspension of arms during the winter. He added however, and doubtless with a view to king George, that the czar was not so averse to peace as might be thought, and only wanted reasonable terms to be made him, for which there was no need of a mediator.

These things, relating to the affairs of Sweden and Russia, had for the most part passed before the king's arrival in his German dominions. All the foreign ministers followed him

(c) The act of election, which was read to the king, was to this effect: That the king is elected according to the laws and constitutions of the kingdom, not out of any duty, but by the free-will of all the senators and the states, who do declare the kingdom hereditary in the male issue his majesty shall have by the queen, and who, upon the decease of their father, shall take upon themselves the administration, without any farther election; but, in case both their majesties shall die without male issue, that all the states shall proceed to a new election, without any previous summons, thirty days after the

decease of the survivor. That they think themselves well assured his majesty will never suffer the sovereignty (or absolute power) which always proved so pernicious to the kingdom, to be introduced again; but that he, as well as the heirs of his body, will govern the kingdom according to the laws and constitutions, maintain it in the Christian evangelical religion, and let the subjects have the unprejudiced enjoyment of all their privileges, according to the assurance given in writing by his majesty; in which case they will always behave themselves as faithful and true liege subjects to his majesty. Hist. Reg.

to Hanover, where he did not want business or matter to exercise his talents for negotiation, which, after all, are the true talents of a sovereign. Ministers indeed generally supply what may be wanting in a prince; but the case was otherwise with king George. He looked into every thing himself: His ministers did nothing without him, whilst he did many things without them.

The treaties of peace to which several States had been led, and in some measure compelled, were for the most part transacted in haste. It was impossible to settle the particular interests of the contracting powers and their allies. These treaties, properly speaking, were only a cessation from hostilities, and an engagement to more exact and regular negotiations. To fix and ascertain so many complicated interests, and prevent the flames of war from kindling afresh, king George and the regent of France joined their endeavours to establish two congresses, one at Brunswic for the affairs of the North, and the other at Cambray for the rest of Europe.

Progress of the South-Sea affairs—account of Mr. Law and the Mississippi company—the bubbles—account of the bank-contract—the parliament meets—debate on the commons address—their proceedings in the South-Sea affair—on Walpole's scheme for restoring credit—the house of commons divided in their opinions—their farther proceedings—a select committee for the South-Sea affair—proceedings of the lords about it—death of earl Stanhope and secretary Craggs—proceedings about Mr. Knight—of the secret committee—Mr. Stanhope and the earl of Sunderland's cases—Mr. Aislable expelled the house—Allowances to the South-Sea directors out of their estates—resolutions in favour of the South-Sea sufferers—an act in their favour—remarks on it—general court of the South-Sea—bell-fire club—a bill against blasphemy and profaneness—debate on the subsidy to Sweden—tax upon the civil list revenues—parliament prorogued—foreign affairs—congress of Cambray—personal enmity between the king and the czar—death of pope Clement XI.—the last session of king George's first parliament—Mr. Law returns to England—debates about the navy debt—about the affairs of Spain and the North—a bill to prevent the plague—debates on the army—on the French buying ships in England—on the Quakers bill—an order about protests—a bill for freedom of elections rejected by the lords—the parliament is dissolved—death of the earl of Sunderland—and of the duke of Marlborough—elections carried on with great zeal.—

Progress of
the South-
Sea affairs.

WHILST the king was employed abroad in hearing and settling the grievances and interests of the nations and their sovereigns, particularly those of the Protestants of Germany, the regency were no less employed at home in curbing the excessive desire of gain, which the progress of the South-Sea company had raised, and in curing the despair which attended its fall. As these are the most considerable events

events of this reign, and such as will never be forgot by Geo. I. Great Britain, they deserve to be related at large. 1720.

The South-Sea scheme seems to be taken from that of the Mississippi company in France, formed by Mr. Law the last year. Mr. Law was born at Edinburgh, and had proposed to the Parliament of Scotland, in 1705, a scheme for supplying the nation with money, which, though favoured by the duke of Argyle, then high-commissioner, and several members of parliament, was however rejected. Upon this he applied himself to the lord-treasurer Harley, and transmitted to him another proposal for the increase of trade and credit, but meeting with no encouragement, and not being able to get his pardon, for having killed beau Wilton in a duel, he was compelled to live abroad, where, after undergoing great variety of persecutions from his enemies, he settled in France. During his stay in England, he had informed himself fully of the management of the Bank and East-India company, and, in order to settle the fluctuating manner of things in France, he proposed to the regent to lay the foundation of credit by erecting a bank. The regent approved of the scheme, the bank was established: The king began the subscription, the regent followed, with innumerable others. This project met with such success, that, in three subscriptions, more than all the money in France was said to be subscribed to it: For, by the end of the year 1719, bills were given out for 640 millions of livres, which exceeds the value of the bills circulated by all the banks in Europe. There was added a circulation of 360 millions, and the whole amounted to 1000 millions of livres, making above 38 millions of pounds sterling at the Exchange then current (a).

Account of
Mr. Law
and the
Mississippi
company.

Bank erected in
France.

A bank being thus erected, and credit established, Mr. Law formed the project of the Mississippi, or India company, who were to have the sole privilege of the trade to Louisiana, or the country of the Mississippi, so called from a river of that name, which runs through it from north to south. Pursuant to this scheme, a subscription of stock was opened, and all were admitted to subscribe. The sum first proposed to be raised was only 60 millions of livres, to be subscribed in state-bills. These state bills or public securities were then very low, being from 57 to 63 per cent. discount; but, as they were received at par without any loss in the company's stock,

(a) The French crown, of worth 4s. and 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ English five livres and two fifths, was money.

Geo. I. the first subscription of 60 millions was soon filled. The 1720. capital stock was then enlarged to 100 millions, and the Actions or Shares rose to 120. After this a new creation of Actions was made for 25 millions more, which were delivered out at 110, and soon rose to 200. As people appeared very eager to lay out their money this way, an arret of the council of state was published, for circulating Bank-bills to the value of 25 millions, in the Mississippi company, upon which the Actions, about Midsummer 1719, run up 560. The company, finding their credit so well established, proposed to lend the king 50 millions, for which there was a new creation of Actions for 25 millions, upon the foot of 200 per Action. About the end of August, the company proposed to the king another loan of 1200 millions, at three per cent. As the Actions were now advanced to 1200, the company, in order to raise the loan, opened their books for 500 millions, by the sale of 50 millions of Actions, at the rate of 1000 per Action. The subscriptions were filled in a few hours; and, in less than three weeks, two subscriptions more, for the like sum of 500 millions each, were opened with the same success. The first payment of these three subscriptions rose so considerably, as to be sold at 300 per cent. profit. From that time the Actions rose to 2050 (b).

The Mississippi stock was in its greatest prosperity during the months of November and December 1719; and, in the January following, Mr. Law, who was become the greatest subject in Europe, was made comptroller-general of the finances of France. From that time the stock began to decline, and, by the end of May, all things fell into confusion at Paris, occasioned by an arret to reduce bank notes and Actions of the company. Mr. Law resigned his place, and had two Swiss officers given him for his guard. By this project the state indeed gained immensely, 1500 millions of the king's debts being transposed from him to the people, who were content to discharge the public, and owe the money to

(b) Thus the capital stock consisted of these seven subscriptions:

60 millions of the first subscription.
40 of the second.
25 of the third.
25 of the fourth.
50 of the fifth.

50 of the sixth.
50 of the seventh.
300 millions.

The total of the Actions, which, when they sold at 2050, the total amounted to above 6000 millions of livres, or 228 millions sterling.

one

one another. Consequently, when the fall came (except a few great fortunes that were made) there was almost a general ruin through all France.

This revolution of the Mississippi stock at Paris was not regarded in England, where the like infatuation universally prevailed, and was followed by the like consequences.

When the bill passed in favour of the South-Sea company, it was expected the stock would have greatly advanced, but the contrary happened; for, the day after, it fell from 310 to 290. In order to raise it, a rumour was spread, that earl Stanhope had received overtures in France to exchange Gibraltar and Port-Mahon for some Places in Peru, for the security and enlargement of the English trade in the South-Sea; which had its effect in Exchange-Alley. For, on the 12th of April, five days after the royal assent was given to the bill, the directors opened their books for a subscription of a million, at the rate of 300 l. for every 100 l. capital. Such was the concourse of persons of all ranks, that this first subscription was found to amount to above two millions of original stock. It was to be paid at five payments of 60 l. each, for one share of 100 l. In a few days the stock advanced to 340, and the subscriptions were sold for double the price of the first payment. To raise the stock still higher, on the 21st of April it was declared in a general court, that the Midsummer dividend should be ten per cent. and all subscriptions should be intitled to the same. These resolutions answering the end designed, the directors, to improve the infatuation of the monied men, opened their books for a second subscription of one million, at 400 l. per cent. In a few hours, no less than a million and a half was subscribed at that rate; and so great was the confidence which was placed in the directors, that many deposited in their hands their annuities, without knowing what price the company would allow for them.

On the 19th of May, the directors thought fit to settle the terms and prices for the long and short annuities, which had been subscribed; and, the stock being that day 375 l. per cent. it was resolved to allow, for every 100 l. per annum of the long annuities, 700 l. in the capital stock (which at 375 l. per cent. amounted to 2625 l.) and 575 l. in bonds and money: So the total for each 100 l. per annum amounted to 3200 l. or thirty-two years purchase. For every 90 l. per annum of the short annuities, they agreed to allow 350 l. in the capital stock, which, at 375 l. per cent. amounted to 1312 l. 10 s. and in bonds and money 217 l. 10 s. which together made 1530 l. or seventeen years purchase.

Geo. I.
1720.

These offers occasioned at first great murmurings among the annuitants, who, having expected ten years, found they were to have but eight years and a quarter's purchase. Upon which some withdrew their orders, and others resolved not to subscribe. But, the South-Sea managers having found means to raise their stock to 500 l. per cent. most of the annuitants appeared easy; so that it was computed, that, by the 29th of May, almost two thirds of the annuities were subscribed.

The arts of the stock-jobbers drew a great concourse of persons of all ranks into Exchange-Alley, by whose unexampled eagerness of laying out their money in a fund, that promised so plentiful a return of gain, that stock, which about the latter end of May, was at about 550, rose on a sudden so prodigiously, that on Thursday, the 2d of June, it came up to 890. Many cautious persons being willing to take this opportunity to secure their great profits, there appeared the next day so many sellers in the Alley, that, by two or three o'clock in the afternoon, the stock fell to 640; at which the chief directors of the South-Sea company being alarmed, set their agents to work, by whose artful management the stock was the same evening advanced to 750; about which price, with some small fluctuation, it continued till the closing of the company's books on the 22d of June. In the mean time, the South-Sea stock suffered a considerable shock. For many persons, who were to follow the king to Hanover, and others, who found a difficulty of making their second payment to the first subscription, were both equally desirous to turn their stock into money; so that, for some days, the number of sellers exceeded that of buyers. Wherefore the managers of the company formed two expedients: The first was their lending out money or notes to the proprietors of their capital stock, to the sum of 400 l. upon 100 l. original stock (which shewed it to be worth above that sum) at the rate of 4 l. per cent per annum. The second was their giving public notice, 'That all persons possessed of any of the company's bonds, which fell due on the 25th of June, might then have their money for the same of the company's cashier: And that the bonds would be taken in on the second payment for the 2,250,000 l. South-Sea stock, sold by subscription after the rate of 300 l. for each 100 l. original stock.' By these means money being plenty, and the stock-jobbers in good humour, the South-Sea company opened their books for a third subscription, at the rate of

1000 l.

1000 l. for each 100 l. capital stock, to be paid in ten equal payments, one in hand, and the other nine half-yearly. But, some men in power having taken this opportunity to oblige their friends, their lists were so full, that the directors enlarged it to four millions capital stock, which at that price amounted to forty millions sterling. And, what is more strange, these last subscriptions were, before the end of June, sold at above 2000 l. per cent. advance, and, after the closing of the transfer-books, the original stock rose to above 1000 l. per cent. At the same time the first subscriptions were at 560, and the second at 610 per cent. advance, the Bank at 260, and East-India at 440.

The whole nation was become stock-jobbers. The South-Sea was like an infectious distemper, which spread itself in an astonishing manner. Every evening produced new projects, which were justly called Bubbles, and new companies appeared every day. These were countenanced by the greatest of the nobility. The prince of Wales was governor of the Welsh copper; the duke of Chandos, of York-Buildings; the duke of Bridgewater formed a company for building houses in London and Westminster. There were near a hundred different kinds of projects or bubbles; and it was computed, that above a million and a half was won and lost by these unwarrantable practices, by which many unwary persons were defrauded and impoverished, and a few crafty men enriched, to the great detriment of domestic trade. The king had, the same day the parliament rose, published a proclamation, declaring all these unlawful projects should be deemed as common nuisances, and prosecuted as such; with the penalty of 500 l. for any broker to buy or sell any shares in them. Notwithstanding this proclamation, several of the illegal projects were still carried on; upon which the lords justices, on the 12th of July, to put a stop to all farther proceedings, ordered all the petitions, that had been presented for patents and charters, to be dismissed.

The bubbles.

Proclamation against them, June 11.

The several sums, intended to be raised by these projects, amounted to no less than three hundred millions sterling, a sum so immense, that it exceeds the value of all the lands in England, at the rate of twenty years purchase. However, the eagerness of getting riches, by quick and easy methods, had, at that time, so intoxicated the minds of most people of all degrees, that the most extravagant bubbles found many subscribers: Some of whom sold their first subscriptions at a

great

Geo. I. great profit, whereby the last buyers were considerable losers (c).
1720.

The transfer-books of the South-Sea company were shut up the whole month of July. During that time, there was no great variation, except only that the price of the capital stock decreased gradually, from above 1000 to 930, in proportion as the third subscription at a 1000 rose to 330 advance or clear profit. In the mean time, the directors, at a meeting on the 8th of July, resolved to open their books for taking in subscriptions of the lottery tickets, and other short annuities, to the amount of six millions sterling: But, though they did not then think fit to declare at what rate they designed to take those effects, yet the proprietors intirely trusted to their integrity, and readily subscribed the same on the 14th and 15th of that month. After which the books were shut up. From that time to the end of July, the stock fell gradually from about 1000 to 900, including the Midsummer dividend. In the mean time, it being confidently reported, that the capital stock was to be enlarged by a fourth subscription in money, some persons in eminent stations desired the principal managers to put off the subscription, till the proprietors of the remaining part of the long annuities had subscribed, since the taking in of those public debts, in order to make them redeemable, was the main view, upon which the ministry and the parliament thought fit to encourage the South-Sea project. Some pretend, that the men in power made this step, not only to free themselves from the importunity of man, who sued to be set down in their lists, for a share in the next subscription; but also, in order to reserve part of the to be increased capital stock, till a new set of directors were chosen, who should have a share in the profits of future subscriptions, in case the humour of

(c) How great the general infatuation or thirst of gain was, appears from the following instance: A proposal was offered, 'For carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but no-body to know what it is.' The projector formed a scheme for half a million, by which every subscriber, paying down two guineas for subscribing, was to have 100 l. a year for every 100 l. so subscribed. But how

this was to be done did not appear in the proposals, where it was also said, that in a month the particulars of the project should be laid open, and the money subscribed was then to be paid in. As extravagant as this scheme was, the projector in a forenoon received 1000 subscriptions, with which, amounting to 2000 guineas, he went off in the afternoon.

buying

buying up the same at an advanced price should last so long. However that be, in a committee of the directors the 27th of July, it being considered that several persons, admitted as subscribers to the third subscription in money, had not yet made their first payment, it was resolved, that none but the proprietors of their capital and increased stock should be admitted into the next subscription in money, at the rate of 20 per cent. so that a proprietor of 1000 l. capital stock should be intitled to subscribe 200 l. In this resolution, they, who hitherto had carried on this great project, with equal skill and success, had undoubtedly two things in view; first, to allay the murmurings of many of the old proprietors, who complained, that the directors and great men at court had ingrossed for themselves and their dependants most of the profits of the three first subscriptions. And, secondly, That, in case the eagerness of buyers should abate, which was to be apprehended from the daily sinking of the price of South-Sea stock, the company might be assured, that the new subscribers would make the several payments, to which they should submit themselves, and for which their capital stock would be a sufficient security. On the other hand, many of the old proprietors were so far from looking upon this resolution as a favour, that, on the contrary, they did not stick to say, 'That the directors, having had the cream for themselves, would now give the proprietors the sower milk.' This complaint seemed to be the better grounded, because it was well known, that those, who had got most by the South-Sea, daily endeavoured to sell out, and secure their vast profits; and, in particular, that the principal projector of this scheme had bought considerable estates in Norfolk and other counties.

Pursuant to what had been desired, it was resolved on the 3d of August, at a court of directors, to receive subscriptions of all the remaining long and short annuities, lottery tickets, and other public securities, both redeemable and irredeemable. For which purpose the books were opened the next day at the South-Sea house, and continued so till the 11th of August. The day after, the directors published the terms they intended to allow to the proprietors. For every 100 l. a year of the long annuities, they offered 400 l. in the capital stock, which at 800 l. per cent. (the price then of stock, exclusive of the Midsummer dividend) amounted to 3200, and in bonds or money 400 l. making in all 3600 l. or 36 years purchase. For every 90 l. a year of the short annuities they allowed 200 l. stock, which at 800 l. per cent. amounted

Geo. I. to 1600l. or 17 years purchase, and 7 ninths. The re-
 1720. deemable annuities and debts (as well those at 4 per cent. as
 those at 5 per cent.) were to be taken in at 105 per cent.
 and allowed for the same in capital stock at the rate of 800l.
 per cent. exclusive of the Midsummer dividend.

Many of the annuitants were not satisfied with these offers, which, they said, put so great a disparity no less than near half by half) between them and the former subscribers; for, by the resolution of the directors of the 19th of May, there was allowed, for every 100l. a year of the long annuities, 700l. in the capital stock, besides 10l. per cent. for the Midsummer dividend, and, in bonds or money, 575l. all which (computing the stock at 800l. per cent. as it was given to the present subscribers of the like annuities) amounted to 6735l. whereas, by these last resolutions, there was allowed, for the same annuities, only 3600l. For this reason some of the last subscribers went to the South-Sea house, in order to withdraw their effects; but they were told by the clerks, that there was no order from the directors for delivering them back; so the affair rested, for some time, undetermined.

The uneasiness of the annuitants put a fresh damp upon the South-Sea stock; but what affected it more was the boldness of many persons concerned in the illegal projects, who, in open defiance to the late acts of Parliaments, to the king's proclamation, and to the orders and prohibitions of the lords Justices, carried them on. Some of these companies, authorized either by charters or acts of parliament, did considerable prejudice to the South-Sea, by endeavouring to procure subscriptions. Upon this, the principal directors of the South Sea applied to those at the helm, and obtained an order against them from the lords justices, which was published in the London Gazette of August the 20th, and which greatly affected the stocks of the York-Buildings company, the Lustring company, the English copper, and the Welsh copper and lead, and of other illegal projects. This very much alarmed the persons concerned in these companies, some of whom sustained considerable losses, and all of them saw their extravagant hopes and expectations intirely vanish. Upon the murmurings occasioned by their disappointment, the lords justices ordered the directors of these companies to attend them at a general council, the 23d of August, where they condescended to tell them the reasons, that had obliged them to order a prosecution against them. The directors, both of the Royal Exchange, and of the London Assurance, attended likewise, and were cautioned to keep strictly to the
 limi-

limitation of their charters, that no complaint might lie against them.

The companies ordered to be prosecuted, having recovered their fright, and consulted able lawyers, seemed resolved to stand trial, and assert their rights of managing their own affairs as they pleased. The Welsh copper miners were yet more bold and refractory, for that very day (August 23.) they opened their books, and made transfer of their stock.

Before the lords justices had caused their order to be published, they sent a compliment to the prince of Wales, to acquaint him, that the company of English Copper, of which he had been pleased to be chosen governor, being illegal, they were obliged to involve it in the order; upon which the prince sent a messenger to the company, desiring them to choose another governor.

All this while the South-Sea stock continued sinking; so that, on the 17th of August, it fell to 830, including the Midsummer dividend; which having given the directors no small uneasiness, some of their agents were immediately detached into Exchange-Alley, to buy a considerable quantity of stock, which thereupon rose to 880 l. But, the humour of selling out continuing the two following days, the stocks fell again to 820, at which price the transfer-books were opened on the 22d of August. That day, and the next morning, there was a great croud at the South-Sea house; and the directors observing, that great quantities of stock had been bought at a thousand, and even at higher rates, for the opening of the books, and that many persons would be obliged to sell out, in order to pay the difference, which could not fail of sinking the stock yet lower; they came to a sudden and unexpected resolution to shut the transfer-books; and the next day to open other books for taking in a money subscription of one million, to the capital stock, at the rate of 1000 l. for every 100 l. capital stock, to be paid in five payments, 20 l. per cent. in hand, and the rest in four equal payments. Accordingly the subscription-books were opened the 24th of August; and there was such a croud of subscribers, and amongst them not a few of the prime nobility, that, in less than three hours, more than the intended sum was subscribed; and that very afternoon this fourth subscription was sold in Exchange-Alley at 30 or 40 per cent. advance. The next day the principal directors, having consulted together about their future management, came to several resolutions, of which, that very evening, they informed the public by the following advertisement:

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THE HISTORY

South-Sea House, August the 25th, 1720.

‘ The court of directors of the South-Sea company give notice, that the transfer-books of the company will be shut from the 31st day of August to the 21st of September, in order to the admitting as well the proprietors of the original capital stock, and of the stock for the last Midsummer dividend, as the proprietors of the stock for all the long annuities, 9 per cents, and tickets of lottery 1710, and of the several redeemable debts, which have been subscribed or deposited, or authorised to be subscribed into the capital stock, and also the proprietors of the first, second, third, and fourth money subscriptions of the company into a subscription of 20 per cent. of the capital stock, upon the terms agreed upon by the court of directors. The company will lend the first payment for the intended subscription to all the proprietors of the original and dividend stock, and of the subscription in the long annuities, 9 per cents, and tickets of lottery 1710, and in the redeemable debts; and of the first and second money subscriptions, without transferring their stock, or depositing the subscription receipts; which subscription-books will be opened on the 12th of September; and such of the proprietors, as do not subscribe within that time, will be excluded the benefit of the subscription.’

The next day (August the 26th) the transfer-books were opened again; but the South-Sea stock, instead of advancing, being by this time fallen under 800, the directors, who had now large sums of money in their hands, thought fit to lend to their proprietors 4000 l. upon every 1000 l. stock for six months, at the rate of 4 per cent. which enabled some of those, who had bought stock at a higher price than the present, to satisfy their creditors. What still embarrassed the directors was the case of the annuitants, and others, who had lately subscribed their public securities, and who thought it a great hardship to have the stock given them at 800 l. per cent. when it was now little above 700, exclusive of the Midsummer dividend. In order to silence these and the like murmurings, after a long consultation, on the 30th of August, the directors came to a resolution, ‘ That 30 per cent. in money should be the half year’s dividend due at Christmas next; and from thence for twelve years, not less than 50 per cent. in money should be the yearly dividend on their stock.’ What effect this resolution had, was soon after manifest; for, though it raised the stock to about 800 for the opening
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of the books, yet it soon sunk again, and in about three weeks fell gradually below 400. Geo. I.
1720.

The directors, having resolved the future dividends, thought it time to procure the sanction of the whole corporation; for which purpose they appointed (Sept. 8.) a general court to be held at Merchant-Taylor's-Hall, declaring, That this assembly would be one of the half-yearly general courts appointed by the charter; and to chuse a committee of seven, to inspect the by-laws.

On the appointed day, the friends of the directors took care to repair betimes to Merchant-Taylor's-Hall, which, by nine o'clock in the morning, was filled; and many proprietors and annuitants, who endeavoured to get in, could not gain admittance. The directors having taken their seats between eleven and twelve of the clock, Sir John Fellowes, sub-governor, acquainted the assembly with the occasion of their meeting; read to them the several resolutions of the court of directors; and gave them an account of their proceedings; of the taking in both the redeemable and irredeemable funds, and of the subscriptions in money. This done, Mr. Craggs, senior, made a short speech, wherein he commended the conduct of the directors; and urged, that nothing could more effectually contribute to the bringing this scheme to perfection, than union among themselves; and concluded with a motion, for thanking the court of directors for their prudent and skilful management, and for desiring them to proceed in such methods, as they should think most proper for the interest and advantage of the corporation.

Mr. Craggs was seconded by Mr. Hungerford, who said, 'That he had seen the rise and fall, the decay and resurrection of many communities of this nature, but that, in his opinion, none ever performed such wonderful things in so short a time, as the South-Sea managers had brought about: That they had done more than the crown, the pulpit, and the magistrate could do: For they had reconciled all parties in one common interest, and thereby laid asleep, if not wholly extinguished, our domestic jars and animosities: That by the rise of their stocks the monied-men had vastly increased their fortunes; the country gentlemen had seen the value of their lands doubled and trebled in their hands; and they had, at the same time, done good to the Church, not a few of the reverend clergy having got great sums by this project: That, in short, they had enriched the whole nation; and he hoped they had not forgot themselves.' One or two
mem;

Geo. I.
1720.

members of the assembly having offered to speak in favour of the annuitants, and to censure the conduct of the directors, they were presently hissed to silence; and Mr. Hungerford, resuming his speech, continued justifying and applauding the directors, and concluded with supporting Mr. Cragg's motion. The duke of Portland spoke on the same side, and said, 'That he did not know what reasons any body had to be dissatisfied; and gave in a draught of the motion for returning thanks to the directors; which being read by the clerk, it was unanimously approved. It was likewise agreed, that, according to the resolution of the directors, 'the next Christmas dividend on the stock and subscriptions in money should be 30 per cent. and that a dividend of not less than 50 per cent. per annum be made from Christmas next, in half-yearly payments, for not less than twelve years, upon the whole stock and subscriptions.' They likewise agreed with the court of directors to omit the 20 per cent. subscription in money, which had been intended for the proprietors of the original stock and former subscriptions. After which a motion was made, 'That the last subscribers, both of the redeemable and irredeemable funds, should have the alternative, either to withdraw their orders, or accept the terms offered them by the court of directors.' But, the question being put, it was carried in the negative, three or four voices excepted. Then, upon the earl of Orkney's motion, the general court was adjourned.

But, though the directors carried their main point in the general court, yet the negative put upon the motion, in the behalf of the last subscribers, highly increased the public discontent, and raised such a distrust of the honesty of the managers, that the same day (Sept. 8.) the stocks fell to 640, and, on the morrow, to 550. Upon this, the directors resolved to open the transfer-books the Monday following, which having thrown some damp upon the stock-jobbing in the Alley, the South-Sea rose that day (Sep. 9.) to 640. On the other hand, several of the last subscribers of annuities went with a public notary to the South-Sea house, to demand their orders; and, upon the refusal of the officers to deliver them, the proprietors made their protests in due form, and resolved to seek their remedy at law. In the mean time, they loudly complained of the unfair manner, in which they were drawn in to subscribe their annuities; for, it seems, at the top of every page of the subscription-book, there was a short letter of attorney, whereby the subscribers empowered three persons, therein named, to accept such terms, as the

com-

company should think fit to give them for their effects; which they alledged to be a mere trick, not one in a hundred of the subscribers having read the insnaring preamble.

On the 10th of September, the directors caused the following advertisement to be published: 'The court of directors give notice, that the dividends for Christmas next, and afterwards, voted by the general court on the 8th of September, which shall become due on the four money subscriptions already taken for the sale of the stock of the company, will be allowed in part of the payments, which shall become due on the subscriptions; and that the 10 per cent. stock for the last Midsummer dividend, on the first, second, and third of the money subscriptions, will be intitled to the like dividends, and be allowed in further part of the payment on those subscriptions. And whereas the transfer-books of the company were advertised to be shut from the 31st of August last, to the 21st of September, in order to the making the subscriptions of 20 per cent. intended for the proprietors; and the general court having since agreed, that this subscription be omitted, the court of directors give notice, that the transfer-books will be opened on the 12th instant, and will continue open as usual.'

Some of the managers vainly expected, that this advertisement would have contributed to the keeping up the stock; but, as it continued sinking, they were obliged to have recourse to more effectual methods. They made some secret advances towards an union with the East-India company; but, a secret committee of that company, appointed to consider of their offers, not having thought proper to accept them, they were forced to court the assistance of their rival, the Bank of England. At the earnest desire, and by the zealous interposition of Mr. secretary Craggs, several conferences were held between a select number of the directors of those two corporations; which raised so great an expectation, that on the 12th of September, in the morning, upon a report, that they had come to an agreement for circulating six millions of the South-Sea company's bonds, the stock rose immediately to 670; but, in the afternoon, as soon as that report was known to be groundless, the stock fell again to 580; the next day to 570, and so gradually to 400; which increased the murmurings and complaints of the last subscribers, and exposed several of the directors to public insults.

Mr. Walpole, who was pay-master of the army, and lived the greatest part of that summer in the country, to avoid giving

Account of
the Bank
contract.

Geo. I. giving offence to those that had, with the directors, the management of the South-Sea affairs) being then thought to have great credit and influence with the Bank, was sent for out of the country, and importuned to use his interest to induce the Bank to agree to a proposal made by the South-Sea company, for circulating a number of their bonds.

It is to be observed that nothing of this kind arose from the Bank, or was at their motion: And, as far as it appears, nothing but an apprehension of the people's resentment, with which they were loudly threatened, could have prevailed with the Bank to have treated at all with the South-Sea company, and involve themselves in their calamities. But the clamour was irresistible, and the Bank, out of necessity, hearkened to the proposals of the South-Sea company; for from them every step and motion proceeded.

The first expedient was for the Bank to circulate bonds of the South-Sea company to a certain value for a time to be agreed upon, and a proposal to that effect was, on the 16th of September, sent to the Bank by the sub and deputy governors of the South-Sea company.

This not being relished immediately, it was proposed, that there should be a meeting of a committee, consisting of five of each company, at the post-master's house, where were likewise present the lord president, Mr. secretary Craggs, the chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Craggs, post-master-general (d). The meeting was on the 19th of September, three days after the proposal.

This conference lasted many hours with great reluctance on the part of the Bank, but was pressed with so much eagerness and authority on the other side, that the Bank was prevailed upon to yield.

It was thought proper, before they parted, that something should be reduced into writing, as a minute of the substance

(d) The five directors of the South-Sea were,

Sir John Fellows, sub-governor,
Charles Joye, deputy-governor,
Sir Theodore Jansen,
Mr. Gore,
Mr. Chester,

The five Bank directors were,

Mr. Hanger, governor,
Sir John Ward,
Sir Gilbert Heathcote,
Sir Peter Delmé,
Sir Nathaniel Gould.

of what had been under consideration, and to serve as a foundation of a future agreement or contract between the two companies. Geo. I.
1720.

There was some little dispute who should draw the minute, but it being the general desire of the company, that Mr. Walpole should do it, in the presence of the whole meeting, he put down in writing what has ever since been called The Bank Contract, and which was in the following words: 'That the Bank of England shall undertake to circulate three millions of South-Sea bonds for one year, at a premium to be agreed upon by the two companies; a subscription to be taken, for enabling the Bank to carry on the circulation, — per cent. to be paid down by every subscriber, and — per cent. upon every call at a fortnight's notice; the contract with the subscribers to be made in the nature and form with former contracts for circulating Exchequer bills, and the charges of circulation to be borne by the South-Sea company. That, in consideration of this undertaking, the South-Sea company shall pay the 3,700,000 l. to be paid to the Bank by notice of parliament, in South-Sea stock, at a price to be agreed on between the two companies.'

This paper (which was all that Mr. Walpole ever wrote relating to the affair; for at the other meetings he was never once present) had no title or preamble, signifying what it imported: The premium for circulating, and what was to be paid down for the circulation, was left blank, and the most material part of the whole, at what price the bank was to take the South-Sea stock for 3,700,000 l. was referred to a subsequent agreement. So it could not, with any propriety, be called a Contract, but rather a rough draught of an agreement, void of all form or any manner of obligation.

The next day after this meeting (Sept. 20.) there was a general court of the South-Sea company at Merchant-Taylors-Hall, where Sir John Fellows, the sub-governor, acquainted them, 'That, since their last meeting, their stock having taken an unexpected turn to the disadvantage of the company, the directors had been consulting what might be most for the benefit of the corporation; and considering the great credit the Bank of England had justly gained, both at home and abroad, they had thought it for their interest to treat with that company for the circulating their bonds, and to grant them stock at a moderate price, in lieu of the 3,700,000 l. which the South-Sea company was to pay them at Lady-Day, and Michaelmas, 1721. And that from the result

Geo. I. 1720. result of the meeting they had the night before with some gentlemen of the Bank, and some persons of the first rank, they doubted not but such an agreement might soon be perfected.' Hereupon Mr. Dawson moved, 'That the directors be impowered to agree with the Bank of England, or any other persons, to circulate the company's bonds, or make any other agreement with the Bank, which they should judge proper.' And he was seconded by Sir John Eyles. Hereupon Mr. Hungerford moved for amending the latter part of the question, by making express mention of that other agreement. But Mr. Pulteney spoke for the question, and thought it best to use a latitude of expression, and so leave the directors at liberty to act as they should think proper for the interest of the company. He added, 'That it was a matter of surprise to see what a panic had seized upon the minds of the people, at a time when the nation was in profound peace, and had nothing to fear, either at home or from abroad. That, indeed, a rumour had been universally spread, as if the armament of the Spaniards was designed either against Port-Mahon or Gibraltar; but that he took that report to be altogether false and groundless, and only intended to scandalise that potentate, and to terrify the people here; for he himself had seen and perused a copy of a letter, written by the express command of the king of Spain by his secretary of state, to the British minister at Madrid, absolutely denying, in the strongest terms, any designs of the Spanish forces against any of his Britannic majesty's dominions. That he was as much concerned in the company as most people; but that, notwithstanding this general and terrible alarm, he had not disposed of any part of his stock; for he would think it a scandal to be rich, if the nation were ruined. That, however, he hoped the case would be quite otherwise; and he doubted not but the company would soon be restored to its former flourishing condition, since it was like to be supported by the Bank of England, a corporation, who by wise, though slow and cautious measures, had established its credit, not only at home, but even among foreigners.' Upon this, the question was unanimously agreed to. Sir John Fellows then farther acquainted the assembly, 'That, the proprietors of the several annuities lately subscribed, as well as those interested in the two last money-subscriptions, being very much dissatisfied, fearing thereby to be great losers, the directors had thought it proper, that the terms should be lowered to make them easy.' Whereupon Sir Matthew Decker moved, 'That power be given to the directors to relieve the annuitants,

tants, who came in upon the last subscription; as likewise the proprietors of the third and fourth money-subscriptions.' He was seconded by Mr. Craggs senior, who, among other things, said, 'That nothing could be more reasonable and just, than to give satisfaction to people who had trusted their fortunes and estates to the company, and that it would be a notorious robbery to take any advantage of their confidence in the honour and integrity of the directors.' This gave occasion to Mr. Budget to reflect, in a speech, on the prodigious leap from a subscription of 400 l. to one of a 1000 l. which left such a gap in the building, as would at last bring it to the ground. He then observed, that the fall of the stock was owing to the malicious rumour, that two or three of the very directors had basely betrayed the trust reposed in them. When he had done speaking, Mr. Chester, one of the directors, spoke in vindication of his brethren, and said, 'That he knew of no proceedings among them, but what were intended for the good of the whole company: That, for his own part, he had not sold any of his stock, nor reserved to himself any more of the subscriptions, than what was allowed to each of the directors; and that his fortune would have been as large, if he had not been a director: That, as to the great gap between the second and third subscription, in money, which was objected as a wrong step in the management of the company's affairs, he could assure them, that it was none of the directors fault, since they designed to have made the third subscription at five or six hundred; but, the humour and eagerness of the people having run up the South-Sea stock to seven or eight hundred, they could not in prudence open a subscription at less than a thousand.' The assembly seemed to be very well pleased with Mr. Chester's speech; but many wondered, that none of his brethren took that opportunity to clear themselves, as he had done. Upon the whole matter, the court unanimously agreed to the question for relieving the last subscribers, and then adjourned.

Two days after, Sept. 22. there was a general court of the Bank of England, when the governor acquainted them, that this was one of their quarterly and half-yearly meetings, and that their directors had come to a resolution to declare the last half-yearly dividend at four per cent. to which the court having unanimously agreed, the governor proceeded, saying, 'He presumed, none could be ignorant there had of late been divers meetings and conferences between the directors of this company and the directors of the South-Sea, un-

Geo. I. 1720. der the influence and interposition of some persons of the highest figure and station : That they had made no agreement yet with the South-Sea ; but that the directors had thought fit to come to a resolution upon the matter. Then the resolution was read ; and, without any person's speaking to it, was immediately formed into a question to this effect : ' That, for the better support of the public credit, the directors of the Bank of England be impowered to agree with the directors of the South-Sea to circulate their bonds to what sum, and upon what terms, and for what time, they shall think proper ; and to make what other agreements with the South-Sea, they shall judge to be for the interest of this corporation : ' Which question was instantly agreed to with great unanimity. Then the governor acquainted them, that he believed books would be ready for a subscription to be taken in the next day, for the purpose aforesaid, and that it would be on the usual terms, 15 per cent. deposit, 3 per cent. premium, and 5 per cent. interest ; and then the court adjourned.

The directors of the two companies being thus impowered, a committee of both met on the 23d of September, and a proposal was made by one of the directors of the South-Sea company, ' That the 3,700,000l. (which the South-Sea company was to repay to the Bank at Lady-Day, and Michaelmas 1721) should be subscribed by the Bank into the stock of the South-Sea company, for which the Bank was to have such shares as the funds would produce, the stock being valued at 400l. per cent.

This proposal was the next day reported at a court of directors of the Bank ; and, being agreed to, was the same day communicated, by a director of the Bank, to the court of directors of the South-Sea company.

This, in short, is the history of the famous Bank Contract, which has made so much noise. The substance of all which is, that, in the day of distress, the Bank was thought the only resource to support the sinking state of the South-Sea company. Every one that was thought capable of giving any assistance, was called in : At the first conference Mr. Walpole assisted, and the Bank was persuaded to undertake what was proposed to them : The first part of the proposition, and, indeed, the original proposal for circulating the bonds upon which the first conference was held, was dropped by the South-Sea company ; and the last article of taking South-Sea stock at 400l. per cent. was carried on, and accepted by a committee of the Bank : And this example, it was hoped,
by

by the managers of the South-Sea affairs, would fix the price of South-Sea stock at that rate : But they were soon convinced by the daily fall of the stock, that this expedient would not answer : And the Bank quickly found they had been prevailed upon to consent to what they were not able to perform, as will presently be seen.

When the books were opened at the Bank for taking in a subscription for the support of public credit, the concurrence of people, who readily brought in their money, was at first so very great, that it was judged the whole subscription (which was intended for three millions) would have been filled that very day : But it happened, that the fall of the South-Sea stock, and the discredit of that company's bonds, occasioned a run upon the most eminent goldsmiths and bankers, some of whom having lent out great sums upon South-Sea stock, and other public securities, were obliged to shut up their shops, and abscond. The sword-blade company (who hitherto had been the chief cash-keepers of the South-Sea company) being almost drained of their ready money, were forced to stop payment, and set up at their office written bills, giving notice, ' That they would pay any of their notes in South-Sea stock at four hundred per cent. or pay part in cash on the Monday following, and give five per cent. interest on the rest till paid ; and that they would take their own notes in payment for the monies they had lent.' This, being looked upon as a kind of Bankruptcy, increased the public calamity, and occasioned a great run upon the Bank, who were obliged to pay out money faster than they received it upon the subscription. But the festival of Michaelmas, on which the Bank was shut of course, gave it some breathing-time.

In the mean time, South-Sea stock continued sinking till Michaelmas-day, when it was about 150, at which price it was on the 2d of February, the day after the house of commons accepted the proposals of the South-Sea company ; whose low credit appeared yet more plainly, in that their bonds, payable on Michaelmas 1721, were now at above 25 per cent. discount.

Pursuant to a former resolution for relieving the last subscribers, a general court was held the 30th of September, wherein, after the agreement with the Bank was ratified, it was resolved that the proprietors of the redeemable debts taken in on the last subscriptions should be allowed, for their several interests in the funds, the same terms, in all respects, as the Bank ; and that the last subscription of the long annui-

Geo. I. ties should be valued at 32 years purchase; and of the short
 1720. at 17 years purchase; to be paid for in stock at 400 per cent.
 and be intitled to the last Midsummer dividend: And that all
 the annuitants should be allowed the interest of their annu-
 ities to the 29th of September. It was also agreed, that the
 third subscription, which was taken at 1000 per cent. should
 be reduced to 400 per cent. and the subscription receipts
 given out accordingly. That the 100 per cent. already paid
 should be taken in part of the payment; and that the re-
 maining 300 per cent. should be paid in nine payments,
 whereof the three next payments to be at 40 per cent. each,
 and the other six payments at 30 per cent. at six months
 distance from each other; the first payment of 40 per cent.
 to be the 2d of July, 1721. It was also agreed, that the
 fourth subscription, which was taken at 1000 per cent.
 whereof 200 per cent. was paid down, should be also reduced
 to 400 per cent. and that the remaining 200 per cent. should
 be paid in eight equal payments of 25 per cent. each, the
 first of which was to be the 26th of September, 1721, and
 the remaining payments, at six months distance from each
 other. That interest should be allowed to the company from
 Michaelmas, 1720, after the rate of 5 per cent. per ann.
 to the respective times of payment of the said third and fourth
 subscriptions: And that the 10 per cent. dividend at Midsum-
 mer should be also allowed on the third and fourth subscrip-
 tions. That the proprietors of the receipts of all the money
 subscriptions should be allowed, in part of their payments,
 the several dividends that should be made on the stock of the
 company, till their payments were completed. That five
 per cent. interest be allowed on all the company's bonds from
 the 29th instant till they should become due; and that any
 of the company's bonds should be taken as money in the
 fourth payment of the first subscription, which would become
 due on the 14th of October (a).

These

(a) It may not be improper to long and short annuities, sub-
 insert here an account of the scribed or unsubscribed.

		l.	s.	d.
LONG ANNUITIES, per ann.	————	666,821	3	3.
First subscription	— — — —	427,340	18	9
Second subscription	— — — —	125,392	17	6
Unsubscribed.	— — — —	114,087	12	0

SHORT

These resolutions gave no satisfaction to the annuitants, nor put the least stop to the fall of the South-Sea stock. The Bank finding they were not able to stem the tide, without exposing the properties of their own principals and adventurers to be carried away and lost in the common deluge, they wisely kept themselves out of the general inundation, and did not care to be drowned with those they could not save. They resolved to drop an agreement, which they were under no obligation to perform (had it been possible) and to which the South-Sea had no power to compel them. On the 10th of November, the governor of the Bank reported from the committee appointed to treat with the South-Sea company, that the transactions between the Bank and that company had been laid before council, on behalf of the Bank; and that, the South-Sea company pressing for an answer of what had been done therein, the governor of the Bank had acquainted the deputy-governor of the South-Sea company, that the committee did not think fit, for the present, to proceed further in that affair, and had delivered to him in writing the following answer:

‘ When the proposition was offered by the lords, at the meeting of the committees of both companies, as a suitable expedient for the support of public credit, the court of directors of the Bank shewed their readiness to join in any measures, that might tend to the service of the public.

But, some difficulties appearing to the committee of the Bank, they have consulted with their council, and they are

	l.	s.	d.
SHORT ANNUITIES, per ann.	81,000	0	0
First subscription	48,132		
Second subscription	18,750		
Unsubscribed	14,118		
LOTTERY ANNUITIES, 1710	46,260	6	1
First subscription	15,918	4	0
Second subscription	14,906	6	0
Unsubscribed	15,365	16	1
REDEEMABLES	16,546,482	7	1
Subscribed	14,391,781	8	0
Unsubscribed	2,152,694	7	1

Geo. I. advised, that, considering the nature of this transaction, it will not be safe for them to proceed upon the proposition without consent of parliament.

However, they think it reasonable, that, in the mean time, the committee of the South-Sea should give the committee of the Bank some account of their estate, for the satisfaction of their principals.'

About a week after, the following paper was sent to the Bank from the lords of the treasury: 'My lords desire, that the difficulties which have arisen (and upon which, they say, they have consulted their own council) concerning the late agreement between them and the South-Sea company, may be put in writing, and delivered to their lordships, as soon as possible, that their lordships may receive the opinion of the king's council.'

To this the following answer was given: 'The court of directors of the Bank have, with the utmost deference, considered the message in writing, which your lordships were pleased to send them, and they humbly apprehend, they cannot better explain themselves, than they have already done, in the manner they have given to the South-Sea company, a copy whereof was delivered to your lordships, which contains the substance of what they consulted with their council thereupon.'

Thus ended the transactions between the two companies, which (as it has been suggested) were carried on by the authors and promoters of them, with a design to take advantage of the first rumour of this supposed agreement, and draw in unwary persons, who, desirous to retrieve their losses, were induced to buy stock at the price the Bank had agreed to take it. Those who had countenanced and run into every part of the South-Sea scheme, and were consequently deeply involved, were justly suspected of having contrived and taken advantage of the contract; by which means great numbers of deluded people were undone.

Thus, in the space of eight months, were seen the rise, progress, and fall, of that mighty fabric, which, being wound up by mysterious springs to a wonderful height, had fixed the eyes and expectations of all Europe, but whose foundation, being fraud, illusion, credulity, and insatiation, fell to the ground, as soon as the artful management of the projectors was discovered. The ebb of this swollen fluctuating credit returned with greater violence than it flowed, and carried every thing before it with that precipitation, that the application of the ministers of state, and the directors of the

great

great companies, jointly and separately to stop it, were ineffectual. Express after express was sent to Hanover, to give the king information of the state of affairs, which was so urgent, that the king set out for England sooner than he intended, and arrived at London the 11th of November.

The South-Sea stock, which was 200 at the king's arrival, fell again upon the prorogation of the parliament, from the 25th of November to the 8th of December, to 135; but, on a report that the ministry had agreed with the principal directors of the South-Sea, the Bank, and East-India company, upon a project which would very much conduce to the restoration of the public credit, it rose again to 210. But whatever the ministers concerted for that end, was frustrated by the managers of the South-Sea company, who published an advertisement in the London Gazette, 'That the bonds of the South-Sea company would be taken in repayment of the money on all loans made by the company. That the bonds would be likewise taken in all future payments on the subscription receipts: And that all persons who were willing to make their subscription capital stock, might do the same, by making the remaining payments in the bonds of the company. This advertisement was generally looked upon as very extraordinary, since it was unreasonable to expect, either the borrowers of 400l. on 100l. capital stock absolutely transferred, or subscribers at 400l. should make repayments and remaining payments, at a time when South-Sea stock was under 200l. (b).

The parliament being met, pursuant to their last prorogation, on the 8th of December, the king went to the house of peers, and, by the mouth of the lord chancellor, made the following speech to both houses :

The parliament meets,
Dec. 8.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" **S**INCE we last parted, the face of our affairs abroad is become more favourable. The peace in the South only wants the form of a congress; and that of the North is brought much nearer to a conclusion. I shall, at a pro-

The king's
speech.

(b) The squadron which had been sent to the Baltic under the command of Sir John Norris, returned to England, and arrived at Orford on the 20th of November, all but the Monk, a fifty-gun ship, which struck on the Colston sand near Yarmouth, and was lost; but most of her crew was saved by boats from Colston.

Geo. I. 1720. " per time, order the several treaties I have made to be laid before you; by which you will perceive the success of our endeavours to establish a peace throughout Europe, and to secure and support the Protestant religion. At the same time I can never sufficiently express my concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which has so much affected the public credit at home.

" Gentlemen of the house of commons,

" I do most earnestly recommend it to you, that you consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the national credit, and fix it upon a lasting foundation. You will, I doubt not, be assisted in so commendable and necessary a work, by every man that loves his country, and especially by the several great societies of this kingdom. I hope you will, on this occasion, remember, that all your prudence, your temper and resolution, are necessary to find out and apply the proper remedies to our misfortunes; which will, if you succeed, serve to increase that reputation you have so justly acquired; particularly, if you shall be able, notwithstanding these difficulties, to discharge a part of the public debt. I have ordered the several estimates to be laid before you of the expence of the ensuing year; and must desire you to dispatch the supplies necessary for them.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I am glad to observe to you, that our trade does appear to have been more extended this year than in the preceding one. We have the most flourishing navy of any nation whatsoever to protect it. And I hope you will turn your thoughts to the best methods for the securing and enlarging of our commerce. You may depend on my hearty concurrence to all such provisions, as shall appear to you necessary for the good of my people."

Address of
the lords.

The lords, without any debate, unanimously agreed to congratulate the king in an address, for the near prospect of a general peace, and to thank him for his endeavours to secure and maintain the Protestant religion. To this were added assurances of their utmost assistance towards attaining those great ends, and of their zealous concurrence in all measures for restoring public credit, and enlarging the commerce of these kingdoms.

The

The commons, who were more concerned than the peers in the fall of the South-Sea company, and in the subsequent calamities, were not so peaceable. Mr. Pulteney made a motion for an address, 'to thank the king for the near prospect of peace, and for his tender concern for the misfortunes of his people, occasioned by the unhappy turn of affairs; and to assure him, that the house would proceed with all possible care, prudence, and temper, to inquire into the causes of these misfortunes, and apply the proper remedies for restoring and fixing public credit upon solid and lasting foundations.' This motion being seconded by Mr. Pelham and some others, Mr. Shippen proposed, after the words, 'for restoring public credit,' to add, 'as far as it is consistent with the honour of parliaments, the interest of the nation, and the principles of justice.' Mr. Shippen gave his reasons for this addition, urging, 'That, in order effectually to remedy the present misfortunes, it was absolutely necessary to maintain the honour and faith of parliamentary engagements, and to shew the highest resentment against those, who, abusing the trust reposed in them, had given so fatal a wound to public credit, and enriched themselves by the plunder of the nation. That, in his opinion, the managers of the South-Sea project were not the most criminal, since there were those above them, whose duty it was to overlook and direct their proceedings, and who ought to have given a seasonable check to that extremity of folly, by which the South-Sea stock and the subscriptions were advanced to an extravagant rate: Adding, that, had those at the helm interposed in the affair of the South-Sea, as they did in the case of the two assurances and other projects, they would have prevented that dismal calamity, which has since befallen the nation.' The lord Molesworth, who spoke with great vehemence on the same side, examined the king's speech, and made remarks upon it: He said, 'He was glad they were told, "That the peace in the South only wanted the form of a congress," which gave him hopes, that the difficulties started by Spain, in relation to Gibraltar, were at last surmounted, and that we were like to preserve that important conquest of the preceding war, together with Port-Mahon, which would make us some amends for the great expence of blood and treasure we had lately been at to conquer Sicily for the house of Austria.' When he came to speak of the South-Sea calamity, he said, 'That, before they considered of proper remedies, they ought to inquire into the cause and nature of the distemper: That it is with the body politic, as with

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Debates on
the address
of the commons.

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with the body natural; and therefore they ought to imitate skilful surgeons, who, in order to cure a wound, begin with probing it; and, when they find it necessary, make incisions before they apply healing plaisters; and that they, who followed a contrary method, are but mere empirics, who by using palliatives make the sore fester, and endanger the life of the patient. He owned it had by some been suggested, that there was no law to punish the directors of the South-Sea company, who were justly looked upon as the immediate authors of the present misfortunes: But that, in his opinion, they ought, on this occasion, to follow the example of the ancient Romans, who, having no law against parricide, because their legislators supposed no son could be so unnaturally wicked, as to imbrue his hands in his father's blood, made one to punish so heinous a crime, as soon as it happened to be committed; and adjudged the guilty wretch to be thrown alive, sewn up in a sack, into the Tyber. That, as he looked upon the contrivers and executors of the villainous South-Sea scheme as the parricides of their country, he should be satisfied to see them undergo the same punishment.'

Sir Joseph Jekyll spoke on the same side; and observed, 'That as he doubted not, but among the South-Sea directors some might be innocent, and others criminal, so he was of opinion, there were those, who were not directors, no less, if not more criminal, than the directors themselves, and who therefore deserved an equal, if not a severer punishment: Adding, that upon extraordinary emergencies, where the laws are deficient, the legislative authority may, and ought to exert itself, and he hoped a British parliament would never want a vindictive power to punish national crimes.' Mr. Grey Nevill, Mr. Pitt, and some others spoke also for the clause offered by Mr. Shippen. But it was represented by Mr. secretary Craggs, Mr. Yorke the solicitor-general, and Mr. Walpole. That such a restriction did but ill suit with an address of thanks, which, in their opinion, ought to run in the usual form, and answer in general terms the several heads of the speech from the throne. That, as to the main drift of the clause, they thought it inconsistent with the rules of prudence to begin this session with irritating inquiries: That, if the city of London were on fire, they did not doubt but all wise men would be for extinguishing the flames, and preventing the spreading of the conflagration, before they inquired into the incendiaries. That in like manner public credit having received a most dan-

dangerous wound, and being still in a bleeding condition, they ought to apply a speedy remedy to it; and that afterwards they might inquire into the cause of the present calamity.' Mr. Walpole, in particular, declared, 'That, for his own part, he had never approved the South-Sea scheme, and was sensible it had done a great deal of mischief. But, since it could not be undone, he thought it the duty of all good men to give their helping hand towards retrieving it: And that, with this view, he had already bestowed some thoughts on a proposal to restore public credit, which, in a proper time, he would submit to the wisdom of the house.' The majority acquiesced in these last reasons; so that, the question being put for inserting Mr. Shippen's clause, it passed in the negative by two hundred and sixty-one against one hundred and three. However, the next day a motion being made by Mr. Milner for inserting the words, 'And for punishing the authors of them (our present misfortunes)' the same was carried without dividing.

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By these first proceedings, it was easy to see that this session would not be so favourable to the ministry as the former ones had been, and that the Whigs would hardly be distinguished from the Tories by their votes: These partialities were suspended, and, as it were, annihilated by various other passions, which produced numberless intrigues. Many of the commons were sincerely touched with the public calamities, or moved by their own private losses: Others, dissatisfied with the ministry and court, were pleased to have an opportunity of covering their revenge, with the specious pretence of justice and the public good: Some had in view, by their loud and bitter complaints, to make themselves considerable to the court, or draw the attention of the opposite party: Others, engaged in the secret practices of the South-Sea company, had a mind, by an affected severity, to prevent their being suspected: A few there were, who politicly concealed, under the appearance of zeal and indignation, their devotion to some of the principal managers, and sought to be in the committees of enquiry into those odious affairs, in order to screen the authors thereof.

However different these views might be, all seemed at first to agree. On the 12th of December, the commons ordered, that the directors of the South-Sea should forthwith lay before them an account of all their proceedings; of all the orders they had received from the Treasury; of what money and Exchequer bills they had received since the 25th of December 1719; of what public debts had been subscribed

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or discharged, and of what sums of money had been borrowed on account of the company, since the same time. Nor did the commons rest here. A few days after, Sir Joseph Jekyll moved, That a select committee should be appointed to inquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the South-Sea act; but, upon Mr. Walpole's representing, that such a method would take up a great deal of time, and that, the public credit being in a bleeding condition, a remedy ought to be applied to it, the motion was not insisted on. After that, Mr. Walpole acquainted the house, 'That (as he had hinted a few days before) he had spent some time upon a scheme for restoring public credit; but that, the execution of it depending upon a position, which had been laid as a fundamental, he thought it proper, before he opened the scheme, to be informed, whether he might rely on that main foundation, 'Whether the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money-subscriptions, and other contracts made with the South-Sea company, should remain in the present state?' This question, being stated, occasioned a warm debate, particularly in relation to the validity of the second subscription of the redeemable and irredeemable public debts. Sir Joseph Jekyll, and some others, urged in favour of the subscribers, 'That most of them having been drawn in to set their names to a sort of letter of attorney, which was never read to them; and not having had afterwards the option of the terms offered, as the former subscribers had, the subscription was surreptitious, and therefore not binding.' But they were answered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. secretary Craggs, Mr. attorney and Mr. solicitor-general, and some others, 'That the letter of attorney, by virtue of which the contract of the second subscription was made, having been placed at the top of every page of the book, all the subscribers might have read it, as many of them did; and so might have chosen, whether they would set their names to it, or not. But that, it seems, some persons thought the subscription valid while they got, and not binding when they were like to lose by it. However, if any thing was defective in the subscription, they thought it adviseable to leave it to the determination either of a general court of the South-Sea, or of the common law.' These reasons being approved by most of the landed gentlemen, after a debate of several hours, it was at last resolved by two hundred and fifty-nine against one hundred and seventeen, 'That all the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money-subscriptions, and other contracts made with the South-Sea company, by virtue of an act

act made the last session of parliament, remain in the present state, unless altered for the ease and relief of the proprietors, by a general court of the South-Sea company, or set aside by due course of law.'

There are few instances which prove so strongly as this, that there is no cause so bad as to want an advocate in assemblies, where a man may freely speak his opinion, without any other danger but that of being rejected. This pretended contract, which was deemed valid, had not been read, nor could have been read, without being universally disapproved. Was it probable, that such multitudes should leave their most valuable interests to the discretion of two or three attornies? They were not, indeed, forbid to subscribe, but they believed they had done it with a liberty to consent to or reject the conditions that should be offered. Was not this sufficient to declare the subscription void, and to restore the proprietors to their former state? However, the commons did not think so, for the resolution of the committee was confirmed the next day by the house (c).

The

(c) In the next day's debate, Mr. Walpole, who spoke for the resolution, set forth the views with which the South-Sea act was made, viz. 'To consult the landed and trading interest of the nation, by lessening its incumbrances and public debts, and putting them in a method of being paid off in a few years; which could not have been done, unless a way had been found to make the annuities for long terms redeemable; which had been happily effected by the South-Sea scheme, without a breach of parliamentary faith: And, if they should now unravel what had been done, they should not only ruin the South-Sea company, but, instead of alleviating, aggravate the present misfortunes.' In answer to this, Sir Joseph Jekyll urged, 'That, in order to remedy the present distemper, and restore

public credit, they ought, in the first place, to resolve and assert public faith, equity, and justice, which the South-Sea managers had notoriously violated, with respect to the first and second subscribers of annuities and other public debts: For the former had not the stock, to which they were intitled, delivered to them, till six months after they had subscribed their effects, and when the stock was fallen above half its price; and the latter had not the option either to accept or reject the terms that were offered them.' Mr. Walpole having, among other things, replied, 'That, if any injustice was done to the subscribers, they were, by the resolution in question, left at liberty to seek their relief by law:' Mr. Lechmere, chancellor of the duchy, insisted, 'That, if the South-Sea company,

Geo. I. 1720. The day after this resolution was agreed to, Mr. Walpole laid before the commons his scheme to restore public credit, the substance of which was to ingraft nine millions of South-Sea stock into the Bank of England, and the like sum into the East-India company, upon certain conditions (d). Mr. Hutchinson and other members made some

Mr. Walpole's scheme for restoring credit.

pany, whom the parliament had appointed trustees for the public debts, had not duly executed that trust, in relation to the annuitants, the latter could seek for relief no where but in parliament; and that it was a duty incumbent upon the legislature to relieve them.' Serjeant Pengelly, Mr. Hutchinson, and some other gentlemen, spoke on the same side; but were answered by Mr. secretary Craggs, Sir William Thompson, and Mr. Hungerford; and, after some other speeches, it was moved to adjourn the debate; but, the question put thereupon being carried in the negative by two hundred and thirty-two voices against eighty-eight, the house agreed, without dividing, to the resolution of the day before.

(d) The substance of what was opened in the house of commons was told to the general court of the South-Sea directors two days after, by Sir John Fellows, to the following effect:

'That the first money-subscription be continued, allowing longer time for the future payments; and that what has been paid be made stock at 400l. per cent.

'That the money, paid upon the 2d, 3d, and 4th money-subscriptions, be also made stock at 400l. per cent. the subscri-

bers to have the Midsummer dividend at 10l. per cent. and their future payments to be discharged.

'The stock then undisposed of will be 11,600,000 l. which, to be divided among the proprietors, will be 45 l. per cent. to be disposed of by subscription or otherwise, as a general court shall order, which was to this effect:

'That a sum not exceeding nine millions be ingrafted into the Bank, on terms to be agreed on with that company.

'The like as to the East-India company.

'That, for the stock so to be ingrafted, those companies to have an annuity of 5l. per cent. per annum.

'That one fourth part of the present stock of this company be wrote into the Bank, and one other fourth part into the East-India company, the proprietors to be allowed stock in each of those companies, at 120l. per cent.

'That there will be in all seven millions and a half of Bank stock, and the same of India stock, for the proprietors of this company.

'That all the profits of this company, by their subscriptions or otherwise, shall be for the sole benefit of this company.'

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exceptions to the scheme ; but, none offering a better, it was ordered, ' That proposals should be received from the Bank of England, the South-Sea company, and the East-India company, towards restoring public credit.'

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Though the plainness of Mr. Walpole's scheme recommended it above all others, yet it met with some opposition in the general courts of the three great companies, who met to give powers to their directors to bring the matter to perfection : But at last the directors were impowered to make a proposal to the house of commons.

Accordingly proposals agreeable to the new scheme were afterwards presented to the house of commons by the several companies, and it was resolved (Jan. 5.) ' That an ingrossment of nine millions of the capital stock of the South-Sea company into the capitals of the Bank and East-India company, as proposed by these companies, will contribute very much to the restoring public credit.' A bill upon this resolution was, after some debate, ordered to be brought in, which passed the house, and was sent up to the lords, and afterwards received the royal assent.

Pursuant to the order of the house, the sub and deputy governors of the South-Sea company having presented to the commons their books and papers, Mr. Shippen made a long speech, representing, ' That besides the papers, which had already been laid before them, it was necessary to have others, in order to discover the frauds and deceitful management of the South-Sea directors and their accomplices. That, in his opinion, the most villainous contrivance, whereby they insnared unwary people, was their taking in money-subscriptions at 1000 per cent. and their declaring a dividend at 30 l. per cent. at Christmas, and of not less than 50 l. per cent. per ann. for twelve years after ; which had imposed upon the understanding of all such as depended upon the wisdom and integrity of the directors, and occasioned the ruin of many thousands of families.' He therefore moved, That the directors of the South-Sea company should lay before the house the calculations or inducements, on which they took in the third and fourth money-subscriptions, and grounded the resolutions of making such dividends. This motion, not being opposed, was agreed to ; as was likewise a second motion for laying before the house a list of the directors of the South-Sea company, with the names of the treasurer, secretary, and accountant, and also the original books of the minutes of the committee of treasury of the company, since the 25th of December 1719, with a copy of the by-laws. After which the
com-

Geo. I. mons adjourned to the 4th of January, as the lords did to the 9th of the same month.

The house
of commons
divided in
their opi-
nions.

By these proceedings of the parliament it is evident the commons were divided in their opinions, one party being for applying a remedy to the calamity occasioned by the mismanagement of the South-Sea scheme: And the other party, for inquiring into the causes of the present misfortunes, and for punishing the authors as the most effectual and only means to redress them. The first party, which was favoured by the court, prevailed for a time; but, when the commons met after the holidays, it appeared that the other party had gained considerable strength, and that the artful introduction of other affairs, instead of diverting, only served to inflame their resentment against the authors of the late proceedings.

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Their fur-
ther pro-
ceedings.

On the 4th of January, Mr. Trevor, secretary of war, seconded by the lord Carpenter, moved for a bill to prevent mutiny and desertion: But Sir Joseph Jekyll expressed his surprise, 'that a bill should be moved for so early, which seldom used to be brought in but towards the end of a session: That such a hurry seemed to be intended to stop the prosecution of the authors of the present misfortunes. That they very well knew, 'their days were numbered,' and that, as soon as they had dispatched the money bills, and the bill now moved for, they should immediately be dispatched home. That therefore he was for staying those bills, until they had done justice to the nation, who called aloud for it.' Mr. secretary Craggs said, 'He wondered to see any opposition made to a bill so necessary for the safety of the government, especially by a person who had received signal favours from the crown.' Upon this the lord Molesworth stood up, and said, 'Mr. Speaker, is it come to this, that every man, who has a place, must do all the drudgery that is enjoined him? This may be true of some underlings; but I do not believe it: I am sure it is false of king George; he commands his servants nothing, but what is according to laws, and for the good of his subjects.' Then Sir Joseph Jekyll added, 'That he was as zealous as any man for the service of the king and his government; but he was of opinion, that the doing justice to the nation, and punishing them who had brought it into the present calamitous condition, was the most effectual way both to serve the king, and at the same time to discharge their duty to their injured country: Concluding, however, that he did not oppose the bringing in of the bill;' which was agreed to. After this, the house resolving itself into a grand committee, Sir Joseph represented, That, before they

pro-

proceeded any farther, they ought to secure the persons and estates of those they had reason to look upon as the authors of the public misfortunes; and therefore he moved for a bill to restrain the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treasurer, under-treasurer, cashier, secretary, and accountants of the South-Sea company, from going out of this kingdom for the space of one year, and till the end of the next session of parliament; and, for discovering their estates and effects, and preventing the transporting or alienating the same.' This motion met with no opposition, and Sir Joseph, with the attorney and solicitor-general, and some others, were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill (a), which, having passed both houses, received the royal assent (b).

As soon as this was over, the house debated in what man-

A select committee for the South-Sea affair.

(a) This done, Mr. Shippen expressed his great satisfaction to see a British house of commons resume their ancient vigour and spirit, and act with so great unanimity for the public good. He owned 'the necessity of securing the persons and estates of the South-Sea directors and their officers; but said, that, in his opinion, there were some men in great stations, whom, in time, he would not be afraid to name, who were no less guilty than the directors.' Mr. secretary Craggs, being somewhat exasperated at this, said, 'That he was ready to give satisfaction to any man, who should question him, either in that house, or out of it.' This expression gave no small offence; and thereupon the lord Moleworth said, 'That he had had the honour to be a member of that house upwards of thirty years, and never before now knew any man bold enough to challenge the whole house of commons, and all England besides: That, for his part, though past sixty, he would answer whatever he had to say within the house, and hoped

there were young members enough, who would not be afraid to look Mr. secretary in the face out of the house.' Upon this, Mr. secretary, seeing the house in a great ferment, got up, and said, 'That, by Giving Satisfaction, he meant clearing his conduct' Upon which the matter went no farther.

(b) By this bill, the directors were each to enter into recognizances, in the penalty of 100,000*l.* with two sureties in the penalty each of 25,000*l.* If they neglected to do so before the eighth of February, they were to be imprisoned; and, in case they went out of the kingdom, were to be adjudged guilty of felony. They were also obliged to deliver in upon oath, before the 5th of March, exact particulars of all the effects they were possessed of by themselves, or in trust, on the 1st of June 1720, or any time after, with an account of what they had disposed of since that time. They were likewise disabled from conveying any lands or effects, for a year after the 5th of January 1720 21.

Geo. I. ner they should proceed in the intended inquiry, whether in
 1720-21. a grand or select committee. After several speeches on both
 sides, it was resolved that a committee should be appointed
 to inquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution
 of the South-Sea act; and that the numbers should be thir-
 teen, and chosen by ballot. Pursuant to this resolution,
 Thomas Broderick, Archibald Hutchinson, Sir Joseph Je-
 kyll, Edward Wortley, Sir Thomas Pengelly, William
 Clayton, Edward Jeffreys, lord Moleworth, Thomas
 Strangways, William Sloper, Nicholas Lechmere, General
 Rosse, and Dixie Windsor, were chosen, to whom the sever-
 al books and papers, which had been laid before the house
 by the South-Sea company, were referred; and they were
 afterwards voted a Committee of Secrecy.

In the debate the lord Hinchinbroke represented, that it
 was to be feared that, before the bill against the directors,
 &c. was gone through both houses, the most criminal might
 withdraw out of the kingdom, and therefore he moved, that
 they might be immediately taken into custody. But, Mr.
 Lechmere, and others, having shewed the inconveniencies of
 such a proceeding, the motion was dropped.

In vain did the directors present a petition to be heard by
 their council against the bill, which was now brought in,
 and, having passed the commons, was sent up to the lords.

Proceedings
 of the lords
 on the
 South-Sea
 affair.

By this time the house of lords were entered upon the South-
 Sea affair. Some of the lords in the ministry were the first
 who complained of the mismanagement of the South-Sea di-
 rectors, which had occasioned the present distress; and earl
 Stanhope said, 'That the estates of the criminals, whether
 directors or not directors, ought to be confiscated, to make
 good the public losses.' The lord Carteret spoke to the same
 effect, as did likewise the earl of Sunderland, who owned,
 indeed, that he had been for the South-Sea scheme, because
 he thought it calculated for the advantage of the nation, in
 order to lessen the public debt, and, in particular, to take off
 the heavy incumbrance of long annuities; and no man
 would imagine, that so good a design could have been so
 perverted in the execution, as to produce quite contrary ef-
 fects: But that, in his opinion, no act of parliament had
 ever been so much abused as the South-Sea act; and there-
 fore he would go as far as any body to punish the offenders.
 Several lords were surpris'd to find themselves prevented by
 those whom they were ready to oppose, upon a supposition,
 that they entertained more favourable thoughts towards the
 directors, against whom the others had left them but little to
 say. However, the duke of Wharton observed, 'That they
 ought

ought to have no respect of persons: That, for his part, he Geo. I. would give up the best friend he had: That the nation had 1720-21. been plundered in a most flagrant and notorious manner; and therefore they ought to find out the offenders, and then punish them with the utmost severity.' The lord North and Grey, the earl of Abingdon, and some others, urged also the ill effects of the South-Sea project, which the bishop of Rochester compared to a pestilence. Earl Cowper spoke likewise on the same side, and in particular 'blamed those who, by the act of parliament, were appointed to overlook and check the South-Sea directors, and who, in discharge of their trust, ought to have prevented their jumping from a subscription at 400 to 1000, which was the main cause of the misfortunes that ensued.' The earl of Sunderland, finding himself and the other lords of the treasury thus attacked, said, 'That by the South-Sea act they were directed to appoint such persons as they should think fit to be managers and directors, on the part of the treasury, for the due execution of the act: That, as they had reason to look upon those persons, who had the principal share in framing this scheme, as the most able and proper to execute it, they had accordingly appointed some of the South-Sea directors to be managers and directors for the treasury: Concluding, that in this they had followed former precedents.' Upon this a question was proposed and stated, that the commission issued out by the lords commissioners of the treasury, to three of the directors of the South-Sea company, was, according to former precedents and legal. This occasioned a great debate; but, after the reading of some papers, the lord Harcourt's opinion for the affirmative prevailed, by a majority of sixty-three against twenty-eight, most of whom entered their protest against that resolution. Then some lords moved for appointing a secret committee, to inquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the South-Sea act; but this was opposed by others, who said, they ought, in the most solemn manner, to examine the persons concerned. Which being agreed to, the sub and deputy-governors, directors, and officers of the South-Sea company were ordered to attend on the 12th of January.

On that day, the sub and deputy-governors, about twenty-four of the directors, Mr. Knight, treasurer, Mr. Surman his deputy, and some other inferior officers, attended the house, and at the bar were sworn to make true answers to such questions as should be put to them. After this, the governors and treasurer were examined separately, and then the directors. The examinations being ended, it was resolved,

Geo. I. 'That the sub-governor and directors of the South-Sea company had prevaricated with them, in giving false representations of several matters of fact: That, by lending money on stock and subscriptions, they were guilty of a notorious breach of trust; and that they ought to make good the losses which the company had sustained by their fraudulent management.' Some lords were unwilling to involve all the directors in this censure, and would distinguish the innocent from the guilty; but they were told, that the whole court of directors were guilty, either in acting or assenting; upon which they acquiesced in declaring them all criminal. The directors being called in again, the lord chancellor gave them a severe reprimand for giving the house such lame accounts, and for having ordered their clerks to omit several material things in the copies that had been laid before the house; commanding them, at the same time, to produce either the originals themselves of several accounts of their treasury, or authentic copies of them.

Soon after this, a bill passed the house of lords, to disable the present sub-governor, deputy-governor, and directors of the South-Sea company, to enjoy any office in that company, or in the East-India company, or Bank of England, and from voting upon elections in the company. Then the lords examined several brokers, as Stroude, Testard, Lacour a Jew, and his son. By the three last great discoveries were said to be made. This done, the house adjourned to the 24th of January.

In the mean time, Mr. Knight, treasurer of the South-Sea company, who was intrusted with the principal secrets of the South-Sea affair, either of his own accord, or (as it was suspected) at the suggestion of others, thought fit to retire out of the kingdom (c). He absented himself the 22d of Ja-

(c) When Mr. Knight attended at the house of lords, a peer spoke to the earl of Sunderland, that a motion might be made to secure him immediately; for it was strongly surmised that he would soon make off. The earl agreed in that surmise, but said, earl Cowper should be consulted before any such motion was made, for, without his joining in with it, there was no likelihood of its passing; and then Knight would be alarmed to no purpose. The other lord applied to earl Cowper, who seemed very averse to the taking any such step, till, upon Mr. Knight's further examination, the house should come to a resolution, particularly in relation to him: Upon which the motion dropped; and it was suspected, that the earl of Sunderland, knowing earl Cowper's sentiments, referred that other peer to him, on purpose to prevent the motion's being then made.

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uary from his house, and embarked the next morning in the river, on board a vessel, which carried him, the same day, to Calais. A letter, directed to the South-Sea directors, was brought that morning, by a porter, to Mr. Surman (d), who

Geo. I.
1720-21.

(d) The letter was as follows :

‘Gentlemen,

I write this from a true sense of the obligation I am under to make up my accounts with the company, and to pay them their full demand : And, though self-preservation has obliged me to withdraw myself from the resentment against the directors and myself, yet I am not conscious to myself of having done any one thing that I can reproach myself for, so far as relates to an honest sincere intention and zeal for the company ; but I can and do charge myself with a great many indiscretions, and am (besides the concern I must be under for leaving my own family, friends, &c.) very sensibly touched with what you are like to suffer on this account ; and it will be the more, I am afraid, from your want of unanimity, which I heartily recommend to you for the future, and, I am sure, wish you all well as you wish yourselves.

I write this at a distance from home, and under a great deal of concern, so cannot be so particular as otherwise I would have been. I have herewith sent Mr. Surman the key of my desks, who knows so much the state of the cash, as to be able to make it up. There are a good many bills of exchange, and other payments to write off, and the weekly receipts to write on.

There is cash in the Bank, in the company’s book, which, together with the notes taken on the third and fourth subscriptions, and the company’s bonds, will make up the balance, as I do believe : But, if it fall short, I have 3000 equivalent stock, 1600 Bank stock, 2000 India and South-Sea stock, over and above what I owe the company on the loan, as will be sufficient to make it up with money owing on securities on my particular account. The company need not deliver or be answerable for the subscription-receipts or stock on the third and fourth subscriptions, unless these notes are paid ; so the loss can only be the difference between the subscriptions and money in value ; and I think, it would be hard for me to bear the loss, because the clerks took by far the greatest part of them, as thinking them better than none ; and most of them would have been non-payments, if they had been refused : However, I submit this to the company. I have taken with me but little more than a sufficiency to maintain myself, and the effects left will more than answer for all deficiencies. I have bought no land in trust for me, nor have I ever conveyed or settled any part of that I had formerly, or have bought lately ; it remains to answer any demands on me from the company or the legislature. I have withdrawn myself only

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to

Geo. I. who delivered it to the committee of secrecy, then sitting at the South-Sea house. They immediately repaired to the house of commons, and acquainted them with what had happened. Two addresses were voted and presented for a proclamation to apprehend Mr. Knight, and for another to stop the ports to prevent him, or any of the directors, from escaping out of the kingdom. Then general Ross, and other members of the secret committee, informed the house, 'That they had already discovered a train of the deepest villainy and fraud that hell ever contrived, to ruin a nation, which, in due time, they would lay before the house; and that, in the mean while, in order to a further discovery, they thought it highly necessary to secure the persons of some of the directors and principal South-Sea officers, and to seize their papers.' Upon which the books and papers of Mr. Knight, Mr. Surman, Mr. Turner, Sir George Caswal, and Mr. Grigsby, were ordered to be secured, and Surman and Grigsby to be taken into custody; as were also Sir John Blunt, Sir John Lambert, two of the directors, and Sir John Fellows, sub-governor of the South-Sea company. Then Mr. Sawbridge and Sir Theodore Janssen being come into the house, a motion was made and carried, 'That they were guilty of a notorious breach of trust, as directors of the South-Sea company, and had occasioned very great loss to numbers of his majesty's subjects, and highly prejudiced the public credit.' They were both expelled the house, and taken into custody, with Sir Robert Chaplin and Francis Eyles, two other directors, and members of parliament.

The same evening a council was held, in which Mr. Aislaby resigned his places of chancellor of the Exchequer and lord of the Treasury. Orders were also given for re-

to avoid the weight of an inquiry, which I found too heavy for me; and I am sensible that it would have been impossible for me to have avoided the appearance and charge of prevarication and perjury, not from my own intention to do so, but from the largeness and extent of the inquiry, and the nature and largeness of the transactions. I am sure I am a great deal concerned to add to your present difficulties; though I must say, that I have deserved better pu-

sage than I had from the court the last week: But this I say without any resentment, otherwise than that it has been an addition to the weight I had before upon me.

I am pressed for time, so can only assure you that I am, with all respect, in inclination though not in power, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

Robert Knight.

Sunday Evening,
Jan. 22, 1720.

moving

moving all South-Sea directors from any place they had in the government (e). Geo. I.
1720-21.

The lords, on the 24th of January, examined Mr. Joye, deputy-governor of the South Sea company, who made a very frank confession of several important matters, and communicated Mr. Knight's letter, which was read. After this, upon earl Stanhope's motion, five directors, Sir William Chapman, Mr. Holditch, Mr. Hawes, Mr. Gibbon, and Mr. Chester, were ordered to be taken into custody, with their papers, and those of Mr. Clark, the company's solicitor. Of which notice was sent to the commons with a message, that these persons and their papers should be produced in such a manner as they should direct. This message contributed very much to the preserving a good understanding between the two houses.

Two days after, the directors, Mr. Astell and Sir Harcourt Masters, were examined by the lords, and, among other discoveries, named several persons both in the administration and in the house of commons, to whom large sums in South-Sea stock had been given, for procuring the passing the South-Sea act. After this, upon the motion of earl Stanhope, seconded by the lord Townshend and earl Cowper, it was unanimously resolved, 'That the taking in of stock, the transferring of stock belonging to the South-Sea company, or giving credit for the same, without a valuable consideration actually paid, or sufficiently secured; or the purchasing stock by any director or agent of the South-Sea company, for the use or benefit of any person in the administration, or any member of either house of parliament, during such time as the late bill relating to the South-Sea company was depending last year in parliament, was a notorious and most dangerous corruption.' This resolution was soon followed by another, after the examination of Mr. Waller (son-in-law to Mr. Aislaby) and Mr. Astell, relating to a great quantity of South-Sea stock, transferred to, and negotiated by Mr. Waller, who pretended not to have kept minutes of what he had done in Exchange-Alley. This being looked upon as prevarication, it was resolved, 'That the directors of the South-Sea company having ordered great quantities of

(e) Accordingly, Francis Hawes, receiver-general of the customs; Sir Harcourt Masters, receiver-general of the city of London; Mr. Reynolds, commissioner of the victualling-office; Mr. Holditch, treasurer of the stamp-office; Mr. Arthur Ingram, treasurer of the duty on salt, were all removed from their employments.

Geo. I. their stock to be bought for the service of the company, when
 1720-21. stock was at a very high price, and on pretence of keeping
 up the price of the stock; and, at the same time, several of
 the directors, and other officers belonging to the company,
 having, in a clandestine manner, sold their own stocks to the
 company; such directors and officers are guilty of a noto-
 rious fraud and breach of trust; and their so doing was one
 great cause of the unhappy turn of affairs, that has so much
 affected public credit (f).

On the 4th of February, the lords designed to have ex-
 amined Sir John Blunt, the chief projector of the South-Sea
 scheme, and it was expected he would make great disco-
 veries: But, instead of that, he would not so much as be
 sworn to answer to such interrogatories as should be put to
 him, alledging, that he had already been examined before
 the secret committee of the house of commons, and to such
 extent of affairs, that, unless he had a copy of his examina-
 tion, he could not remember every particular; and, as no
 man is obliged to accuse himself, he would not run the ha-
 zard of prevaricating. The lords were surprised at this pro-
 ceeding; but, upon a surmise, that Sir John Blunt might
 design to break the harmony, which had hitherto been pre-
 served in this affair between the two houses, they thought
 fit not to shew immediately their indignation against his ob-
 stinacy. In the debate how they should proceed in this un-
 precedented case, some reflections were made against the mi-
 nistry by a noble duke, who observed, that the government

(f) Three days after, Mr.
 Hawes, a director, having been
 examined with some brokers,
 the lords came to the following
 resolutions:

1. That the directors, &c.
 buying the Midsummer dividend
 about the fourth of January
 1719-20, and paying 5 s. down
 and 3 l. after the receipt of the
 dividend, was a fraud to the
 persons with whom they con-
 tracted.

2. That the giving a pre-
 mium, for the refusal of stock,
 at higher prices than they knew
 the value was, was a fraudulent
 artifice to raise the price of
 stock.

3. That promoting the third
 subscription at 1000 per cent.
 was to answer a particular end,
 and to cheat the public.

4. That the declaring 30 l.
 per cent dividend for the half
 year ending at Christmas, and
 50 l. per cent. per annum for no
 less than twelve years after, was
 a villainous artifice to delude and
 defraud his majesty's good sub-
 jects.

5. That the declaring the
 Midsummer dividend to be paid
 in stock, when they had money
 by them to answer the same,
 was a notorious fraud, and was
 one occasion of the misfortunes
 that ensued.

of the best of princes was sometimes made intolerable to their subjects by ill ministers ; and alledged the example of Sejanus, who had made a division in the imperial family, and rendered the reign of the emperor Claudius odious to the Romans. This reflection was highly resented by earl Stanhope, who undertook to vindicate the ministry. He spoke with such vehemence, that, finding himself taken suddenly with a violent head-ach, he went home, and was cupped, which eased him a little. The next morning he was let blood, and continued pretty well till about six o'clock in the evening, when he fell into a drowziness, and then into a suffocation, in which he instantly expired. The king was so sensibly touched with the news of his death, that he retired for several hours into his closet, to lament the loss of a faithful and able minister, whose service he so much wanted at that time. The lord Townshend was appointed secretary of state in his room.

Death of
earl Stan-
hope,

Two days after, Mr. secretary Craggs was taken ill of the small-pox, of which he died the ninth day, on the 16th of February. Thus, in the space of eleven days, England lost two secretaries of state.

and of Mr.
secretary
Craggs.

Mr. Knight, after his escape into France, went to Brussels, from whence (not thinking himself safe there) he intended to retire to Liege. As the king had sent orders to his ministers in foreign courts, to make application for the seizing Mr. Knight, in case he should shelter himself in the dominions of any state in alliance with him, Mr. Gaudot, secretary to Mr. Leathes, the British resident at Brussels, having information that Mr. Knight was going towards Louvain, applied to the marquiss de Prié, governor of the Austrian Netherlands, who ordered a major and sixteen dragoons to attend him, and follow his directions. With these Gaudot sets out for Louvain, where he was informed, that two English gentlemen had, that morning, taken the road to Tirlemont. Upon this, Gaudot, with the major and four dragoons, hastened to Tirlemont, and, by means of a postillion sent before to make inquiry, they put up at the same inn where the gentlemen had stopped. Gaudot, entering the inn, met Mr. Knight and his companion, who instantly yielded themselves prisoners. Soon after Mr. Knight's son, who had followed his father from Brussels, arrived at Tirlemont, and was also seized. They were all carried back to Brussels, and, by a warrant from the marquiss de Prié, the major conducted Mr. Knight to the citadel of Antwerp, where he was kept in safe custody by an officer who

Proceedings
about Mr.
Knight.

Geo. I. who lay in the room with him, and four centinels without
 1720-21. the house, and as many within, and was not allowed the use
 of pen, ink, and paper. His son went with him to the ci-
 tadel.

Great was the joy at the news of Mr. Knight's being in custody. Addreses were presented by both houses to thank the king for giving such effectual directions for securing Mr. Knight, and to desire that orders might be given to his ministers at Vienna and Brussels, to make proper applications that Mr. Knight, with his papers and effects, might be delivered to such persons as should be appointed to receive him. Pursuant to these addreses, the king sent colonel Charles Churchill to the court of Vienna, to make instances for the delivering up Mr. Knight; who, on the other hand, made application to the states of Brabant, for the protection of their constitution. By an article of the charter, called the Joyful Entry (granted by the emperor Charles V. and sworn to by all his successors) no person charged with, or apprehended for any crime, can be removed to be tried out of Brabant. When therefore Mr. Leathes made pressing instances with the marquiss de Prié to have Mr. Knight delivered up, the states of Brabant insisted upon their privileges, and the marquiss would proceed no farther in the affair, without particular instructions from Vienna; for which purpose, colonel Charles Churchill was sent to that court. In the beginning of March, the colonel sent word, that he was just arrived at Vienna, and would immediately apply to the Imperial court, for the delivering up Mr. Knight, and did not doubt of success, unless the privileges of the states of Brabant interfered. This letter being communicated to the house of commons, reflections were made (particularly by the lord Moleworth) upon the frivolous pretence, used to frustrate the king's endeavours to bring over Mr. Knight. But the house came to no resolution in the affair. About three weeks after, a letter from the emperor to the king was laid before the commons, wherein the emperor expresses 'his inclination to comply with his majesty's desires, but, the states of Brabant insisting on their privileges, it would be necessary to make application to them, which he would not fail to support.' In a debate on account of this letter, Mr. Hutchinson represented, 'How much, on the one hand, the public was concerned in having the authors of the present distress fully discovered, and brought to condign punishment; and how impracticable it was, on the other, to proceed in that important inquiry, so long as the principal agent of the South-Sea directors, and
 their

their accomplices, was kept out of the way ; that, in the Geo. I. mean time, the public calamity increasing every day, the nation called aloud for justice ; and therefore, if the means already used for bringing over Mr. Knight proved abortive, it were adviseable to have recourse to more speedy and effectual methods.' Sir Joseph Jekyll also shewed, ' That it was incumbent on some persons in the administration to have Mr. Knight brought over, in order fully to clear their own innocence, otherwise, though acquitted, they would still be looked upon as criminal : Urging, moreover, that it was matter of wonder, that so frivolous a pretence, as the privileges of the states of Brabant, should be used to put a stop to so important an inquiry, especially considering how little those privileges had been regarded in more material points, and what obligations the house of Austria lay under to the British nation.' On the other hand, Mr. Lechmere represented, ' That, in all probability, the court of Vienna had not fully considered the importance of the instances made to them in his majesty's name, and at the desire of the commons of Great Britain : But it was to be presumed, when so wise a prince as the emperor should be apprized, that the welfare and safety of England depended in some measure on the delivering up of Mr. Knight, he would readily comply with their desires.' Then Mr. Lechmere moved for an address to thank the king for the instances he had made, by a letter under his own hand to the emperor about Mr. Knight, to express their dissatisfaction at the obstacles raised against a compliance with his endeavours, and to desire his most pressing instances for the obtaining what was thought of such importance to the justice due to his people. This address was agreed to and presented to the king, who assured them he would continue to use his utmost endeavours for obtaining what they desired, and hoped they would prove effectual. But, notwithstanding all this, before the emperor had sent any instructions to the marquiss de Prié, Mr. Knight found means to make his escape out of the citadel of Antwerp.

The committee of secrecy, appointed to look into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the South-Sea act, made their first report to the house of commons the 16th of February, the day Mr. secretary Craggs died. At the entrance into their inquiry, they observed, the matters referred to them were of great variety and extent. Many persons were intrusted with different parts in the execution of that act, and, in an unwarrantable manner, disposed of the properties of

Proceedings
of the secret
committee.

Geo. I. of many thousands of persons, amounting to many millions.
 1720-21. In the progress of their inquiry, they found it attended with
 many difficulties.

In some of the books, false and fictitious entries were made; in others, entries with blanks; in others, entries with rasures and alterations; and in others, leaves torn out. They found some books had been destroyed, others secreted: However, they were unable to lay some matters of importance before the house.

The first matter that occurred to their consideration was a scene of iniquity and corruption, the discovery of which they conceived to be of the highest concern to the honour of parliaments, and the security of the government.

It appeared, that, before the passing the South-Sea act, and before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of no less than 574,000 l. had been disposed of by the directors, in order to facilitate the passing the bill. This stock was set down as sold at several days, and at several prices, from 150 per cent to 325 per cent. (amounting in all to 1,259,325 l. and was from those times to be esteemed as holden of the company, for the benefit of the pretended purchasers, though no mutual agreement was then made for the delivery or acceptance of the stock at any certain time, and though no money was paid down, nor any security given for payment by the supposed purchasers. So, if the price of stock had fallen, no loss could have been sustained by them; but, if it should advance, the difference was to be made good to the pretended purchasers. As this fictitious stock was designed for promoting the bill, the sub and deputy-governors, Sir John Blunt, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Chester, Mr. Holditch, with the cashier Mr. Knight, had the disposal of this stock, of which the following particulars were taken for several persons:

For the earl of Sunderland, at the request of	}	50,000
Mr. Craggs, sen.		
For the duchess of Kendal	—	10,000
For the countess of Platen	—	10,000
For the countess's two nieces	—	10,000
For Mr. Craggs, sen.	—	30,000
For Charles Stanhope	—	10,000
For the Sword-blade	—	50,000

The difference of the last parcel amounting to 250,000 l. was supposed to be paid to Mr. Charles Stanhope by Sir George

George Caswall and company ; but that Sir George ordered Geo. I. the name Stanhope to be partly erased out of the book, and made Stangape. It also appeared, that Mr. Aislable, chancellor of the Exchequer, had great quantities of South-Sea stock given him ; but that his affairs were chiefly managed by Mr. Edmund Waller, his son-in-law, and Mr. Weymondself a broker : That Mr. Aislable's last account with Turner, Caswal, and company, was 794,451 l. That 68,000 l. part thereof, was paid in cash to Mr. Waller, as was also 44,600 l. more by a bond of Caswal and company ; and 33,000 l. by another bond of Caswal and company, was paid to Mr. Weddal : That Mr. Aislable, as a commissioner of the treasury, had 4000 l. in the first money-subscription ; but that as soon as it came to bear an advance of about 40 per cent. he had 20,000 more : That no warrant was found for making the second money-subscription more than one million ; but that afterwards some of the leading directors, by the advice of Mr. Aislable, made it 500,000 l. more : That the third money-subscription at 1000 l. was promoted by Mr. Aislable, whose list amounted to 70,000 l. the earl of Sunderland's list to 160,000 l, Mr. secretary Cragg's list to 659,000 l. and Mr. Charles Stanhope's to 47,000 l. That Mr. Aislable likewise advised the lending money on stock ; and that the directors sold part of the pawned stock at high prices ; but that, of 2,800,000 l. that should have been transferred by Mr. Knight to four of the directors, there appeared to be but 2,400,000 l. so that there was 400,000 l. stock wanting. The committee observed, that, in the account of stock sold, they found the names of several members of parliament, not concerned in the administration, whose cases they could not particularly examine, without the direction of the house in what manner to proceed. The report ended, with an account of the divers practices used to raise the nominal value of South-Sea stock, to the extravagant rate to which it was afterwards advanced above the real value (g). This report was fol-

(g) As this part of the report gives a brief history of all the contrivances for supporting the scheme, it will not be improper to insert it at large.

Your committee find, that, by computation made by their direction, it appears, that the directors of the South-Sea com-

pany might have raised the whole sum stipulated for the public, with a profit of near one million and an half for the benefit of the proprietors of the old stock, without setting their stock to sale at any higher price than 150 l. per cent.

That

Geo. I. followed by six others, and, at the close of the last, the committee said, they were under a necessity of ending their inquiry,

That after the said directors had taken in the first money-subscription at 300 l. per cent. and the second money-subscription at 400 l. per cent. and the first subscription of the long and short annuities at 375 l. per cent. the value of 100 l. South-Sea stock was but 120 l. or thereabout, supposing the whole money of the said first and second subscriptions (amounting to 12,750,000 l.) had been all paid in.

That the said court of directors did afterwards proceed to take in a third and a fourth money-subscription at the rate of 1000 l. per cent. and a second subscription of the long and short annuities, and a subscription of the redeemable debts at the rate of 800 l. per cent. after which the value of 100 l. South-Sea stock was but 332 l. or thereabouts, supposing the whole money of the said four money-subscriptions (amounting to 68,750,000 l.) had been all paid in.

That, if all the remaining public debts had been taken in, and all the remaining stock of the company sold, on the terms which the said directors pretended to expect, 100 l. South-Sea stock would have been worth but 547 l. or thereabouts, supposing the money of the said four subscriptions, and the money for the remaining stock (which together would have amounted to 205,039,401 l.) had been all paid in.

That, on the 30th day of August last, the court of directors of the South-Sea company came to a resolution (which on the 8th day of September last was confirmed by a general court) to declare a dividend of 30 l. per cent. to be made at Christmas 1720, and of not less than 50 l. per cent. per ann. for not less than twelve years to come from that time.

That soon after this resolution (viz. at a general court held the 20th day of September last) the sub-governor acquainted the general court, that the affairs of the company, in relation to the price of their stock and subscriptions, had taken an unexpected turn, and thereupon proposed their giving a power to the court of directors to relieve the last subscribers of the public debts, and the proprietors of the two last money-subscriptions, which was accordingly granted; and, at a court of directors held the 29th day of September last, it was resolved, That the said subscribers should have the same terms with the Bank, viz. That their subscriptions should be reduced from 1000 l. and 800 l. per cent. to 400 l. and that they should also have the benefit of the Midsummer dividend of 10 l. per cent. which was accordingly confirmed by a general court held the 30th day of the same month; upon which your committee observes, That it appears to them very extraordinary, that the directors

quiry, by reason of the absence of Mr. Knight, who appeared Geo. I. to have been principally and in many instances solely in-1720-21. trusted

rectors on the 8th day of September (when the said high dividend was declared in a general court) should have had no fore-sight of the turn which so soon after (viz. on the 20th day of the same month) happened in their affairs.

That, on the said 8th day of September, the sub-governor acquainted the general court, that their directors had been unanimous in all their proceedings, which, amongst other things, includes the before mentioned several subscriptions by them taken in, except the first; and, upon the examination of the directors, it doth not appear to your committee, that any one of them protested against, or declared any public dissent from any of the said proceedings; and it appears, that all of them took their shares and proportions of the subscriptions, which were allotted for the respective directors to dispose of.

And your committee have been informed by Sir Theodore Janssen, that there was a meeting at the house of Sir John Fellows, between sixteen of the court of directors, Mr. secretary Craggs and Mr. Aislabie, at which time it was proposed, that a subscription should be taken in at 300 l. per cent. which was approved of by Mr. secretary Craggs and Mr. Aislabie; and that, when the said company broke up, it was agreed, that every person should use their best endeavours to promote it; which is also confirmed by the

information of Sir Lambert Blackwell.

And, at a court of directors held the 13th day of April last, it was resolved, to take in a subscription for two millions, at the rate of 300 l. per cent. but the same was afterwards increased, without any previous resolution to that purpose, to 2,200,000 l. and your committee observe, that the imaginary value of the said subscriptions rose very fast; and that those who had the benefit of the said additional subscription, if they sold, and disposed of the same, made very great gains thereby.

That, at a court of directors held the 28th day of April last, it was resolved to take in a second money-subscription, at the rate of 400 l. per cent. for 1,000,000 l. bnt, by the accounts delivered into this house, it appears, that the said subscription was for 1,500,000 l. yet it does not appear that there was any previous resolution of the court of directors for the addition of 500,000 l. nor was the said addition declared till the 8th of September last, at which time the sub-governor acquainted the general court therewith; upon which your committee cannot but observe the great distance of time between the taking in of the second subscription at 1,000,000 l. and the 8th of September, when the same was reported to the general court at 1,500,000 l. during which interval the imaginary value of that subscription was

Geo. I. trusted in the execution of the black and destructive South-
1720-21. Sea scheme.

Soon

excessively increased, whereby the persons, who had the same, had the advantage of that extraordinary rise.

That, at a court of directors held the 15th day of June last, it was resolved to take in a third money-subscription at the rate of 1000 l. per cent. one tenth part whereof was to be paid down at the time of subscribing; and, at a court of directors held the 23d day of the same month, the sub-governor acquainted the court, That the said third money-subscription was completed, without mentioning to what sum; but at the before-mentioned general court, held the 8th day of September last, he declared the same to be for five millions; and Mr. Knight, late cashier of the South-Sea company, by an article dated the 20th day of June last, in the cash-book, fol. 125, charges the said sum of five millions as received; which account was passed, and allowed by the company's committee of treasury, on, or some time after the 4th day of August last; and yet, in the account of the third money-subscription delivered in to this house, it is stated at 4,400,000 l. only the remaining sum of 600,000 l. being entered on the credit side of the cash-book, on the 19th of December 1720, as a supposed deficiency of the payment on this subscription; although it appears to your committee, upon the evidence of Mr. Lockyer, and others, that not only the whole

sum of five millions, but even a considerable exceeding thereon was paid in; that a great deal of money was repaid back to reduce the subscription to five millions; and that they had money enough paid in for near eight millions.

That, at a court of directors held the 12th day of August last, it was resolved to take in a fourth money-subscription for one million, at the rate of 1000 l. per cent. And, at a court of directors held the 25th of the same month, it was declared, That, upon casting up the books, it was found the said fourth money-subscription, instead of one million, was increased to 1,250,000 l. which was occasioned by taking the said subscription in several books; and at the before-mentioned general court, held the 8th day of September last, the sub-governor declared the fourth money-subscription was completed to 1,250,000 l. And Mr. Knight the cashier hath, in an article dated the 30th day of August last, and entered in the cash-book, fol. 128, given the company credit for the first payment made on the 4th subscription, viz. for 2,500,000 l. which account was passed, and allowed by the committee of treasury on the 4th day of October last; and yet, in the account of the said fourth money-subscription delivered into this house, it is stated at 1,200,000 l. only: That, upon the examination of Mr. Knight, and several

Soon after the first report, the commons having taken it Geo. I.
into consideration came to these resolutions: 1720-21.

I. That

veral of the directors, in relation to the deficiency of the said third and fourth money subscriptions, their answers were very unsatisfactory: And your committee cannot but observe, That as, by the before mentioned additions to the first two money-subscriptions, some persons made great gains, whilst the price of the said subscriptions continued high; so, when the price of the subscriptions fell, many other persons were favoured, by having their subscriptions withdrawn, which was the cause of the deficiency.

That, on the second money-subscription each director was allowed, for himself and friends, 26,000 l. and that the remainder of the million, at first resolved to be taken in was at the disposal of the sub and deputy-governors; but, for whose benefit the additional subscription of 500,000 l. was intended, your committee have not yet been able to discover.

That, on the third money-subscription each director was allowed 54,000 l. for himself and friends; and that several large lists of the names of persons were sent to the sub-governor, to be admitted into the said third subscription; viz. by the earl of Sunderland, first lord commissioner of the treasury, a list amounting to 167,000 l. by John Aislaby, Esq; late chancellor of the Exchequer, another of the lords of the treasury, a list amounting to 75,300 l. by James Craggs, Esq;

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one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, two lists, amounting to 695,000 l. and by Charles Stanhope, Esq; one of the secretaries of the treasury, a list amounting to 49,700 l. Which four last-mentioned lists amount to 987,000 l.

That, upon examination, it appears, that other lists have been given in, as well on the third as on the second subscription; but, the same being lost or mislaid, as your committee have been informed, they are thereby disabled, at present, from making any report thereon.

They find 25,000 l. of the second subscription hath been given unto John Aislaby, Esq; about eight or ten days after the opening of that subscription, at which time the subscriptions were at an advanced price, of about 40 l. per cent. and soon after rose vastly higher.

That it doth not appear to your committee that any of the persons, who had the honour to serve his majesty in the treasury, or in any other part of the administration, used any endeavours to prevent the directors of the South-Sea company from taking in subscriptions at the aforesaid extravagant prices; but on the contrary it doth appear, that some of them, by the lists they gave in as aforesaid, did not only encourage and promote the said subscriptions, but did greatly enlarge the same.

Your committee observing that
Sir John Fellows, late sub-governor

C e

vernor

Geo. I. 1. That the sub-governor, deputy-governor, and directors
1720-21. of the South-Sea company, and their officers, and their
aiders

vernor of the South-Sea company, did at a general court of the said company, held the 21st of April 1720, acquaint that court, that the design of the government's million of Exchequer-bills to be lent to the company, by virtue of the late act of parliament for issuing Exchequer-bills to be circulated at or near the Exchequer, was to enable the company to lend money upon their stock; and finding that, by order of the court of directors of the said company, the same had been so lent out, your committee proceeded to enquire into this affair.

And on the examination of Mr. Robert Knight, late cashier of the said company, he declared, that he did not remember that any application was made by the directors to have those bills issued; but that the first discourse of this matter was by John Aislable, Esq; then chancellor of the Exchequer, a week before the proposals of the South-Sea company were offered to this house; that Mr. Aislable said, it would be more acceptable to have those bills circulated at the Exchequer, than to send them to the Bank or elsewhere, and that the company might afford to circulate them for nothing, they being to be lent to the company to enable them to execute their scheme. That the examinant believed, the intention of lending the said bills upon stock had been communicated to Mr. Aislable, and that he (the examinant) on his at-

tending at the treasury to solicit the issuing of these bills, did mention that design, and never heard that the treasury disapproved of it.

That Sir John Blunt declared it would be better to employ those bills in the lending upon stock, than in paying off the redeemables, which would take up more time.

Hereupon your committee examining Sir John Fellows, he said, that he and others of the directors treated with Mr. Aislable and others at the treasury about the issuing the said Exchequer-bills; but that it was first proposed to Mr. Aislable, and the examinant believed, it was at first mentioned by Sir John Blunt, in a committee of the directors, and that it was the general opinion of the directors.

Your committee examining Sir John Blunt upon this transaction, he declared, that he spoke to Mr. Aislable to hasten the issuing of the said bills; and that himself, or some other of the directors, acquainted Mr. Aislable (as he believes, at the treasury) with the company's design to lend them upon stock; that it did not at first arise from the directors, but that it was intimated to them before, or very soon after the company's proposals were laid before the house, by some of the treasury, and on recollection, the examinant said, it was by Mr. Aislable, to enable the company to carry on their scheme, and thereby to raise the price of their stock, the
bor-

aiders and abettors, in lending out the company's money Geo. I. upon stock and subscriptions, without taking security for re-1720-21. payment—

borrowers being enabled to buy stock.

That, by the book of loans delivered in to this house, it appears that the sum of 9,039,936 l. 11 s. was lent to several persons on the security of 2,563,117 l. 17 s. 5 d. stock: And that the further sum of 2,219,089 l. was lent on the security of 773,600 l. subscription receipts; the money so lent, and still remaining due, amounting in the whole to the sum of 11,259,025 l. 11 s.

That by several resolutions of the court of directors of the 21st of April, the 20th of May, and the 9th of June last, for three several loans, it appears, that the sum, resolved by them to be lent on stock from the 21st of April to the 21st of May, was limited to 500,000 l. in the whole, and that not more than 5000 l. should be lent to any one person, and such loan to be only at the rate of 250 l. on 100 l. stock; that, from the 20th of May to the 9th of June, the rule of lending was at the rate of 300 l. on 100 l. stock; and that not more than 3000 l. should be lent to any one person; and, from the 9th of June, the rule of lending was at 400 l. on 100 l. stock, and that not more than 4000 l. should be lent to any one person.

That, on examination of the book of loans, it appears, that on the first loan the rules of lending were greatly exceeded, viz. That there was lent in the whole 943,631 l. more than the

sum of 500,000 l. to which the said loan was confined. That the excess above 250 l. on 100 l. stock amounts to 316,740 l. and the excess above 500 l. to one person amounts in the whole to 779,231 l. That on the second loan the excess above the rate of 300 l. on 100 l. stock amounts to 30,750 l. and the excess above 3000 l. to one person amounts in the whole to 169,025 l. And that on the third loan the excess above 400 l. on 100 l. stock amounts to 59,413 l. and the excess above the rate of 4000 l. to one person amounts in the whole to 1,447,677 l. For the particulars of all which your committee refer to the book marked No. IV, in which the same are distinctly expressed, and the resolutions of the general court, and court of directors, in relation to loans, are transcribed.

That your committee do not find any resolution, either of a general court, or a court of directors, for lending money on subscription-receipts; but, by the examinations which they have taken, it appears, That Mr. Knight, the late cashier of the South-Sea company, and his under-cashier and clerks, by his directions, did lend money on the subscription-receipts, by verbal orders from the directors of the said company, and under colour of an order of a general court, made the 21st of April 1720, to empower the court of directors from time to time, as they shall see for the

Q c 2

interest

Geo. I. payment thereof, have been guilty of a notorious breach of 1720-21. trust, and have thereby occasioned great loss to the company, for

interest of the company, to lend any sum or sums of the company's money, on the company's present and to be increased capital stock; and to do all such matters and things, as they should judge most for the good of the company.

But your committee find, that by the second by-law of the said company, relating to the keeping the cash of the company, it was ordained, That the cash of the corporation should from time to time be kept under three several locks, with different wards, the keys of which to be kept, one by the cashier, and the other two by such of the governor, sub-governor, deputy-governor, or directors, as the said court should from time to time appoint, except such sum or sums as the court of directors should think necessary to let remain in the custody of the cashier; and no money relating to the trade or affairs of the said company should be disposed of, without an order of the said court of directors; and that the interest of all other advantages, arising and growing upon the cash of the said company should be brought to the account of the said company. However, it appears that the said loans on subscriptions were generally known, and never objected against, by any of the directors in a general court, or in any court of directors.

That, on the said loans on stock, the stock was transferred to persons for that purpose no-

minated, in the same manner as if the same had been absolutely sold, without any defeazance on the part of the company, or of the persons to whom the stock was transferred, for re-transferring the same, on repayment of the money; nor was any covenant or other security taken, for repayment from the borrowers, except the stock so transferred; nor doth there appear any distinction between the said transfers on loans, and the other transfers, which were made of stock absolutely purchased, on account of the company: Upon which your committee observe, that it was in the power of the persons, to whom the said pawned stock was transferred, to dispose thereof at any time, as they thought fit, when the price of stock was high, and to replace the same when it fell.

And your committee do find, that, on the 19th day of October last, the said Mr. Knight, to whom the said pawned stock was transferred, did, pursuant to an order of the court of directors, transfer stock to the amount of 2,141,867 l. 17 s. 5 d. to Sir Harcourt Masters, colonel Hugh Raymond, Edward Gibbon, and John Gore, trustees, for that purpose nominated by the court of directors, in whose names the same now remains; but the sum is 421,250 l. short of the aforesaid sum of 2,563,117 l. 17 s. 5 d. which is mentioned in the said book of loans to have been pledged for the

for which they ought to make satisfaction out of their own Geo. I.
estates. 1720-21.

3. That ———

the security of the repayment of the aforesaid sum of 9,039,936l. 11s. from which it is evident, that the said sum of 421,250 l. of the stock mortgaged or pawned on loans, as aforesaid, has been sold, or otherwise disposed of, by the trustees, or agents of the South-Sea company; and, till replaced, cannot be retransferred to those, by whom the same was pawned or mortgaged: Upon which your committee observe how easy it was for the trustees of the company to have sold the said stock, when it was at high prices, and to have replaced the same again when it fell; for on examination it appears, that there was no distinct and separate account kept of the said mortgaged and pawned stock, nor was the same any ways distinguished from the other stock of those persons, to whom it was at first transferred.

That, as to the said sum of 2,219,017 l. lent on 773,600l. subscription-receipts, it appears by the aforesaid book of loans, that the general rule of lending was at the rate of 300l. on 100l. subscription-receipts; but, excluding from the said loans on subscriptions the two great loans, the one to the million-bank, and the other to Turner and company, the loans to the other borrowers will, at an average come out above 300 l. per cent. It appears that on the first subscription-receipts, at the time of the said lending, there was paid in only from 90 l. to 120 l. per cent. and on the second subscrip-

tion-receipts generally 40l. and on some few 80l. per cent. but how much more there hath been paid in since, or whether all the said subscription-receipts on which money was lent be now remaining in the custody of any person for the security of the company, your committee cannot at present discover, the receipts not having been as yet produced to them.

That it appears that Turner and company were employed by the directors to lend out 500,000l. on subscription-receipts, and that they accordingly lent 150,000 l. on such receipts, after the rate of 190l. per cent. on the first subscription, and 40l. per cent. on the second. But, such rates being by the said directors thought too low, the said Turner and company were ordered to proceed no farther in disposing of the remaining part of the said 500,000l. and were told at the same time, that by lending at such low rates on subscriptions, they were ruining the stock. And it also appears, that Mr. Knight did issue a considerable sum to be disposed of by brokers, for the refusal of South-Sea stock at certain times, at very high prices; and likewise, that, on the declension of the price of the stock, large sums were issued to purchase stock, on account of the company, at very high prices; and part of the stock then bought appears to have belonged to some of the directors of the said company.

C c 3

And

Geo. I. 2. That the selling or disposing of stock or subscriptions, transferred or deposited as a security for the repayment of the money so lent, was a notorious breach of the trust reposed in the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, and their officers, and a fraud on the proprietors, in order to in-

And, although your committee are not yet prepared to set this matter in a full light, they cannot but observe, that the said directors, in all their proceedings in the execution of their scheme, appear to have had chiefly in view the raising and supporting the imaginary value of the stock, at an extravagant and high price, for the benefit of themselves, and those who were in the secret with them.

That, as to the aforesaid loans or subscription-receipts, it appears, there were no defeazances executed by those with whom the receipts were deposited, for a re-delivery of the same, on repayment of the money, nor any security given by the borrowers, besides the receipts by them so delivered; nor doth any thing else appear to distinguish the receipts so pledged from such receipts as were, or might have been, absolutely sold to the company; for all the said receipts were made out in one name, viz. Joseph Safford, and by his indorsement the bearer became intitled to the property thereof: Upon which your committee observe, the security of the company, as to the money lent on the said subscription-receipts, is more precarious than the loans on stock; for by the transfer-book it might appear by whom such stock was transferred; but it hath not yet appeared to your committee that any books have

been kept, or entries made, of the names of the persons to whom such loans have been made on subscription-receipts: And your committee do farther observe, That it was in the power of the persons, with whom such subscription-receipts were deposited, to sell the same at high prices, and to replace them again when the price fell. And upon the whole, it doth appear to your committee, that the said loans on stock, and on subscriptions, have been managed with the utmost negligence, with respect to the interest of the company, and were contrived for the raising and keeping up the price of stock at an extravagant height.

Before your committee concludes this report, they think it proper to observe, That it has appeared to them throughout their examination, that Mr. Knight, cashier of the South-Sea company, was principally concerned in their most secret transactions. And your committee have been informed by Sir Theodore Janssen, soon after Mr. Knight's withdrawing himself, That upon his pressing Mr. Knight, two or three days before he went away, to make a discovery of whatsoever he knew relating to the whole proceedings; Mr. Knight answered, that, if he should disclose all he knew, it would open such a scene as the world would be surprized at.

rich

rich themselves; for which they ought to make satisfaction out of their own estates. Geo. I.

1720-21.

3. That the taking in or holding of stock, by the South-Sea company, for the benefit of any member of either house of parliament, or person concerned in the administration, during the time that the company's proposals, or the bill there-to relating, were depending in parliament, without any valuable consideration paid, or sufficient security given for the acceptance of, or payment for, such stock; and the company's paying or allowing such person the difference arising by the advanced price of the stock, were corrupt, infamous, and dangerous practices, highly reflecting on the honour and justice of parliaments, and destructive of the interests of his majesty's government.

4. That any of the directors of the South-Sea company selling their own stock at high prices to the company or others, at the same time that they gave orders for buying stock upon account of the company, under pretence of keeping up the nominal value of the stock, was a scandalous practice, tending to enrich themselves, to the great loss and detriment of the company, and of others his majesty's subjects, for which they ought to make satisfaction out of their own estates.

5. That the declaring a dividend of 30 per cent. for Christmas last, and not less than 50 per cent. per ann. for not less than twelve years after, was an infamous contrivance to give his majesty's subjects false notions of the value of the stock, that the directors might more easily dispose of their stock at the exorbitant prices.

6. That the setting the stock of the South-Sea company to sale by subscriptions, at high prices, above the intrinsic value of the same, by the sub-governor, deputy-governor, and directors of the company, was a gross and notorious fraud; and has been one great cause of the sinking of the public credit, and bringing upon the nation the distress it at present labours under.

7. That the advising the sub-governor, deputy-governor, and directors of the South-Sea company, to set the stock of the company to sale by subscriptions at high and extravagant prices, or to declare the high and extravagant dividends for Christmas last, and twelve years after, by any persons in the administration, was a notorious breach of the trust reposed in them to the prejudice of his majesty's government, and the interest of the kingdom.

C c 4

8. That

Geo. I. 8. That the entry in the cash-book of the South-Sea company of 574,500l. stock, pretended to be sold for 1,213,575l. between the 4th of February 1719, and the 12th of April following, was contrived with design to conceal the names of persons, for whose benefit stock was taken in by the company.

9. That every person, for whom stock was taken in or held, such stock being part of the 574,500l. pretended to be sold by the South-Sea company, from the 4th of February 1719, to the 12 of April, without money paid, or sufficient security given for the acceptance of, and payment for, such stock, he obliged to pay to the company all such sums of money, as have been received by way of difference, or otherwise, for such stock.

10. That the addition of 250,000l. to the first Money-subscription, after it had been declared to have been opened for two millions, and the addition of 500,000l. to the second money-subscription, after it had been declared to be opened for one million, were fraudulently contrived to give corrupt advantages to particular persons, and were injurious to public credit.

Upon these resolutions, a bill was brought in, for the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South-Sea company.

Mr. Stanhope's case.

Mr. Stanhope one of the secretaries of the Treasury, having been charged, in the report of the secret committee, for having large quantities of stock and subscriptions held for him, pressed the house, that a short day might be appointed to examine the matter, that he might have an opportunity to clear himself. A day being appointed, several of the directors and others were ordered to attend, who were examined concerning the charge against him, consisting of two articles: 1. That 10,000 l. South-Sea stock was taken in for his benefit by Mr. Knight, without any valuable consideration; and that the difference, arising by the advanced price thereof had been paid him out of the cash of the South-Sea company. 2. That Turner and company had bought 50 000 l. stock, at a low price, of the South-Sea company, in the name, and for the benefit of Mr. Stanhope, the difference of the advanced price whereof, amounting to 250,000l. had been paid him by Sir George Caswal and company. To prove these articles, the secret committee caused the examinations of Sir John Blunt, Mr. Holditch, Mr. Sawbridge, Mr. Henry Blunt, and others, to be read, and those persons themselves to be examined; but some of them

them rather weakened than confirmed their former depofitions. Sir John Blunt, in particular, owned, as to the first article, that Mr. Knight had fhewn him a letter, which he told him was figned by Mr. Stanhope, defiring him to take 10,000*l.* ftock for him; but that he did not know whether that letter was genuine, nor what was become of it: And, as for the 50,000*l.* ftock transferred to the Sword-Blade company in Mr. Stanhope's name, Mr. Sawbridge and Mr. Turner owned they had made ufe of Mr. Stanhope's name without his privity or confent. After the examinations, and the animadverfions of the members of the fecret committee, Mr. Stanhope faid, 'That, for fome years paff, he had lodged all the money he was mafter of in Mr. Knight's hands, and whatever ftock Mr. Knight had taken in for him, he had paid a valuable confideration for it. And as for the 50,000*l.* he could not answer for what had been done without his confent.' When the queftion was put, whether he was concerned in the manner reprefented by the two articles, he was cleared, though by three voices only, 180 againft 177.

A few days after, Sir George Cafwal having been heard in his place, it was refolved by the commons, 'That it appeared to the houfe, that Sir George Cafwal, one of the co-partners of Turner and company, and a member of the houfe, did, on the 14th of December 1720, after the houfe had begun to inquire into the conduct of the directors of the South-Sea company, order Daniel Watkins, one of the book-keepers of Turner and company, to erase, in feveral places of the books, the name of Stanhope, and to make the fame Stangape, which was accordingly done. After this and fome other refolutions concerning him, a bill was ordered to be brought in, to make the eftates real and perfonal of Sir George Cafwal, Jacob Sawbridge, and Elias Turner, answerable for 250,000*l.* to the South-Sea company, the advanced price of the forementioned 50,000*l.* South-Sea ftock.

The cafe of the earl of Sunderland was alfo taken into confideration. By the report of the fecret committee it appeared, that 50,000*l.* ftock had been taken by Mr. Knight for the earl's ufe, without any thing paid, or fecurity given for payment for the fame. The houfe feemed to be intent upon the inquiry: A warm difpute arofe, and much was faid for and againft him: But, upon the queftion, the vote paffed in his favour, by a majority of 233 againft 132. Notwithstanding this, it was generally thought, the fecret committee

Geo. I.
1720-21.

The earl of
Sunderland's
cafe.

Geo. I. mittee would not have accused the prime minister, if the charge had not been at least probable. The earl did not lose the confidence of his master, though he resigned his post of first commissioner of the treasury, which was given to Mr. Walpole, as one of the most capable to hold it in such critical circumstances.

Mr. Aislabbie expelled the house.

Mr. Aislabbie did not escape so well as the earl of Sunderland. When that part of the report of the secret committee which related to Mr. Aislabbie, came to be considered, Mr. Hawes's deposition against him, 'That he had caused the book of accounts between them to be burnt, and given him a discharge for the balance, amounting to 842,000 l.' appeared so strong, that the commons came to several resolutions against him, particularly, that he had promoted the destructive execution of the South-Sea scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of the public credit; and therefore he was expelled the house, and ordered to be committed to the Tower.

Mr. Craggs sen, dies.

Mr. Craggs would have been called to an account on the 17th of March, but he happened to die the day before of a lethargic fit, leaving behind him an immense estate to be divided among his three daughters, who were married to three members of parliament, Mr. Trefusis, Mr. Newsham, and Mr. Elliot. About six weeks after his death, the commons having taken Mr. Craggs's affair into consideration, it was resolved, that a large quantity of South-Sea stock had been held by the company for his use, and that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and some of the directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices; and therefore that all the estate he was possessed of from the 1st of December 1719, should be applied towards the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South-Sea.

Allowances to the South-Sea directors out of their estates.

The directors having delivered in the inventories of their estates, it was debated what allowances should be given them. Mr. Lowndes proposed an eighth part: But it was objected, such an allowance would be too much for some who had the largest estates, and consequently had been deepest in the guilt; and too little for others who had but small estates, and were only passively criminal, by not entering their dissent to the fraudulent management of the rest. It was at last agreed, that the affair of each director should be particularly considered, and more or less favour shewn, according as they should appear more or less guilty. The commons began with the sub and deputy-governors, and proceeded alphabetically

ally to the rest. The value of their estates, as given in Geo. I. upon oath, amounted to about 2,014,000*l.* of which 1720-21, 334,000*l.* was left to the proprietors (a).

Mr.

(a) The debates in the grand committee about settling the allowances were as follows :

They began with Sir John Fellows, the sub-governor, in whose behalf Mr. Sloper moved, 'That, since it did not appear that he had been so active in the late vile and pernicious practice, as some others, he might be allowed 20,000*l.* out of his estate.' Mr. Hungerford reduced it to 15,000*l.* others to 12,000*l.* and Mr. Walpole having at last proposed 10,000*l.* it was agreed to without any division. Mr. Joye, the deputy-governor, appearing to have been deeply concerned in the guilt, it was agreed to allow him 5,000*l.* The same sum was allowed Mr. Astell: And the question being put to allow Sir Lambert Blackwell, 10,000*l.* some proposing only 5,000*l.* it was carried for the former by a majority of four voices, one hundred and twelve against one hundred and eight. The allowance to Sir John Blunt occasioned a long debate. Mr. Laurence Carter moved to allow him one shilling only; the lord James Cavendish, 1,000*l.* Mr. Plummer, 5,000*l.* Sir Joseph Jekyll, 10,000*l.* which was seconded by general Rosse, the lord Molesworth, Mr. Jessfres, and Mr. Windfor: But Mr. Sloper, Mr. John Smith, Mr. Horace Walpole, and Mr. Milner, were of opinion, that he ought to be most severely punished. Mr. Sloper said, That he was grown to that height of

pride and insolence, that he could not give a civil answer to persons far above him; instancing in his behaviour one day at the Treasury, when a relation of a great man asking Sir John in his (Mr. Sloper's) hearing, for a subscription, Sir John, with a great deal of contempt, bid him 'go to his cousin Walpole, and desire him to sell his stock in the Bank, and by that means he might be supplied.' Mr. Walpole entered fully into Sir John Blunt's life and character, and shewed, that he had been a projector of many years standing, and had been the author of several fallacious schemes by which unwary people had been drawn into their utter ruin, particularly in a project for the linen manufacture. To this Mr. Horace Walpole added, 'That was not the first; for there was a gentleman, who sat next to him, meaning Mr. Jessop, whom Sir John Blunt had drawn into a project for bringing water to London from a great distance, which was to out-do the New-River water; by which the subscribers lost all their money, though Sir John himself got some thousands by it:' This Mr. Jessop confirmed. However, the lord Hinchinbroke moved for allowing Sir John Blunt 10,000*l.* but the question being put for allowing him 1,000*l.* it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of one hundred thirty-eight against ninety-four.

The

Geo. I. Mr. Aislavie's affair occasioned debates proportionable to
 1721. his great riches, and the multitude of his friends. He was

The next allowance in debate was for Sir Robert Chaplin, for whom the lord Molesworth, Sir John Eyles, and other members spoke; and it was agreed, without dividing, to allow him 10,000 l. The same allowance was given to Sir William Chapman, Mr. Chester, and Mr. Child. A motion being made to give Mr De la Porte the like sum, the lord Molesworth was for reducing it to 7,000 l. but upon the question it was carried for 10,000 l. by a majority of one hundred and fifty against sixty-nine. The case of Sir Francis Eyles appearing in so favourable a light, that he was allowed 20,000 l. without dividing. Mr. Edmondson's estate amounting to little more than 5,000 l. it was moved to allow him the whole, and leave him out of the bill; but, after some debate, it was agreed to allow him only 3,000 l. The question being put to allow Mr. Gibbon 15,000 or 10,000 l. it was carried for the latter without dividing. It appearing, that Sir William Hammond and Mr. Gore had little or no share in the fraudulent contrivances of the leading directors, Mr. Gore was allowed 20,000 l. and Sir William Hammond 10,000 l. It was proposed to give Mr. Hawes, late receiver-general of the customs, 1,000 l. But, Sir Nathaniel Gould, and some other members, having observed, that he was very active in the late vile practices, and had occasioned the ruin of many peo-

ple. Mr. Docminique moved, and it was agreed to allow him only 31 l. the odd money of his inventory. Several members spoke in favour of Mr. Horsey, particularly the lord Hinchinbroke and Sir Robert Rich, who moved for allowing him 10,000 l. which was carried without a division. It was then debated, whether to allow Mr. Holditch 500 l. 1,000 l. or 5,000 l. The voices were equally divided, eighty-six and eighty-six; upon which Mr. Clayton, the chairman, gave the casting vote for 5,000 l. which met with general approbation. Mr. Horace Walpole and Sir Richard Steele spoke in favour of Sir Theodore Janssen, and were answered by general Rossie and the master of the rolls. But, after a small debate, Mr. Trenchard moved for allowing him 50,000 l. which was carried by a majority of one hundred and thirty-four voices against one hundred and eighteen. Sir Jacob Jacobson's case coming next under consideration, Mr. Hungerford moved for allowing him 11,000 l. which was all his estate, except 481 l. and it was agreed to without a negative. Mr. Ingram's case being much the same, Mr. Pulteny moved for allowing him 12,000 l. near three parts in four of his estate; and, being seconded by the lord Hinchinbroke, it was carried without dividing. Sir John Lambert was allowed 5,000 l. without a division, as was Sir Harcourt Masters; and Mr. Morley 1,800 l.

allowed all the estate he was possessed of on the 20th of Geo. I. October 1718. His country-house, gardens, and park, with his wife's jewels, and household goods, were all excepted from the forfeiture. 1721.

Soon after, an act passed for raising money upon the estates of the sub and deputy-governors, cashier, deputy-cashier, and accountant of the South-Sea company, and of Mr. Aislable and Mr. Craggs, towards making good the damages sustained by the company, and for disabling such of these persons,

1,800l. near his whole estate. Mr. Page had an allowance of 10,000l. without dividing. Mr. Heysham moved for allowing colonel Raymond 30,000l. and, being seconded by Mr. Tufnel, the attorney-general, and Mr. Hungerford, no opposition was made to that motion. Mr. Sloper moved for allowing Mr. Read 10,000l. He was seconded by Sir John Ward and Mr. Docminique, and the motion carried without a debate; as was the allowance of 14,000l. to Mr. Reynolds. Mr. Hungerford moved for allowing Mr. Sawbridge 10,000l. and was opposed by Mr. Lowndes, the lord Moleworth, Sir Adolphus Oughton, and Mr. Horace Walpole. But another member moving for 5,000l. it was agreed to without a division. Mr. Tilard had in like manner an allowance of 15,000l. and Mr. Turner 8,00l. which was near his whole estate. The case of Mr. Surman, the deputy-cashier, occasioned a debate of about an hour and a half. He had not the best character amongst the offenders; but, acting only as a servant, and by the command of Mr. Knight, or the directors, several members thought there

should be a mitigation in his punishment, as there was in his crime. Mr. Grey Nevill strenuously insisted, that he might be left out of the bill. Another member moved to allow him 30,000l. Mr. Hungerford would have reduced it to 20,000l. Mr. Lechmere to 12,000l. and two other members to 10,000 and 5,000l. All these were opposed by Sir Joseph Jekyll, serjeant Pengelly, and Mr. Horace Walpole, who would not have allowed him above 20 or 30l. but at last the question being put for allowing him 5,000l. it was agreed to without dividing. Mr. Arthur Moore moved for allowing John Grigsby, accountant to the South-Sea company, 10,000l. But another member said, 'That, since that upstart was once so prodigally vain, as to bid his coachman feed his horses with gold, no doubt but he could feed on it himself: And therefore he moved he might be allowed as much gold as he could eat; and that the rest of the estate might go towards the relief of the sufferers.' However, a motion being made for allowing him 2,000l. it was carried without dividing.

The

Geo. I. sons, as were living, to hold any place, or sit in parliament 1721. for the future.

The following of the estates and allowances were as follows :

	Inventories.				Allowances.			
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>q.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Sir John Fellows, sub governor	243,096	00	06		10,000	00	0	
Mr. Charles Joye, deputy-gov.	40,105	02	00		5,000	00	0	
Mr. Astell	27,750	19	08 $\frac{1}{2}$		5,000	00	0	
Sir John Blunt	183,349	10	08 $\frac{1}{4}$		1,000	00	0	
Sir Lambert Blackwell	83,529	17	11		10,000	00	0	
Sir Roger Chaplin	45,875	14	05		10,000	00	0	
Sir William Chapman	39,161	06	08 $\frac{1}{2}$		10,000	00	0	
Mr. Chester	140,372	15	06		10,000	00	0	
Mr. Child	52,437	19	01		10,000	00	0	
Mr. Delaport	17,151	04	06		10,000	00	0	
Mr. Eyles	34,329	16	07		20,000	00	0	
Mr. Edmondson	5,365	00	00		3,000	00	0	
Mr. Gibbon	106,543	05	06		10,000	00	0	
Mr. Gore	38,936	15	05		20,000	00	0	
Mr. Hawes	40,031	00	02 $\frac{1}{4}$		31	00	2	
Sir William Hammond	22,707	04	02		10,000	00	0	
Mr. Horfey	19,962	05	03		10,000	00	0	
Mr. Holditch	39,527	10	04		5,000	00	0	
Sir Theodore Janssen	243,244	05	11		50,000	00	0	
Sir Jacob Jacobson	11,481	04	00		11,000	00	0	
Mr. Ingram	16,795	00	00		12,000	00	0	
Sir John Lambert	72,508	01	05		5,000	00	0	
Sir Harcourt Masters	11,814	12	03 $\frac{1}{2}$		5,000	00	0	
Mr. Morley	1,869	10	03		1,800	00	0	
Mr. Page	34,817	12	03		10,000	00	0	
Mr. Raymond	64,373	06	03		30,000	00	0	
Mr. Read	117,297	16	00		10,000	00	0	
Mr. Reynolds	18,368	13	02		14,000	00	0	
Mr. Sawbridge	77,254	01	08		5,000	00	0	
Mr. Tillard	19,175	14	04		15,000	00	0	
Mr. Turner	881	17	06		800	00	0	
Mr. Surman, deputy-cashier	121,321	10	00		5,000	00	0	
Mr. Grigsby	31,687	06	00		2,000	00	0	

Some alterations were afterwards made in these allowances. Mr. Astell had 10,000 l. instead of 5,000 l. Sir John Blunt 5000 l. instead of 1,000 l. Sir Lambert Blackwell 15,000 l.

instead of 10,000 l. and Mr. Hawes 5,000 l. instead of 31 l. A motion was made, to reduce Sir Theodore Janssen's allowance to 30,000 l. but it was rejected.

When

When the motion was made in the house of commons Geo. I. for joining Mr. Aislaby in the same bill with the directors, 1721. his friends represented the hardship of putting a man of his eminence on the same level with them, and the danger of such a president : But it was to no purpose, for the motion was approved. Mr. Aislaby, when the bill was depending in the house of lords, petitioned to be heard by his council. He was himself heard at their bar, and made two very long and eloquent speeches in his defence, but they met with more applause than success, for the bill passed as sent up by the commons.

After these proceedings against the managers of the South-Sea scheme, the commons, with the same moderation and wisdom, applied themselves to repair the mischiefs that scheme had produced, and at several times came to the following resolutions :

Resolutions
in favour of
the South
Sea sufferers.

I. That, for the re-establishing of public credit, relief be given to the South-Sea company, with regard to the payment of the 4,156,306 l. and the four years and half's purchase on the annuities and other national debts, the company giving such consideration to the proprietors, as the house shall think proper.

II. That, in order to put an end to all disputes between the company and the proprietors of the redeemable funds, and of the second, third, and fourth money-subscriptions, who have stock allowed them at 400 l. per cent. with the Midsummer dividend, an addition of 33 l. 6 s. 8 d. be given to the proprietors by the company.

III. That the seven millions, payable to the public by the company, be remitted so, as, from the 24th of June 1722, two millions of the stock be annihilated, and a proportionable part of their annuity or yearly fund, from that time, cease.

IV. That the second subscription of the irredeemables be made equal to the first, by an addition of stock at 150 l. per cent.

V. That all the stock belonging to the company, which, after the proposed distribution, shall remain undisposed of, shall be divided among the proprietors.

VI. That such persons as have borrowed money of the company upon South-Sea stock, or upon subscription receipts, shall, upon payment of 10 l. per cent. be discharged from all future demands.

VII. That all contracts for the sale or purchase of subscriptions or stock of the South-Sea company, or any other, which

Geo. I. which shall be performed before the 29th of September 1721. next, be entered in books before the 1st of November next, or else be void.

VIII. That no special bail be required for any action brought upon any contract, since the 1st of December 1719, for the sale or purchase of any subscription or stock.

IX. That no execution be awarded, or any judgment obtained in any such action, till the end of the session of parliament, which shall be next after the 29th of September ensuing.

X. That all contracts for the sale, or purchase of any subscription or stock, unperformed before the 29th of September next, where the seller, or the person on whose behalf such contract was made, was not, at the time of such contract, or within a time to be limited, actually possessed of or intitled to such subscription or stock, shall be declared null and void.

With these resolutions, the commons presented to the king an address, demonstrating both the necessity and wisdom of their proceedings, and which deserves to be inserted at large :

‘ We your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great-Britain in parliament assembled, being sensibly affected with the misery and calamities, that have befallen great numbers of your majesty’s faithful subjects, occasioned by the heavy losses they have sustained, from the fatal execution of the South-Sea scheme ; and taking into our serious consideration the low state of public and private credit, which it seems impossible to us should ever revive under the present uncertain and unsettled posture of affairs, have come to several resolutions, which we humbly beg leave to lay before your majesty.

When we first entered upon the consideration of this extensive and perplexed affair, we thought it most adviseable to leave every man’s property to be determined by due course of law, and were of opinion, that no relief or abatement could properly be prescribed or given, but from the South-Sea company. But, the discontents of the people daily increasing, and the uncertain and doubtful events, that threatened very great and valuable properties, creating such infinite anxieties and dissatisfaction, as had a most fatal and general influence upon all public and private credit, the interposition of parliament became unavoidable, and we found ourselves under a necessity

necessity of resuming the consideration of this nice and intricate matter, and to endeavour to remove, as far as possible, the chief and greatest inconveniencies.

The greatest difficulty in remedying these mischiefs seemed to arise from the several contending interests engaged in the South-Sea company, which made it impossible to give relief to some but at the expence of others: And as all the new proprietors, as well those concerned in the public funds, as the other adventurers, were equally imposed upon by the artifices of the late directors, and equally drawn in by their own too great credulity and desire of gain; to have discharged any particular sett had been not only an injustice to the rest, but, by dissolving the whole system, had involved them in utter ruin, which made a distribution of losses, and some abatement to all, absolutely necessary. It was indeed very much to be wished, that such ease could have been given to the proprietors of the public debts, as would have made their property as valuable to them, as they had enjoyed it for many years: But, as they had voluntarily consented to take stock at some rate or other, even at the time when they saw the stock raised to the highest pitch, the giving stock at one and the same place to them and all others, that were most immediately concerned, make the provision as just and equitable, as the nature of the thing will admit; it being impracticable, so far to reconcile the different interests in this general concern, as to make the conditions of those equal, that had engaged themselves at different rates, and upon unequal terms.

The great and principal mischiefs arose from several concurring circumstances; from the hard terms of most of the proprietors, occasioned by the high prices at which they had purchased stock, or the excessive rates, at which, as well the proprietors of public debts, as the money-subscribers, had obliged themselves to take stock; from the demand of above seven millions, payable to the public, which could only be raised out of the properties of those, that were already too great sufferers, and which rendered the company incapable of giving them any further ease or relief; from the disputes and contests at law, which were preparing to be carried on, not only between the company and the subscribers of the redeemable funds, but between infinite numbers of private persons, engaged in contracts for the sale and purchase of stock and subscriptions; from the impossibility of the money-subscribers making any farther payments; from the great loss the company had sustained by the late directors, having lent

Geo. I. out above eleven millions of the company's money, without
 1721. any, or without sufficient security; and from the very little
 ——— prospect of recovering any considerable part thereof; without
 which it was impossible for the company to comply with the
 demand of the public, but at the infinite expence and insup-
 portable loss of all their adventures, which must have
 proved destructive to the trade and credit of the king-
 dom.

These considerations induced us to come to the foregoing
 resolutions; being, as we conceive, the most proper means
 to give relief to such of their proprietors, as most wanted
 and deserved it; to put an end to all disputes at law; and to
 fix, settle and ascertain the several proprietors, and interests
 of all persons concerned with the South-Sea company; to
 deliver infinite numbers of your majesty's good subjects from
 the apprehension of vexatious law-suits and prosecutions, and
 from the farther demand of such excessive sums of money, as
 must sink and depress all public and private credit.

And as the greatest mischiefs, which we now so justly
 complain of have arisen from the unwarrantable methods
 used by the late directors of the South-Sea company, in
 selling and disposing of such part of their increased capital
 stock, as belonged to the company; to remove such a founda-
 tion of stock-jobbing; and to prevent the like fatal con-
 sequences for the future, we thought it necessary to take
 care, that all the increased capital stock belonging to the
 company, which, after the proposed distribution is made,
 shall remain undisposed or be divided among all the pro-
 prietors of the company, in proportion to their several and
 respective interests.

These resolutions, if passed into a law, and duly put in
 execution, we humbly hope will tend very much to the re-
 establishing of public credit, to the quieting of the minds of
 your majesty's subjects, and contribute to the ease and relief
 of great numbers, though not sufficient to give satisfaction
 to, or repair the losses of all that are unhappily involved in
 the present calamity.

But, as the antient usage and established rules of parlia-
 ment make it impracticable for us to prepare bills for the
 royal assent, during the present session of parliament, for
 some of the purposes contained in our resolutions, we have
 humbly presumed to lay the same before your majesty for your
 royal consideration; not doubting but that your majesty will,
 out of your great wisdom and accustomed grace and goodness
 to your people, as soon as the public and private bills, now de-

depending in parliament, shall be dispatched, give us an early opportunity of perfecting this great and necessary work.

Geo. I.
1721.

The king returned for answer, 'That he had such an entire confidence in the parliament's duty and affection to him, and their zeal for the public service, that he should very readily comply with what they desired, and would soon give them opportunity of doing what they proposed for settling and establishing the credit of the kingdom.'

The next day being the 29th of July, the king came to the house of peers, and, passing the bills that were ready, the lord chancellor prorogued the parliament for two days only, to the last of July, when the king came again to the house of lords, and made the following speech:

A prorogation of two days only.

The parliament meets again.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" **T**HE occasion of my calling you together again, so suddenly, is to give you an opportunity of resuming the consideration of the state of public credit.

" Gentlemen of the house of commons,

" The progress, that you made in this affair during the last session, laid such a foundation of this necessary work, that the world is fully apprised of what is reasonably to be hoped for at this present conjuncture.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I must recommend to you, all possible dispatch, and am persuaded, that at this season of the year your deliberation will be confined to what is absolutely necessary upon this extraordinary occasion."

Pursuant to this short speech, the commons came again to their former resolution, and ordered a bill to be brought in under the title of, ' a bill for making provisions to restore public credit, which suffered by the frauds and mismanagement of the late South-Sea directors and others.'

An Act in favour of the South Sea sufferers.

This bill was formed upon the forementioned resolutions, and it may here be observed, that the whole capital stock, at the end of the year 1720, amounted to above 37,800,000*l*. and the stock, allotted to all the proprietors in their several shares, did not amount to 24,500,000*l*. The remaining capital stock, being about 13,300,000*l*. belonged to the

Remarks on the act.

Geo. I. company in their corporate capacity, and was the profit arising from the execution of the South-Sea scheme, and out of which the seven millions was to be paid to the public.

When this scheme was blown up, and the calamities and ruin attending numberless families appeared, the parliament, in favour of the unhappy sufferers, by the present act directed several additions to be made to the stock of the proprietors out of the stock possessed by the company, in their own right, and made a particular distribution of stock which amounted to above 2,200,000*l.* and upon remitting five millions of the seven, that was to be paid to the public, annihilated two millions of their capital, which was insisting upon the payment of two millions: Then they enacted, that, after these distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among all the proprietors, which came to 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent. and this took from the company above 8,900,000*l.*

There was then due, and owing to the company, above eleven millions for money lent by them on stock unredeemed, and of this the parliament discharged all the debtors to the company upon paying 10*l.* per cent. (which some did comply with, and others refused) and the loss to the company was upon this article above 6,900,000*l.*

This act gave some relief to the sufferers, and the cries and lamentations of undone multitudes were less heard, but the proprietors of the stock loudly complained of the two millions taken from them: Upon which (as will hereafter be related) the parliament, in 1723, revived the two millions that had been annihilated, and directed it to be distributed among the proprietors, which made an addition of 6*l.* 5*s.* to every man's capital.

Petitions
and Pam-
phlets
against the
South-Sea
directors
and others.

Whilst the affair of the South-Sea was depending in parliament, petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, were sent up, crying for justice, and pamphlets were daily published, exasperating the minds of the people against the South-Sea directors and their abettors. But the loudest cries for justice were contained in letters directed to the author of the London Journal, and supposed to have been mostly penned by Mr. Gordon, under the borrowed name of Cato (a).

The

(a) A committee was appointed to inquire into the authors, printers, and publishers of seditious libels. They sent for Mr. Peele, publisher of the

London Journal, and for the reputed author of the letters, but they both kept out of the way. Mist, the printer and publisher of a Weekly Journal, was

Geo. I.

1721.

General
court of the
South-Sea,
Sept. 1.

The affairs of the South-Sea being thus settled, the company were soon in condition to satisfy their engagements with the public. On the 1st of September a general court was held, which Sir John Eyles, the sub-governor, opened with a speech, setting forth the regulations of the parliament, without which the directors would have been involved in difficulties insuperable, and confusions without end. He enlarged upon his majesty's care of their interests in the late treaties with Spain, and upon the advantages that might be gained by the Assiento Contract, to which end the directors were fitting out the Royal George, whose cargo amounting to 280,000*l.* was provided. He acquainted them with the intention of carrying on a trade hitherto not meddled with by the company, the Greenland trade, so beneficial to Holland and Hamburgh. He then told them, that the forfeited estates of the late directors, and the 10*l.* per cent. on the borrowed stock, with some other particulars, were abundantly sufficient for discharging the debts of the company, and maintaining the credit of their bonds: That therefore the directors had discharged part of the bonds due at Christmas, and hoped to give a speedy determination to the rest, that so their credit might be established on a solid foot: That the court of directors had also resolved to divide (if thought fit) 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* in stock upon the present capital. That, as all the remaining stock was by act of parliament, to be divided equally among the proprietors, the directors had, in great measure, executed that appointment, amounting, upon a calculation, to 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* upon every 100*l.* capital. After this, he mentioned the company's being empowered, by a late act, to ingraft part of their stock into the capitals of the Bank and East-India; but, as the act for restoring the public credit had adjusted the concerns of the company upon a new foot, he only barely mentioned the ingraftment.

This speech met with applause, not only in the court, but from the public; and the matters contained in it were agreed

was, for reflections cast on the king for his interpositions on behalf of the Protestants in the Palatinate, sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay a fine of fifty pounds, and after three months imprisonment to give security for his good behaviour seven years. His Journal was carried

on under the title of Fog's, and two months after (May 27) was censured again by the commons as a traiterous libel, tending to alienate the affections of his majesty's subjects, and excite rebellion. However, the Journal continued many years afterwards.

D d 3

10

Geo. I. 1721. to, except the affair of the ingraftment, which was let rest. At this court it was unanimously resolved, that the directors should take the most effectual measures to oblige the Bank to stand to their contract, for taking stock at 400l. per cent. in lieu of the 3,775,000 l. the company was to have paid them; and the contract was ordered to be registered.

During these proceedings concerning the affairs of the South-Sea company, the following transactions passed in the parliament.

Hell fire
club.

There was formed (at least, it was pretended so) a scandalous society at London, with the shocking name of the Hell-Fire-Club. The members whereof were guilty of the like extravagancies with the Mohocks, formerly mentioned. Several persons of quality, particularly the duke of Wharton, were marked out as belonging to this club. The king, being informed of their wicked proceedings, published a proclamation (April 29) against blasphemous and scandalous clubs, declaring, he was determined to shew all marks of displeasure to any, who even lay under the suspicion of such destructive practices. He gave orders also to the officers of his household, to make strict inquiry, whether any of his servants were guilty of such horrid impieties. The same day this order was given, the earl of Nottingham, who had lately answered Mr. Whiston's tenets about the Trinity (b), took this

(b) About the latter end of March, a full convocation of the university of Oxford unanimously resolved, That the solemn thanks of the university should be returned to the earl of Nottingham, for his most noble defence of the Christian Faith, contained in his answer to Mr. Whiston's letter to him, 'concerning the eternity of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost.' It was also agreed, that Dr. Shippen, the vice-chancellor, with their representatives, Mr. Bromley and Dr. Clarke, should wait upon the earl with their thanks. The example of the university was followed by the clergy, at the visitations held for the diocese of

Oxford, at Witney, Chipping Norton, and Henley. The archdeacon of Hereford, and forty-five of the clergy, signed an address of thanks to the earl, wherein they hinted, that he had asserted the convocation to be a part of the parliament. The same was done likewise by the clergy of Chester and Shropshire. About the same time Mr. Joseph Hall, mace-bearer to the King, and justice of the peace, was sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay 200l. fine, to lie three months in prison, and give security also for seven years, for his 'sober reply to Mr. Higgs's merry argument for the Trinithestical Doctrine of the Trinity.'

In

this occasion to complain, in the house of lords, of the growth of atheism, profaneness, and immorality. Upon this, Dr. Verney, lord Willoughby of Brooke, dean of Windsor, brought in a bill for suppressing of blasphemy and profaneness. It contained several articles, which had little relation to the practices complained of, and was chiefly designed to secure the belief of the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, and restrain the liberty granted by the laws of the former session to the non-conformists. The substance of it was :

Geo. I.
1721.

A bill
against blas-
phemy and
profaneness.

I. If any one spoke or writ against the Being of God, the Divinity of Jesus Christ, or the Holy Ghost, or the Doctrine of the Trinity, as set forth in the thirty-nine articles, or the Truth of the Christian Religion, or the Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures, he should, upon conviction, be imprisoned many months, unless he should within such a time, publicly renounce his error, in a form prescribed.

II. If any preacher in a separate congregation should deny any of the fundamental articles of the Christian Religion, he should be deprived of the benefit of the act of Toleration.

III. The archbishops in their provinces, and every bishop in his diocese, should be authorized to summon any person in holy orders, to appear before, and subscribe the declaration abovementioned, and upon refusal, such person should be incapable to hold any ecclesiastical benefice.

IV. The justices at their quarter-sessions are authorized, in like manner, to summon any dissenting preacher, and, upon his refusal to subscribe the declaration of Faith, he should be deprived of the benefit of the act of Toleration.

At the second reading of this bill (May 2) all the lords out London being summoned to attend, the archbishop moved to have it committed. Upon which the lord Onslow

In May the king published directions to the archbishops and bishops, for the preservation of unity in the church, and the purity of the Christian Faith, particularly in the doctrine of the Trinity. They were required to see ' That no preacher whatsoever, in his sermon, or lecture, do presume to deliver any other doctrine, concerning the great and fundamental

truths of our most holy religion, and particularly concerning the blessed Trinity, than what are contained in the Holy Scriptures, and are agreeable to the three creeds, and the thirty-nine articles of religion.' All persons denying one of the Persons in the Trinity to be God, &c. were to be incapable of any office, and to suffer imprisonment three years.

D d 4

said :

Geo. I. said : ' He was as much against blasphemy, and for promoting religion as it is professed in the Church of England, as any body ; but he could not be for any law, that was for persecution, of which nature he took this bill to be ; and therefore he moved, that it might be thrown out.' He was seconded by the duke of Wharton, who said ' He was not insensible of the common talk and opinion of the town concerning himself ; and therefore he was glad of this opportunity to justify himself by declaring, he was far from being a patron of blasphemy, or any enemy to religion ; but, on the other hand, he could not be for this bill, because he conceived it to be repugnant to the holy scripture.' Then, taking an old family Bible out of his pocket, he quoted and read several passages of the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul ; concluding, That the bill might be thrown out. He was supported by the duke of Argyle, and the earls of Sunderland and Ilay, the lord Townshend, and earl Cowper. The earl of Peterborough said, ' Though he was for a parliamentary king, yet he did not desire to have a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion : And, if the house were for such a one, he would go to Rome, and endeavour to be chosen a cardinal ; for he had rather sit in the conclave, than with their lordships upon those terms.' Dr. Kennet, bishop of Peterborough, spoke likewise on the same side, and said, ' That neither himself, nor, he hoped, any of that bench, would be executioners of such a law, which seemed to tend to the setting up of an inquisition.' On the other hand, the earl of Nottingham, the lord Bathurst, the bishops of London, Winchester, Litchfield and Coventry, and some others, spoke for the bill ; as did likewise the lord Trevor. One of these having said, ' That he verily believed, the present calamity, occasioned by the South-Sea project, was a judgment of God on the blasphemy and profaneness the nation was guilty of : ' The lord Onslow replied, ' That noble peer must then have been a great sinner ; for he heard he had lost considerably by the South-Sea.' After some other speeches, the bill was put off to a long day, by a majority of 60 voices against 31.

Debate
about the
Subsidy to
Sweden.

The supplies were, contrary to custom, granted very late, and not with the usual readiness. The king, not to increase the ill humour, had not mentioned subsidy he was obliged, by the last year's treaty, to give Sweden for her support against Russia. However on the 16th of June, he thought proper to send the following message to the house of commons :

' His

‘ His majesty, having taken the first opportunity, upon the death of the late king of Sweden, to renew the ancient alliances between this kingdom and Sweden, and having stipulated by a treaty to pay a subsidy to that crown, hath ordered that treaty to be laid before the house of commons; and hopes from their known zeal and affection for the Protestant religion, and the true interest of their country, that they will enable him to make good the engagements he has entered into upon this occasion. Geo. I.
1721.

His majesty being informed, that two ships called the Bristol Merchant and Turkey Merchant (now lying under quarantine) did arrive from Cyprus, and other Parts of Turkey, infected with the plague, and have cotton wool and other goods on board, which are dangerous to spread the infection; and conceiving it necessary for the preservation of the health of his subjects, that these ships and their loadings be burnt and destroyed, and that a reasonable satisfaction be given to the owners, hath, by the advice of his privy-council, caused the value thereof to be computed by his majesty's officers, and ordered those computations to be laid before the house of commons, that provision may be made for satisfying the same.’

This message occasioned a long debate. Mr. Shippen, Sir William Windham, Sir Joseph Jekyll, the lord Moleworth, Mr. Butler, and some others, desired to know, ‘ Whether we were to give 72,000*l*. (for that was the subsidy) to Sweden, besides the maintaining a great fleet, with six thousand seamen, in the Baltic, which they thought a sufficient charge to the nation, without paying so great a subsidy? Urging, that, before this last treaty with Sweden, there had been a rupture between the two nations, and hostilities, and great depredations committed by the Swedish privateers on our merchants; so that, before any subsidy be given to that crown, accounts ought first to be stated and settled, and it might appear upon the balance, that Sweden is indebted to us.’ To this it was answered by Mr. Walpole and his brother, Mr. Lechmere, the lord Barrington, and some others, ‘ That the subsidy allowed to Sweden by this last treaty, and the squadron sent to their assistance, was no more than had been stipulated by former engagements; but that the subsidy was not like to be demanded any more, the preliminaries of the peace between the czar of Muscovy and the crown of Sweden being in a manner settled. Neither did the king desire any new tax for it, the land and malt-tax being sufficient to answer all this year's expence.’ Mr. Walpole

Geo. I.
1721.

pole added, ' He was extremely glad, he could at the same time acquaint the house, that his majesty's endeavours to procure a general peace had been so successful, that an advantageous treaty with Spain was actually agreed on and signed.' The lord Moleworth observed, ' That he would go as far as any man to maintain and support the honour and dignity of the crown of Great-Britain ; but that, on the other hand, he was not for squandering away unnecessarily the small remainder of the wealth of the nation. That by our late conduct we were become the allies of the whole world, and the bubbles of all our allies; but, when we have occasion for our allies, we are obliged to pay them well.' And to that purpose he instanced in the Dutch troops, that came over to our assistance in the rebellion in 1715. He added, ' That as to our alliances with Sweden, it was a matter of great intricacy and nicety, because the treaties, which England has in divers times made with Sweden, are partly contradictory.' He then entered into a detail of the treaties of Roschild and Travendal made in the reigns of king Charles II. and William III. ' That the engagements lately entered into with the crown of Sweden were likewise, in some measure, contrary to the treaties subsisting with Denmark ; particularly as to the securing to the duke of Holstein the duchy of Sleswick ; and directly opposite to the measures formerly concerted with the czar of Muscovy, in order to engage him to check the fierceness and ambition of the late king of Sweden : And therefore, in order to engage the czar to yield what he had gained, it were but just, that the king of Prussia should give up Stettin, and the elector of Hanover, Bremen and Verden. He owned, that the distressed condition, to which the Swedes had been reduced, was really worthy of compassion: But that, on the other hand, it must be considered, they had been, in great measure, the authors of their own misfortunes, by their tame submission to a despotic tyrannical prince, and by sacrificing their whole substance to enable him to carry on his unjust, rash, and ambitious designs; and that any nation, who followed their example, deserved the same fate. To this purpose he took notice of the hard usage of the subjects of Mechlenburg from their prince, which he insinuated to have been one of the causes of the late rupture with the czar ; but that, after all, England ought not to intermeddle with the affairs of the empire : That the getting naval stores for our shipping was the main advantage we reaped from our trading in the Baltic: And he owned, that hemp was a very necessary commodity, particularly at
this

this juncture; but that, if due encouragement were given to some of our plantations in America, we might be supplied from thence at a much cheaper rate than from Sweden and Norway.' Mr. Lechmere distinguished himself also on this occasion; but the subsidy was at last granted by a majority of 197 against 136. A supply was also given to satisfy the owners of the ships that were to be burnt, on account of their being suspected to be infectious.

Notwithstanding this warm debate about the Swedish subsidy, the king sent, about three Weeks after, another message to the commons, relating to the debts of the civil list.

'His majesty finds it necessary to acquaint his loyal house of commons with the difficulties he labours under, by reason of debts contracted in his civil government; which, being computed at Lady-Day last, do amount to more than 550,000*l*.

Geo. I.
1721.
A tax on
the civil list
revenues.

If the provision, made by an act of the last session of parliament for discharging this debt had not hitherto proved in a very great degree ineffectual, his majesty had not been under a necessity of applying again to parliament upon this occasion. But being resolved to cause a retrenchment to be made of his civil list expences for the future, and finding, that such a retrenchment cannot well be effected, without discharging the present arrears, has ordered the accounts thereof to be laid before the house, and hopes he may be empowered to raise ready money for that purpose on the civil list revenues, which to avoid laying any new burden on his people, his majesty proposes shall be replaced to the civil list, and reimbursed by a deduction to be made out of the salaries and wages of all officers, and the pensions, and other payments from the crown.' After the reading of this message, Mr. Shippen stood up, and made a long speech, wherein he took notice of 'this new and unusual method of asking for money, not from the throne, and at the beginning of a session, as it had always been the custom in the former reigns; but now, by a message, towards the end of the session, when most of the members were gone home. Look round the house, Gentlemen said he, and see how few members are present, when a business of this consequence is to be debated.' But, besides the unseasonableness of the time, he observed, 'That this message was no less extraordinary as to another circumstance; for, whereas the ways and means of raising supplies were always left to the commons, here, not only the sum, but the way of raising it, was pointed out to them, which was making the house a perfect parliament of Paris.

That

Geo. I. That, if things were brought to that pass, it might be easy
 1721. for any king whenever he thought fit, to make himself arbitrary and absolute master of our liberties and properties; concluding, he was sure, that the gentleman who had advised the asking for such a sum in that manner, would have been of a quite contrary mind two years ago; but that it was usual for men's judgments to altar as their interests lead them. Mr. Shippen was answered by Mr. Walpole, who shewed the occasion and the reasonableness of the king's message, the tenderness and regard he expressed in it for the ease of his subjects, and the necessity of complying with his desires. He was seconded by Mr. Lowndes, who said, that sixpence in the pound on all the civil list funds would answer the purpose. But Mr. Pulteney, and Sir Joseph Jekyll were of opinion, that it would not do, and therefore moved for one shilling in the pound; adding, that, if this were to much for the present occasion, the overplus might go towards the discharge of the public debts. Mr. Sloper agreed with them, and upon this last consideration moved for one shilling and six-pence in the pound; and that the tax might extend to all military officers, whose pay was above ten shilling a day. But this motion was dropped, and after some other debates it was at last agreed, that 500,000 l. should be raised for the debts of the civil list, by a deduction of six-pence in the pound out of salaries, wages, pensions, and other payments from the crown. For this purpose a bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent. At the same time passed also an act for a general pardon.

The parliament is prorogued,
 Aug. 10.

The act for restoring public credit was passed the 10th of August, when the king came to the house of peers, and concluding the session with the following speech:

‘ My lords and gentlemen,

The king's
 speech.

‘ I Am glad that the business of this, and the former session, is at length brought to such a period, that I have now an opportunity of giving you some recess, after the great pains you have taken in the service of the public.

‘ The common calamity, occasioned by the wicked execution of the South-Sea scheme, was become so very great before your meeting, that the providing proper remedies for it was very difficult. But it is a great comfort to me to observe, that public credit now begins to recover which gives me the greatest hopes, that it will be intirely restored, when

‘ when all the provisions, you have made for that end, shall
‘ be duly put in execution.

‘ I have great compassion for the sufferings of the innocent,
‘ and a just indignation against the guilty; and have readily
‘ given my assent to such bills, as you have presented to me,
‘ for punishing the authors of our late misfortunes; and for
‘ obtaining the restitution and satisfaction due to those, who
‘ have been injured by them, in such manner, as you judged
‘ proper. I was at the same time willing and desirous, by
‘ my free and general pardon, to give ease and quiet to the
‘ rest of my subjects, many of whom may, in such a general
‘ infatuation, have been unwarily drawn in to transgress the
‘ laws.

‘ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

‘ I return you my hearty thanks for the supplies you have
‘ granted for the current service of this year, and particularly
‘ for your enabling me to discharge the debts and arrears on
‘ the civil list, and to make good the engagements I was un-
‘ der for procuring peace in the North, which, in all proba-
‘ bility, will now very soon be concluded. These instances
‘ of your faithful endeavours to support the honour and dig-
‘ nity of the crown at home and abroad, are fresh marks of
‘ your zeal and affection to my person and government.

‘ My Lords and gentlemen,

‘ I take this opportunity of acquainting you, that we have
‘ renewed all our treaties of commerce with Spain, upon the
‘ same foot as they were settled before the late war, which
‘ must necessarily prove an immediate and valuable advantage
‘ to the trade and manufactures of this kingdom.

‘ I earnestly recommend to you all, in your several stati-
‘ ons, to suppress profaneness and immorality, and to preserve
‘ the peace and quiet of the kingdom.

‘ You are all sensible that the discontents occasioned by the
‘ great losses, that many of my subjects have sustained, have
‘ been industriously raised and inflamed by malicious and se-
‘ ditious libels: But I make no doubt, but that, by your
‘ prudent conduct in your several countries, all the enemies
‘ of my government, who flattered themselves they should be
‘ able to take advantage from our misfortunes, and blow up
‘ the sufferings of my people into popular discontent and dis-
‘ affection,

Geo. I. 'affection, will be disappointed in their wicked designs and
1721. 'expectations.'

The zeal of the parliament deserved the praises bestowed by the king, for having in great measure restored the public credit, when under such difficulties, and his thanks, not only for the supplies for the service of the year, but for the discharge of the civil list debts, and the subsidy to Sweden. The king was sensible of the injurious suspicions raised on his account with regard to the South-Sea company: The emperor's refusal to deliver up Mr. Knight, and the favour shewn to the directors and their abettors, were considered as his work, and greatly increased the number of the disaffected. Hence it was that he so strongly expressed his apprehensions, that the enemies to his government would endeavour to blow up the sufferings of the people into discontent, that the members of parliament might be the more zealous to disappoint their designs.

After the speech the parliament was prorogued to the 19th of October.

During these proceedings, several changes had been made in the ministry. Mr. Walpole (as has been said) was made first commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the Exchequer (c). The lords Townshend and Carteret were appointed secretaries of state. The earl of Ilay was made privy-seal of Scotland, and the earl of Bute a lord of the bed-chamber.

Foreign
affairs.

Whilst the parliament was employed in settling affairs at home, the king had continued his negotiations abroad, and ended them with success.

Peace with
Spain.

On the 13th of June, N. S. the treaty of peace between Great-Britain and Spain was signed at Madrid. It contained only six articles, by which all the regulations with regard to commerce, agreed upon by the former treaties, were renewed; and both the contracting parties promised to execute it with the utmost sincerity, and to renounce all interpretations, which had been made use of to restrain and to weaken

(c) The other commissioners of the treasury were Bailie, Turner, Edgecomb, and Pelham. Mr. Horatio Walpole was made secretary of the treasury: And Edward Carteret and Galfredus Walpole Post Masters-General. Benjamin Mildmay, brother to the lord Fitzwalter, was made a commissioner of the excise, and Charles Stanhope, treasurer of the chamber to the king. Hue Fortescue was called up to the house of lords by the title of baron Clinton.

these

these conventions. They engaged to restore mutually all the effects seized and confiscated on both sides. His Britannic majesty, in particular, was to restore all the Ships of the Spanish fleet, which had been taken by that of England, in the action near Sicily, with the guns, sails, rigging, &c. in the same condition, in which they then were, or the value of them, if they were sold. The decision of the other difficulties and pretensions were referred to the congress of Cambray. It was stipulated likewise, that the publication of this treaty should be deferred till the general peace, which was negotiating at Cambray, or some other agreement should be made. It was, however, to take place immediately after its being ratified, and the letters of which ratification were to be exchanged in six weeks, or sooner, if possible. To these was added a secret article, by which king George promised not to interfere any longer in the affairs of Italy, and the king of Spain made an absolute cession of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon.

The same day another treaty was signed at Madrid, which was little expected: It was a defensive alliance between Great-Britain, France, and Spain; by which they were to defend the dominions of each other, wherever situated, as they were fixed by the treaties of Utrecht, Baden, and London. Each of the allies was to furnish him, who should have occasion for assistance, or be attacked, with 8000 foot, and 4000 horse, or an equivalent in money and ships.

One design of this alliance was the maintenance and observation of the treaty, which was to be made at Cambray, in order to terminate the differences between the emperor and king of Spain.

‘ Their Britannic, most Christian, and Catholic majesties (said the fifth article of this treaty) being entirely satisfied with the sentiments, the duke of Parma has always shewn towards them, and being desirous to give him marks of the singular esteem and affection they have for him, promise and engage, by virtue of the present treaty, to grant him a particular protection for the preservation of his territories and rights, and for the support of his dignity; so that, if he shall be disturbed, they will join their good offices and endeavours to obtain a just satisfaction; and, if that be refused, they will agree upon measures to procure it him by all other methods, which shall be in their power.’

The States-general were, on the first opportunity, to be invited to enter into this treaty; and it was promised to maintain the treaty of defensive alliance, made at the Hague,
the

Geo. I. the 4th of January 1717, and that nothing should be done, 1721. either directly or indirectly, to the prejudice thereof.

Congress of
Cambray
fruitless.

The congress at Cambray, to which all the difficult points were referred, was at last opened. The ambassadors of England and France had the title of mediators, and were to terminate the numberless differences between the courts of Vienna and Madrid; but they could not succeed, the demands on both sides being so opposite. The imperial ministers talked in so high and decisive a strain, that there was no treating with them, 'All the pretensions of their master were incontestable, and equity itself; to oppose or contest them, was attacking his sacred majesty.' It was thus they expressed themselves, in speaking of the pretensions of the duke of Parma, who had insisted, That the emperor and empire had no right to exercise any superiority over the duchies of Parma and Placentia. The imperial ministers declared, 'They were amazed the duke of Parma should have the assurance to draw up such a memorial, and engage the mediators to present it to them. It violates (said they) the respect due to his imperial majesty, by denying, he has any sovereignty over the duke. The mediators should have suppressed such unreasonable pretensions, which they neither could regard, nor had time to discuss. If the duke had any just complaints to propose, and would represent them with respect to the imperial court, they would undoubtedly be treated there with equity.'

The mediators answered, that the terms used by the imperial ministers were not very becoming between princes: That the memorial in question could not, without censure, have been suppressed: That the duke of Parma had reason to apply to the congress for justice, and that he had not met with sufficient encouragement, in his representations to the court of Vienna, to address himself thither again. To this it was added, that the negotiations had been always delayed, by continual obstructions from the plenipotentiaries of the emperor.

With such dispositions, nothing was concluded, and never was congress more fruitless. To amuse and surprise one another was the chief business; and, when they broke up, they were farther than ever from agreeing.

Peace be-
tween Rus-
sia and
Sweden.

After the peace with Spain, king George had the satisfaction to see the tranquility of Europe restored, by a reconciliation between Sweden and Russia. Though this was not done by his mediation, yet, it is certain, the assistance he had given Sweden, and the peace he had procured between
tha

that crown and those of Prussia, Denmark, and Poland, had determined the czar to bound his pretensions, and hearken to an accommodation. As the czar had no quarrel with France, he accepted the mediation of that crown, but absolutely refused to hear of the mediation of Great-Britain.

Sweden was forced to yield up to the czar almost all his conquests, after the battle of Pultowa; as Livonia, Ingria, Estonia, part of Carelia, and of the territory of Wyburg, Ryga, Revel, Narva, &c. and in return, the czar restored only part of Finland, with two millions of rix dollars, promising not to concern himself with the regulations of their government.

The czar included in the treaty the king and republic of Poland, and consented also to the including of the king of Great-Britain, in such sort, that the differences between them should be adjusted in an amicable manner.

These differences daily increased; and, if these princes had been neighbours, a war would certainly have ensued. Their enmity was in a great measure personal. The czar's was founded upon the conduct of king George, who, whilst only elector of Hanover, had entered into the views of the northern states against Sweden, and, after reaping the fruit of that alliance, had declared, on all occasions, against Russia. Hence the czar always distinguished the king of England from the elector of Hanover, and shewed all possible regard for the English, whilst he endeavoured, by all methods, to annoy their king; and perhaps he would have succeeded, had it not been for the Death of Charles XII. That prince and the czar, how much soever they were offended with each other, were more so with king George, and were going to lay aside or suspend their resentments, in order to be revenged. About the time of the king's last arrival from Hanover, Mr. Bastuges, the czar's resident at London, for some expressions in a memorial, was ordered to depart the kingdom in a fortnight. The czar, in revenge of this affront, took occasion to publish a declaration (which was delivered to the English factory at Petersburg, and printed in Holland) in order to raise discontents in England. The declaration was as follows:

Peterburg, Jan. 29, 1720-21.

* It is notorious in what an unjust and injurious manner our resident was sent away from the court of England; which, having done us a great and sensible wrong, ought naturally to have engaged us to use reprisals, according to

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Geo. I.
1721.

Treaty of
Niestadt.

Personal
enmity be-
tween king
George and
the czar.

Geo. I. what is practised every where else. But as we perceive that
 1721. all this is done without any regard to the interest of England,
 — and only in favour of the Hanoverian interest; for which the
 ministers of Great Britain not only neglect the friendship of
 foreign powers, but do not even spare their own country,
 which more nearly, and more sensibly concern them; we
 were unwilling that the English nation, which has no share
 in that piece of injustice, should suffer for it; and therefore
 we grant to them all manner of security and free liberty to
 trade in all our dominions.'

These two princes, without mentioning their other qualities, had great talents for negotiation; but king George excelled; for it must be owned, no prince could more wisely improve any favourable circumstances to disconcert his enemy's projects.

Besides these treaties, in which king George had so great an influence, there was one made with the Moors, and signed the 12th of August. Spain, being then at war with the Moors, loudly complained of the treaty, but without any effect.

Death of
 Clement XI.

This year died pope Clement XI. His name was John Francis Albani, native of Urbino. He had sat in the papal chair above twenty years. When he was cardinal, he was, for his abilities, courted by all the powers of Europe, and had a great hand in the will of king Charles II. of Spain. He was revengeful to the last degree, inflexible in his resolutions, and rejected all advice. His greatest policy was to keep princes at variance. He expressed great kindness for the pretender. When he found he was going to die, he sent for the pretender, who being come, he told the cardinals then in his bed chamber, that he wanted to speak with him in private: but, one of them representing, that it would redound most to his holiness's honour to deliver his last thoughts to him in their presence, the pope complied, and recommended to them the three following points:

1. To let the pretender reside constantly in the palace which he had assigned him.

2. To continue the pension granted to him, that he may be always enabled to support the royal dignity, till he recover his kingdoms.

3. To oblige the successor in the holy see, to assist the pretender in all things against the attempts of his enemies.

The

The cardinals assured the pope they would take care to perform the 1st and 3d articles; but that, as the 2d, they would be inexcusable, if they should continue to exhaust the treasure of the church, which was by no means appropriated for the preservation of one prince alone, but for the defence of the Roman Catholic religion in general. To this the pope answered, that his successor might, with a very safe conscience, draw out sums from the treasury for the maintenance of the pretender, because he had been deprived of his dominions for the sake of the Catholic religion; moreover, the pretender himself made a very moving speech against the inhumanity of abandoning one that was so helpless: But the cardinals replied, That they would consider of it, and give their answer next day. The pope, acquiescing therewith, desired the cardinal d'Althan to engage the emperor to espouse the pretender's interest, and not to forsake him in the present juncture; but that cardinal begged to be excused, and shewed, that it was impossible to be done, not only on account of solemn treaty, but also by reason of the signal services which England did to his imperial majesty, in the late war against the Spaniards.

Clement XI. was succeeded by Michael Angelo, of the family of Conti, who took the name of Innocent XIII. in memory of pope Innocent III. the most worthy of all the popes chosen from among the cardinals of that family (a).

On the 15th of April, the princess of Wales was delivered of a son at Leicester-House, and, the next day the city of London having presented a congratulatory address, the king in his answer, said, 'I cannot omit taking this opportunity of assuring you, that I am truly concerned at the calamity brought upon you by the wicked management of the South-Sea company. I have, however, this comfort, that the report of any part of this misfortune cannot with the least justice be imputed to me. Nothing will give me more ease and satisfaction than the seeing you delivered from your present sufferings, your trade revived, and public credit re-established.' This declaration was thought to be necessary, by reason of the insinuations raised by the disaffected.

The young prince was christened the 2d of May: The godfathers were the king of Prussia and the duke of York, represented by the earl of Grantham and the lord Lumley.

(a) The family of Conti is of Colonna, Orsino, and Savelli, which last is extinct. one of the four chief families of Rome; the other three are those

The princess
of Wales de-
livered of a
son.
April 15.

Geo. I. The godmother was the queen of Prussia, represented by the dutchess of Dorset. The young prince was named William 1721. Augustus, the present duke of Cumberland.

Chapter of
the Garter.

The king held, on the 27th of March, a chapter of the order of the Garter, to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the death of the dukes of Rutland and Buckingham (b). In their room were chosen Charles Fitzroy, duke of Grafton, and Henry Clinton, earl of Lincoln.

The parliament had but one session left, since the seven years expired at Lady-Day next. It was proposed in council to dissolve the present, and call a new, parliament; but it was represented by the majority, that it would be more expedient to hold another session, as farther measures were to be taken towards a perfect restoration of the public credit, which another parliament might not so readily come into. It had been insinuated, that a design was formed for the continuance of the parliament beyond the next session; and so far believed, that several members of the common-council of London, demanded, in form, of the lord-mayor, that a council should be summoned, in which it was intended to move for an address to the king, to thank him for his great care of the trade and commerce with Spain, but principally to express their hopes of his calling frequent and new parliaments. The lord-mayor, perceiving their intentions, refused to comply with their request on various pretences. Upon this, they published an account of their proceedings, with the heads of their intended address, under the artful title of ‘An apology for the citizens of London, for their not ad-

(b) John Sheffield, duke of Buckingham, died February 24, 1720-21. He had himself made the following epitaph, and ordered it to be engraven on his tomb: But it was not orthodox enough:

“ Pro rege sapè, pro republicà semper, dubius non improbus vixi. Incertus nec perturbatus morior. Christum veneror. In Deo confido æterno ac omnipotente. ENS ENTIIUM MISERERE MEI.”

He was made knight of the Garter by king Charles II. and

lord chamberlain by his successor: He was always in the opposition against king William, and made privy seal by queen Anne. Notwithstanding his dying in a state of uncertainty, as he owned in his epitaph, he had appeared very zealous for the Church. He left a son by a natural daughter of king James the Second, who are since both dead, and the family extinct.

This year, Sept. 15, died Matthew Prior, for whom a monument was erected in Westminster-Abbey.

‘ dref-

‘dressing his majesty under the present circumstances of affairs.’ Geo. I.

1721.

The plague raged this year in the southern parts of France, particularly at Marseilles. On this occasion a proclamation was published, forbidding any person to come into England from any part of France, between the bay of Biscay and Dunkirk, without certificates of health. The streets were ordered to be paved and kept clean; and an act of parliament passed the last session for prevention of infection, by building of pest-houses (to which the infected persons, or healthy of an infected family, were to be removed) and by ordering trenches or lines to be drawn round any city, town, or place infected. The precautions appearing, to some to be unreasonable, caused great debates, as will hereafter be seen.

Plague in France.

The parliament met on the day appointed, October 19, and the session was opened with the following speech from the throne:

The last session of the first parliament of King George.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ **I** Acquainted you, when we parted last, with our having renewed all our treaties of commerce with Spain; since which, peace is happily restored in the North, by the conclusion of the treaty between the czar and the king of Sweden, and by that, which I have made with the Moors, a great number of my subjects are delivered from slavery; and all such of them, as trade to those parts of the world, are, for the future, secured from falling under that dreadful calamity.

“ In this situation of affairs, we should be extremely wanting to ourselves, if we neglected to improve the favourable opportunity, which this general tranquillity gives us, of extending our commerce, upon which the riches and grandeur of this nation chiefly depend. It is very obvious, that nothing would more conduce to the obtaining so public a good, than to make the exportation of our own manufactures, and the importation of the commodities, used in the manufacturing of them, as practicable and easy as may be. By this means, the balance of trade may be preserved in our favour, our navigation increased, and greater numbers of our poor employed.

“ I must therefore recommend it to you, gentlemen of the house of commons, to consider how far the duties upon these branches may be taken off and replaced, with-

Geo. I. 1721. "out any violation of public faith, or laying any new bur-
den upon my people. And I promise myself, that, by a

"due consideration of this matter, the produce of those
"duties, compared with the infinite advantages that will ac-
"crue to the kingdom by their being taken off, will be
"found so inconsiderable, as to leave little room for any dif-
"ficulties or objections.

"The supplying ourselves with naval stores, upon terms
"the most easy and least precarious, seems highly to deserve
"the care and attention of parliament. Our plantations in
"America naturally abound with most of the proper mate-
"rials for this necessary and essential part of our trade and
"maritime strength: And if, by due encouragement, we
"could be furnished from thence with those naval stores,
"which we are now obliged to purchase and bring from fo-
"reign countries, it would not only greatly contribute to
"the riches, influence, and power of this nation, but, by
"employing our own colonies in this useful and advan-
"tagious service, divert them from setting up and carrying
"on manufactures, which directly interfere with those of
"Great-Britain.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,

"It will be a great pleasure to me, if, in raising the sup-
"plies of this year, it may be so ordered, that my people
"may reap some immediate benefit from the present circum-
"stances of affairs abroad. I have ordered estimates to be
"prepared for the service of the ensuing year, and likewise
"an account of the debts of the navy to be laid before you.
"You cannot but be sensible of the ill consequences, that
"arise from such a large debt remaining unprovided for;
"and that, as long as the navy and victualling bills are at a
"very high discount, they do not only affect all other public
"credit, but greatly increase the charge and expence of the
"current service. It is therefore very much to be wished,
"that you could find a method of discharging this part of the
"national debts, which of all others is the most heavy and
"burdensome; and by that means have it in your power
"to ease your country of some part of the taxes, which,
"from an absolute necessity, they have been obliged to
"pay.

"My

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ The unspeakable misery and desolation, that has of late
 “ raged in some parts of Europe, cannot but be a sufficient
 “ warning to us, to use all possible precautions to prevent the
 “ contagion from being brought in among us : or, if these
 “ kingdoms should be visited with such a fatal calamity, to
 “ be in a condition, with the blessing of God, to stop its
 “ farther progress. And as all other provisions will be alto-
 “ gether vain and fruitless, if the abominable practice of
 “ running goods be not at once totally suppressed, I most
 “ earnestly recommend to you, to let no other consideration
 “ stand in competition with a due care of preserving so many
 “ thousand lives.

“ The several affairs, which I have mentioned to you,
 “ being of the highest and most immediate concern to the
 “ whole kingdom, I doubt not but you will enter into the
 “ consideration of them with that temper, unanimity, and
 “ dispatch, that the necessity and importance of them re-
 “ quire.”

The king, in this speech, proposes the affairs to be considered : Shews the best manner of extending commerce, and supplying naval stores : Expresses his concern for the debts of the navy, and hopes they will be taken care of in the supplies for the present year : Concludes with recommending all possible means to prevent the plague, or stop the progress of its contagion, particularly by providing against the practice of smuggling.

The addresses of thanks were suitable to the speech ; the king was congratulated upon his success for restoring the tranquility of Europe, and securing the trade of the nation by treaties : Assurances were given to proceed to the consideration of the affairs recommended by him, with temper, unanimity and dispatch. Notwithstanding these assurances of unanimity, the debates ran very high this session, and nothing passed without great opposition.

One of the first debates that happened in the house of lords was about the famous Mr. Law. He came to England, on the 20th of October, in the fleet under Sir John Norris from the Baltic. Mr. Law, after the downfall of the Mississippi stock, had been forced to leave France, to avoid the resentment of the enraged people, who had more than once attempted his life. Having spent some time at Venice, and

Mr. Law
 returns to
 England.

Geo. I. paid a visit to the pretender at Rome, people were not a little surprised, some time after, to hear, that, he was gone to Hanover, from whence he designed shortly to come into England. He was brought up to London by a lord, with whom he had negotiated for great parcels of South-Sea stock; was privately admitted to court; and having taken a house in Conduit-street, near Hanover-Square, he was, for some days, visited by great numbers of persons of quality and distinction. This gave so much umbrage, that, on the 26th of October, earl Coningsby represented to the house of lords, how dangerous it might be, on several accounts, to entertain and countenance such a man as Mr. Law; and a day being, at his motion, appointed to consider of that matter, the earl said, 'That he, the earl, could not but entertain some jealousy of a person, who had done so much mischief in a neighbouring kingdom, and who being so immensely rich, as he was reported to be, might do a great deal more hurt here, by tampering with any, who were grown desperate, by being involved in the calamity occasioned by the fatal imitation of his pernicious projects. That this person was the more dangerous, in that he had renounced, not only his natural affection to his country, and his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, by being naturalized in France, and openly countenancing the pretender's friends, but, which was worst of all, he had also renounced his God, by turning Roman Catholic: Concluding, that they ought to enquire, Whether Sir John Norris had orders to bring him over?' The lord Carteret answered, 'That Mr. Law had many years ago, the misfortune to kill a gentleman in a duel; but that, having, at last, received the benefit of the king's clemency, and the appeal lodged by the relations of the deceased being taken off, he was come over to plead his majesty's pardon. That there was no law to keep any Englishman out of his country; and as Mr. Law was a subject of Great-Britain, it was not even in the king's power to hinder him from coming over, if he thought fit.' To this the lord Trevor replied, 'That Mr. Law was indeed a subject of Great-Britain, and therefore, as such, had an undoubted right to come hither, but the circumstances of a person of his character being brought over on board an English admiral, and at this juncture of time, might deserve the consideration of that house.' Earl Cowper spoke much to the same effect: But, however, the affair was dropped, and Mr. Law, attended by the duke of Argyle, and the earl of Ilay, pleaded his pardon at the king's-Bench according to form.

The

The navy debt, which was increased to 1,700,000*l.* and Geo. I. of which the consideration had been recommended from the 1721.
 throne, occasioned great debates in both houses. Mr. Free-
 man in the house of commons, reflected with some warmth Debates a-
 upon the persons concerned in that part of the administration, bout the na-
 saying, 'It was matter of wonder, how so great a debt vy debt,
 could be incurred, when the parliament had provided what
 had been desired on that head.' Mr. Shippen hinted, 'That
 such extraordinary expences could not be for the immediate
 service of Great-Britain, but, in all probability, for the pre-
 servation of some foreign acquisitions.' Sir Joseph Jekyll
 said, 'That he was not against providing for any just public
 debt; but that, in his opinion, they could not answer it,
 either to themselves, or those they had the honour to repre-
 sent, if they gave away the nation's money blindfold; and
 therefore he desired, that the house might be informed, How
 so great a debt had been contracted?' To this Mr. Walpole
 replied, 'Nothing in the World was more reasonable; and
 therefore he backed the motion, for having a particular ac-
 count of that debt laid before the house; but, in the mean
 time, he might assure them, that near 1,100,000 *l.* of it was
 contracted in the last reign; and, as the persons now in the
 administration were not answerable for that part, neither did
 they desire, that above one million of it should be this
 year provided for.' This was agreed to without divid-
 ing.

The same affair was more warmly debated in the house of
 lords: When a surprize was expressed, how the navy debt
 came to be so large, it was answered (as in the house of com-
 mons) that near two thirds of the debt had been contracted
 in the last reign, of which the proofs were ready. Upon this
 the earl of Rochester said, 'That, since the debt was in-
 curred, it was but justice, that they, who trusted the govern-
 ment, should be paid; but, on the other hand, it became
 the wisdom of that house to endeavour to prevent the like for
 the future, and to restore the navy on the ancient foot, that
 is, not to exceed the expences provided for by parliament.'
 And moved for an address to that purpose. This was oppo-
 sed by the earl of Ilay, who urged, that the public good,
 and the safety of the nation, being the grand object and rule
 of government, some latitude must of necessity be given, and
 allowance made, to those who are in the administration, for
 extraordinary expences, upon unforeseen exigencies. And
 therefore, if the ministers, as they had promised it, gave the
 house a satisfactory account, how the debt in question came
 to

Geo. I.
1721.

to be contracted, there was, in his opinion, no occasion for such an address.' The lord chancellor Parker and others, speaking on the same side, the motion for an address was rejected by 64 voices (among which was the lord Harcourt's, who had been lately made a viscount) against 22.

In several other debates on this affair, it was urged, ' That the navy debt was increased by employing more seamen than were provided for by parliament, particularly by sending large fleets to the Baltic and Mediterranean, and keeping the sailors in pay during the winter : That these extraordinary expences were not necessary for the service of Great-Britain, and therefore it was proper to have all the papers relating to the northern transactions, particularly the lord Carteret's private instructions, laid before the house, in order to have full satisfaction concerning the grounds of these expeditions, and see whether the act of settlement had been no ways infringed by them, a point of the utmost consequence to the present establishment. To this it was answered, That the employing more seamen for several years, than were provided for by parliament, was occasioned by services which either were pursuant to the previous advice, or had the subsequent approbation of one or both houses, and were also necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and tranquility of Europe : That, the nature of these services detaining the squadrons till the months of November or December, the paying off the seamen was inconsistent with having the ships ready to sail early in the spring, and nothing would be saved by it. By a great majority it was voted, that the lord Carteret's private instructions should not be addressed, and that the sending a squadron to the Baltic did no way break into the act of Settlement.

The affairs
of Spain and
the North.

The affairs of Spain and the North were so equally concerned in the increase of the naval debt, that the inquiry into the one, naturally led to the inquiry into the other. The debate was opened by the duke of Wharton, who animadverted upon the conduct of the ministers, both as to the war and peace with Spain, and moved that the treaty with that crown might be laid before the house. The earl of Sunderland said, ' He did not doubt but his majesty would be always ready to comply with the desires of that house, and even in this particular, as well as in others ; but that, for his part, he would be so free as to declare his judgment against advising his majesty to communicate the treaty in question at this juncture, because, to his knowledge, there was in it a secret article, which the king of Spain had de-

fired

fixed might not be made public, till after the treaty of Cambray was over; and, his majesty having granted that request, he therefore hoped that house would not desire his majesty to break his promise.' Upon this the duke of Wharton's motion was rejected by a majority of 59 voices against 22. In another debate the earl of Strafford suggested, 'That as the war with Spain was undertaken without necessity, or a just provocation, so the peace was concluded without any benefit or advantage. That, contrary to the law of nations, the Spanish fleet was fallen upon without any declaration of war, and even while a British minister and a secretary of state were amicably treating at Madrid; so that the Spaniards might think themselves secure from any hostilities. And, as the manner of beginning the war did not appear justifiable, so neither could the war itself be easily reconciled with sound politics, since it was an interruption to one of the most valuable branches of our trade, and at a time, when the nation groaned under the pressure of heavy debts, occasioned by a former long expensive war: Concluding with a motion for an address to his majesty, that he would be pleased to cause the instructions, that were given to Sir George Byng (now lord Torrington) to be laid before the house.' But as the motion for the treaty, so this for the instructions of Sir George Byng, was upon the question rejected by a majority of 67 against 24. A protest was entered, representing that a motion for admiral's instructions had never been denied; that, without a sight of the lord Torrington's instructions, the war with Spain, in which the action in the Mediterranean involved us, did not appear justifiable, and it was plainly prejudicial to the nation, as it interrupted our commerce with Spain and occasioned a strict union between the French and Spanish crowns, which it was the interest of Great-Britain to have kept always divided. Nor did it appear that Great-Britain reaped any fruits from that War.

After this it was moved, that the house would inquire what was become of the ships taken from the Spaniards, and how they were disposed of, and an address for that purpose was voted.

The debates on the navy debt being put off for three weeks, a protest (Feb. 19) was entered against it, in which the several particulars that were designed to be proceeded upon were specified, but they were afterwards expanded by an order of the house.

The

Geo. I.
1721.

A bill about the plague.

The bill to prevent infection from the plague caused likewise long and warm debates in the house of lords. Earl Cowper moved, 'That a clause might be added to the bill for repealing so much of the late quarentine act, as impowers the government to remove to a larazet, or pest-house, any persons whatsoever, infected with the plague, or healthy persons out of an infected family, from their habitations; and also so much of the act, as gives power for the drawing lines or trenches round any city, town, or place infected. He represented, that these powers were altogether unknown to our constitution, inconsistent with the lenity of our free government, such as could never be wisely or usefully put in practice; and the more odious, because they seemed to be copied from the arbitrary government of France, and could not be executed but by military force.' The earl also opposed the forcing persons to accept nurses and physicians appointed by the government. Though the repeal of the obnoxious clauses in the quarentine act, met with much opposition, and a petition from the city of London, for that purpose, had been rejected by the lords: Yet an act passed at last for repealing the clauses for removing persons to pest-houses, and drawing lines round any city or town that was infected.

Débates on the army.

The mutiny and desertion bill occasioned the usual disputes about the army. The lord Trevor opened the debate with a long speech, wherein he excepted against the clauses for punishing soldiers with death for desertion, and for exempting them from being arrested for debt. He urged, 'That the exercise of martial law in time of peace was unknown, and repugnant to constitution: That such a law was indeed necessary during the late rebellion; but, there being at present no such reason, and all being quiet and easy under his majesty's mild government, the punishment of offences committed by the soldiery ought to be left to the civil magistrate. And that, on the other hand, it was unreasonable to grant soldiers a protection from their lawful creditors, since a great many poor people, who might be drawn in to trust them, might be ruined.' After a warm debate, the bill passed without any alteration or reduction of the forces.

On the French buying ships in England.

There was at this time great clamour against the French building and buying ships in England. Some were built for them at Bristol, and more at London. When this matter was considered in the house of lords, it was suggested, 'That the practice of building ships for foreigners might be attended with very ill and dangerous consequences; for, as such foreigners,

reigners, though at present in amity with us, may yet, one time or other, become our enemies, they will, in such a case, make use of these very ships to fight against us: Besides this general consideration, the present great scarcity of timber in England made such a practice so much the more unjustifiable, especially if it was considered what a great number of ships had lately been built for the French, some of which were sixty or seventy gun-ships.' To this it was answered, ' That they knew of no law in being to hinder any ship-carpenter from working for any one, that would employ him. That the French, though now in amity, may be one day our enemies; but yet, if they built not here such ships as they have occasion for, they might get them built in Holland or at Hamburgh; and they were of opinion, that it was better for us to get their money than our neighbours: That indeed, if we could hinder the French from building ships at all, it would be prudent to do it; but, since they can have them in other places, our prohibiting them to buy them here would rather be detrimental than advantageous to us.' After some other speeches, it was agreed to consult the judges. Upon which chief-justice Pratt, in the name of all the judges present (except baron Mountague, who desired further time to consider of it, before he gave his opinion) declared, ' That they knew of no law, whereby the king was impowered to hinder any of his subjects from building ships for any one, that would employ them, whether natives or foreigners.' Earl Cowper said, if there was no such law, it was high time there should be one, to put a stop to such a pernicious practice for the future, and therefore moved, that the judges be ordered to bring in a bill for that purpose. But, after some disputes about certain provisos, the consideration of the bill was put off, and never more resumed.

The Quakers having petitioned the commons for leave to bring in a bill for taking out of their solemn affirmation the words, ' In the presence of Almighty God,' a bill passed the house for that purpose, and was sent up to the lords, where it occasioned a debate. The bishop of Rochester having, among other things, said, He did not know why such distinguishing indulgence, as was intended by this bill, should be allowed to a set of people, who were hardly Christians: The earl of Ilay answered, ' He wondered that reverend prelate should call in question, whether the Quakers were Christians, since they were so, at least by act of parliament, being included in the toleration act, under the general denomination of Protestant Dissenters. The bishop replied, It

was

Geo. I. was against the standing orders of that august assembly to 1721-22 make any personal reflections; and he thought it a much greater indecency to make a jest of any thing, that was sacred; and that the calling the Quakers Christians, by act of parliament, was a sort of side-wind reflection upon Christianity itself: however, he would let that pass, and reserve to another opportunity what he had to offer against the bill. Accordingly, he afterwards endeavoured to prove the Quakers were no Christians, and was seconded and supported by the earl of Strafford, lord North and Grey, and the archbishop of York. When the bill was committed, a petition from some of the London Clergy was presented by the archbishop of York, setting forth, 'That, the bill might, in its consequences, nearly affect the property of the subject in general, so it would, in a more especial manner, endanger the legal maintenance of the clergy by tythes, inasmuch as the people called Quakers pretend to deny the payment of tythes upon a principle of conscience; and therefore might be under strong inducements to ease their consciences in that respect, by violating them in another, when their simple affirmation, on behalf of friends of the same persuasion, shall pass in all courts of judicature for legal evidence. However, that the injuries, which the petitioners in their private affairs might possibly suffer, were, as they ought to be, of small account with them, in comparison of the mischiefs, which might redound to society from the indulgence intended, as it seemed to imply, that justice may be duly administered, and government supported, without the intervention of any solemn appeal to God as a witness of truth of what is said, by all persons, in all cases of great importance to the common welfare; whereas the petitioners were firmly persuaded, that an oath was instituted by God himself, and the surest bond of fidelity among men, and hath been esteemed, and found to be so by the wisdom and experience of all nations in all ages. But that what chiefly moved the petitioners to apply to their lordships, was their serious concern, lest the minds of good men should be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Christianity triumph, when they should see such condescensions made by a Christian legislature to a set of men, who renounce the divine institutions of Christ; particularly that, by which the faithful are initiated into his religion, and denominated Christians; and who cannot, on this account, according to the uniform judgment and practice of the Catholic Church, be deemed worthy of that sacred name. The petitioners moreover represented, that, upon the best information

Petitions
against it.

mation they could get, the instances, wherein any Quaker Geo. I. had refused the solemn affirmation prescribed by an act in the 1721-22. 7th and 8th years of William III, had, from the passing that act to that day, been exceeding rare; so that there might be ground to hope, that the continued use of the said solemn affirmation would, by degrees, have entirely cured that people of all those unreasonable prejudices against an oath, which the favour designed them by the bill might tend to strengthen and confirm. And the petitioners humbly left it to their lordships wise deliberations, whether such an extraordinary indulgence granted to a people already as is conceived too numerous, might not contribute to multiply their sect, and tempt persons to profess themselves Quakers, in order to be exempted from the obligation of oaths, and to stand upon a foot of privilege, not allowed to the best Christians in the kingdom.'

The receiving and reading of this petition was warmly opposed, and the question being at last put, it was rejected. it is rejected. All the bishops present (except the two archbishops, the bishops of Oxford *, Litchfield and Coventry †, and Rochester) * Potter. † Hough. were against the petition. The bishop of Salisbury endeavoured to mitigate the matter, and proposed, that the petitioners might have leave to withdraw their petition, but this was opposed by the earl of Sunderland, who said, that a committee ought to be appointed to enquire into the authors and promoters of it, for he looked upon it to be no better than a libel. The lord Townshend took notice of the irregular way, in which the petition was presented, for if it was a petition of the London clergy, it ought to be offered either by the bishop of that diocese, or the archbishop of Canterbury; whereas it was presented by the archbishop of York, who was metropolitan of another province. However, a protest was entered by several lords and bishops against rejecting the petition. After this, the archbishop of Canterbury moved, that the Quakers affirmation might not be admitted in courts of judicature, but among themselves; and the archbishop of York moved for a clause, that the Quakers affirmation should not go in any suit at law for tythes: But, after some farther debate, the bill was gone through, and sent back to the commons; but a protest was entered against it by several lords and bishops.

As nothing had passed without being protested against, the earl of Sunderland, towards the end of the session, took notice, ' That the privilege of entering protests had, of late, been so much abused, that, in his opinion, some restraint ought An order about protests.

Geo. I. ought to be put to it by limiting the time for entering protests
1721-22. upon asking leave of the house, which was never denied :

— And therefore he moved, that such lords, as shall enter their protestations with reasons, shall do the same before two o'clock the next sitting day, and sign them before the house rises.' This was opposed by the lord Cowper, who alledged, ' That the time being so short, and very few lords coming so early, such an order would in effect put an end to all protesting, which was an ancient privilege of that house.' The bishop of Rochester added, ' That if protests were limited to so short a time, this was at least the way to have them crude and indigested; and he thought it unbecoming the dignity of that august assembly to have any thing entered upon their journals, which were records for after ages, before it had been duly considered, and well digested.' However, it was resolved, that it should be a standing order of the house (instead of the order of the 5th of March, 1641) That such lords, as shall enter their protestations with reasons, shall do the same before two o'clock the next sitting day, and sign them before the house rises.

The bill for
freedom of
elections
rejected by
the lords.

The commons after having granted the necessary supplies, brought in a bill for securing the freedom of elections of members of parliament. Great debates arose about several clauses that were offered to be inserted in the bill; particularly, that no officer of the customs or excise should vote at any election for parliament men. This was strenuously opposed, as taking away from those officers their birthright, as Englishmen and Freeholders; upon which that clause was dropped. Another was proposed, that no person, who did not pay scot, and lot, should have a vote in a corporation. This was also opposed, ' because (as it was urged) it had already been adjudged at committees of elections, and agreed to by the house in several cases, that such persons, in some places, should have no votes; and in other places they should be allowed to vote, provided they did not receive alms from the parish.' As this clause was not insisted upon, the bill passed, and was sent up to the lords. The earl of Sunderland endeavoured to shew the impossibility of the several clauses of the bill being put in execution, without exposing the most innocent persons to the guilt of perjury. After several speeches on both sides, the bill was rejected by 48 voices against 30.

The parlia-
ment is dis-
solved.

An act passed this session, to enable the South-Sea company to dispose of the effects in their hands by way of lottery or subscription, in order to pay the debts of the company.

By

By a clause in this bill, the South-Sea company were im- Geo. I.
powered to sell 200,000 l. a year of their capital stock for the 1721-22.
same purpose. Another act passed, to prolong the times for
hearing and determining claims upon the estates of the South-
Sea directors, and of Mr. Aislaby and Mr. Craggs.

On the 7th of March, the business of the session being
over, the king came to the house of peers, and put an end to
the parliament, with the following speech to both houses : The parlia-
ment dis-
solved.

‘ My lords and gentlemen,

‘ **Y**OU could not have given me a more acceptable in-
stance of your zeal and affection, than by dispatch-
ing, with so much unanimity, the several particulars I re-
commended to you at the beginning of this session, for the
ease and advantage of my people.

‘ The many and great encouragements you have given to
our trade and manufactures, and the provision you have
made for our being supplied with naval stores from our own
plantations, will, I make no doubt, excite the industry of
my subjects, employ a greater number of the poor, increase
our navigation, and be a considerable addition to the riches
and strength of this nation.

‘ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

‘ The raising the current supplies for the year, and the
making a provision for the discharge of so considerable a
part of the debt of the navy, is a farther proof of your af-
fection to me, and your regard for the public; and your
doing it, in a manner so little burthensome to my people,
gives me the greatest satisfaction.

‘ My lords and gentlemen,

‘ I cannot in justice part with this parliament, without re-
turning you my sincere thanks for your steady and reso-
lute adherence to my person and government, and to the
interest of the Protestant cause both at home and abroad.
The enemies of our happy constitution have given the
strongest and most honourable testimony of your behaviour
in these particulars, by the implacable malice, which they
have, upon all occasions, expressed against you.

‘ You must all be sensible, that they are at this juncture
reviving, with the greatest industry, the same wicked arts

Geo. I. 1721-22. ' of calumny and defamation, which have been the constant
 ' preludes to public troubles and disorders : And such is their
 ' infatuation, that they flatter themselves, the grossest misre-
 ' presentations will turn to their advantage, and give them an
 ' opportunity of recommending themselves to the favour and
 ' good opinion of my people. But I have so just a confi-
 ' dence in the affection of my subjects, and in their regard
 ' for their own welfare, that I am persuaded they will not
 ' suffer themselves to be thus imposed upon, and betrayed
 ' into their own destruction.

' For my part, as the preservation of the constitution in
 ' church and state shall always be my care, I am firmly de-
 ' termined to continue to countenance such, as have mani-
 ' fested their zeal for the present establishment, and have the
 ' religion and civil rights of all my subjects truly at heart;
 ' and I question not but that behaviour, which has justly re-
 ' commended them to me, will effectually secure to them
 ' the good-will of all that are well-affected to my govern-
 ' ment, and will convince the world, that the expectations
 ' of those are very ill grounded, who hope to prevail with a
 ' Protestant free people, to give up their religion and liberties
 ' into the hands of such as are enemies unto both.'

After this speech the parliament was prorogued to the 15th
 of March, but, on the 10th, a proclamation was published
 to dissolve the parliament, and, three days after, another for
 calling a new one.

1722.
 Death of
 the earl of
 Sunderland,
 April 9.

Soon after the dissolution of the parliament, died Charles
 Spencer, earl of Sunderland, whose abilities as a minister
 were indisputable, but who exposed himself to great odium
 by the violence of his temper, and the share he was thought
 to have had in the South-Sea scheme; and in the later part
 of his life it is thought, upon good grounds, that he had en-
 tered into correspondencies and designs, which would have
 been fatal to himself, or to the public.

and of the
 duke of
 Marlbo-
 rough.
 June 16.

His death was followed in less than a month by that of his
 father-in-law the duke of Marlborough, whose character has
 been given in the former part of this history (a). He was in-

(a) It may not be improper to insert here the monumental inscription on the pillar in the park, before the castle of Blenheim, which enumerates the duke of Marlborough's exploits in a plain, elegant, and masculine style :

OF ENGLAND.

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interred the 9th of August, with great funeral pomp, in Westminster-Abbey; and was succeeded as master-general of Geo. I. 1722.

The Castle of Blenheim was founded by Q. ANN.

In the fourth Year of her Reign;

In the Year of the Christian Æra 1705;

A Monument designed to perpetuate the Memory of the signal Victory

Obtained over the French and Bavarians,

Near the Village of Blenheim,

On the Banks of the Danube,

By JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH:

The Hero not only of his Nation, but of his Age;
Whose Glory was equal in the Council and in the Field;

Who by Wisdom, Justice, Candour and Address,

Reconciled various, and even opposite Interests:

Acquired an Influence, which no Rank, no Authority
can give,

Nor any Force but that of superior Virtue;

Became the fixed important Center,

Which united in one common Cause

The principle States of Europe;

Who by military Knowledge, and irresistible Valour,

In a long Series of uninterrupted Triumphs,

Broke the Power of France,

When raised the highest, when exerted the most;

Rescued the Empire from Desolation;

Asserted and confirmed the Liberties of Europe.

PHILIP, a grandson of the house of France, united to the interests, directed by the policy, supported by the arms of that crown, was placed on the throne of Spain. King William the Third beheld this formidable union of two great, and

once rival, monarchies. At the end of a life spent in defending the liberties of Europe, he saw them in their greatest danger. He provided for their security, in the most effectual manner. He took the duke of Marlborough into his service.

Ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
To the States-General of the United Provinces.

Geo. I. of the ordinance, and colonel of the first regiment of foot-
 1722. guards by the earl of Cadogan.

The

The duke contracted several alliances before the death of king WILLIAM. He confirmed and improved these. He contracted others, after the accession

of Queen ANNE; and reunited the confederacy, which had been dissolved at the end of a former war, in a stricter and firmer league.

Captain-General and Commander in Chief
 Of the Forces of GREAT-BRITAIN.

The duke led to the field the army of the allies. He took with surprizing rapidity Venlo, Ruremonde, Stevenswaert, Liege. He extended and secured the frontiers of the Dutch. The enemies, whom he found insulting at the gates of Nimweghen, were driven to seek for shelter behind their lines. He forced Bonne, Huy, Limbourg in another campaign. He opened the communication of the Rhine, as well as the Maes. He added all the country between these rivers to his former conquests. The arms of France, favoured by the defection of the elector of Bavaria, had penetrated into the heart of the empire. This mighty body lay exposed to immediate ruin. In that memorable crisis, the duke of MARLBOROUGH led his troops with unexampled celerity, secrecy, order, from the Ocean to the Danube. He saw; he attacked; nor stopped, but to conquer the enemy. He forced the Bavarians, sustained by the French, in their strong intrenchments at Schellenberg. He passed the Danube. A second royal army, composed of the best troops of France, was sent to reinforce the first. That

of the confederates was divided. With one part of it the siege of Ingolstadt was carried on. With the other the duke gave battle to the united strength of France and Bavaria. On the second day of August, 1704, he gained a more glorious victory than the histories of any age can boast. The heaps of slain were dreadful proofs of his valour. A marshal of France, whole legions of French, his prisoners, proclaimed his mercy. Bavaria was subdued. Ratisbon, Augsburg, Ulm, Memmingen, all the usurpations of the enemy, were recovered. The liberty of the diet, the peace of the empire, were restored. From the Danube the duke turned his victorious arms toward the Rhine, and the Moselle. Landau, Treves, Traerbach, were taken. In the course of one campaign the very nature of the war was changed. The invaders of other states were reduced to defend their own. The frontier of France was exposed in its weakest part to the efforts of the allies.

That he might improve his advantage, that he might push the sum of things to a speedy decision, the duke of MARLBOR-

BO-

The elections for members of parliament were carried on with great zeal on both sides, but the majority of the elected, Geo. I.
1722.

BOROUGH led his troops early in the following year once more to the Moselle. They, whom he had saved a few months before, neglected to second him now. They, who might have been his companions in conquest, refused to join him. When he saw the generous designs he had formed frustrated by private interest, by pique, by jealousy, he returned with speed to the Maes. He returned; and fortune and victory returned with him. Liege was relieved; Hay re-taken; the French, who had pressed the army of the States-General with superior numbers, retired behind intrenchments, which they deemed impregnable. The duke forced these intrenchments, with inconsiderable loss, on the 7th day of July, 1705. He defeated a great part of the army, which defended them. The rest escaped by precipitate retreat. If advantages proportionable to this success were not immediately obtained, let the failure be ascribed to that misfortune, which attends most confederacies, a division of opinions, where one alone should judge; a division of powers, where one alone should command. The disappointment itself did honour to the duke. It became the wonder of mankind how he could do so much under those restraints, which had hindered him from doing more.

Powers more absolute were given him afterwards. The increase of his powers multiplied his victories. At the opening

of the next campaign, when all his army was not yet assembled, when it was hardly known that he had taken the field, the noise of his triumphs was heard over Europe. On the 12th of May, 1706, he attacked the French at Ramilies. In the space of two hours, the whole army was put to flight. The vigour and conduct, with which he improved this success, were, equal to those, with which he gained it. Louvain, Brussels, Malines, Liere, Ghent, Oudenard, Antwerp, Damme, Bruges, Courtray surrendered. Ostend, Menin, Dendermond, Aeth were taken. Brabant and Flanders were recovered. Places which had resisted the greatest generals for months, for years; provinces, disputed for ages, were the conquests of a summer. Nor was the duke content to triumph alone. Solicitous for the general interest, his care extended to the remotest scenes of the war. He chose to lessen his own army, that he might enable the leaders of other armies to conquer. To this it must be ascribed that Turin was relieved, the duke of Savoy reinstated, the French driven with confusion out of Italy.

These victories gave the confederates an opportunity of carrying the war, on every side, into the dominions of France. But she continued to enjoy a kind of peaceful neutrality in Germany. From Italy she was once alarmed, and had no more to fear. The entire reduction of this power, whose ambition

Geo. I. ted, was clearly in favour of the court ; as was likewise that
 1722. of the sixteen Scots peers, who were the dukes of Montrose
 and

had caused, whose strength supported the war, seemed reserved for him alone, who had so triumphantly begun the glorious work.

The barrier of France, on the side of the Low-Countries, had been forming for more than half a century. What art, power, expence could do, had been done to render it impenetrable. Yet here she was most exposed ; for here the duke of MARLBOROUGH threatened to attack her.

To cover what they had gained by surprize, or had been yielded to them by treachery, the French marched to the banks of the Schelde. At their head were the princes of the blood, and their most fortunate general, the duke of Vendosme. Thus commanded, thus posted, they hoped to check the victor in his course. Vain were their hopes. The duke of MARLBOROUGH passed the river in their sight. He defeated their whole army. The approach of night concealed, the proximity of Ghent favoured their flight. They neglected nothing to repair their loss ; to defend their frontier. New generals, new armies, appeared in the Netherlands. All contributed to enhance the glory, none were able to retard the progress of the confederate arms.

Lisle, the bulwark of this barrier, was besieged. A numerous garrison and a marshal of France defended the place. Prince Eugene of Savoy com-

manded, the duke of MARLBOROUGH covered and sustained the siege. The rivers were seized, and the communication with Holland interrupted. The duke opened new communications with great labour, and much greater art. Through countries, over-run by the enemy, the necessary convoys arrived in safety. One alone was attacked. The troops which attacked it, were beat. The defence of Lisle was animated by assurances of relief.

The French assembled all their force. They marched towards the town. The duke of MARLBOROUGH offered them battle, without suspending the siege. They abandoned the enterprize. They came to save the town. They were spectators of its fall.

From this conquest the duke hastened to others. The posts taken by the enemy on the Schelde were surprized. That river was passed the second time ; and notwithstanding the great preparations made to prevent it, without opposition.

Brussels, besieged by the elector of Bavaria, was relieved. Ghent surrendered to the duke in the middle of a winter remarkably severe. An army, little inferior to his own, marched out of the place.

As soon as the season of the year permitted him to open another campaign, the duke besieged and took Tournay. He invested Mons. Near this city the French army, covered by
 thick

and Roxburgh, the marquiss of Twedale, the earls of Sutherland, Rothes, Loudon, Haddington, Buchan, Selkirk, Orkney, Stair, Deloraine, Ilay, Hoptoun, Bute, and Aberdeen (b).

thick woods, defended by treble intrenchments, waited to molest, nor presumed to offer battle. Even this was not attempted by them with impunity. On the last day of August, 1709, the duke attacked them in their camp. All was employed, nothing availed against the resolution of such a general; against the fury of such troops. The battle was bloody. The event decisive. The woods were pierced. The fortifications trampled down. The enemy fled.

The town was taken. Douay, Bethune, Aire, St. Venant, Bouchain underwent the same fate in two succeeding years. Their vigorous resistance could not save them. The army of France durst not attempt to relieve them. It seemed preserved to defend the capital of the monarchy.

The prospect of this extreme distress was neither distant, nor dubious. The French acknowledged their conqueror, and sued for peace.

These are the Actions of the Duke of MARLBOROUGH:
Performed in the Compass of few Years,
Sufficient to adorn the Annals of Ages.
The Admiration of other Nations
Will be conveyed to latest Posterity,
In the Histories even of the Enemies of BRITAIN.

The Sense, which the BRITISH Nation had
Of his transcendent Merit,
Was expressed.
In the most solemn, most effectual, most durable Manner.

The ACTS of PARLIAMENT, inscribed on this Pillar,
Shall stand
As long as the BRITISH Name and Language last,
Illustrious Monuments
Of MARLBOROUGH's Glory
And
Of BRITAIN's Gratitude.

(b) About this time David Graham, eldest son of the duke of Montross, was created earl Graham of Belford in Northumberland, and Robert Ker, only son of the duke of Roxburgh,

earl Ker of Wakefield in Yorkshire. John Leslie, earl of Rothes, dying soon after his election, James Ogilvie, earl of Finlater and Seafield was elected in his room.

CHAP. V.

*A plot discovered—several persons taken up—first session of the second parliament—debates on the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act—the pretender's declaration—a tax upon Papists—trial and execution of Laver—act against bishop Atterbury—Burford's club—the Ham-
burgh lottery—the Ostend East-India company—the session ends—the king goes abroad—his clemency—state of foreign affairs—Wood's half-pence—death of earl Cowper—of the duke of Orleans—the king returns—the second session of the second parliament—its proceedings and end—the king's letters to the universities—king Philip's abdication—persecution in France—and at Thorn—the third session of the second parliament—affair of the masters in chancery—trial of the earl of Macclesfield—debts of the civil list discharged—Bolingbroke petitions the parliament—bill passed in his favour—other bills passed—birth of the princess Louisa—session ends—revival of the knights of the Bath—riots in Scotland—foreign affairs—treaty of Vienna—a private one between Spain and the emperor—treaty of Hanover—the king's stormy passage to England—the fourth session of the second parliament—proceedings of the commons—Mr. Hampden's affair—the king's message for an extraordinary supply—the session ends—Sir Charles Wager sails to Russia—and Hosier to the West-Indies—Ripparda dismissed—Holland accedes to, and Prussia falls off from, the treaty of Hanover—the fifth session of the second parliament—debates on the king's speech—proceedings of the commons—Palms's memorial censured by the parliament—Sweden accedes to the treaty of Hanover—treaty with Denmark—and with Hesse-Cassel—motion for a clause in the malt tax—and for raising part of the supply in the coal tax—session ends—*

Gi-

Gibraltar besieged—a fleet sent to the Baltic---preliminary articles for peace agreed on---cessation of arms 1722. ---death and character of king George I.

IT was king George's lot to meet with continual disturbances. The affair of the South-Sea, and the favour shown to the managers of that scheme, had raised great discontents. It was natural for the enemies of his person and government to improve such a juncture: Accordingly they did so; and, though without hope of any foreign assistance, they imagined it possible to succeed in their designs, unless prevented by a discovery. The king had some suspicion of a plot, which he had intimated in his speech to both houses, but, presently after, his suspicions were turned into certainty. In the beginning of May he had full information of a conspiracy formed against him, the first notice of which came from the duke of Orleans.

A plot discovered.

Upon this information, a camp was marked out in Hyde-Park, to which the troops of the king's household marched the next day. Orders were issued to all military officers immediately to repair to their respective commands. Lieutenant-general Maccartney was dispatched to Ireland, to bring over some troops from thence into the west of England. Messengers were sent to Scotland to secure some suspected persons; and Mr. Horace Walpole, who, some days before, went over to Holland, was instructed to desire the States, to keep in readiness the guarantee troops, in order to be sent into England in case of necessity. On the other hand, colonel Churchill was sent to the court of France, with a private commission, probably to see how far the assurances from thence were to be depended upon. By these precautions the public tranquillity was preserved in Great-Britain. However, the apprehensions of the plot did not a little affect public credit; for, on May the 7th, South-Sea stock fell from 90 to 77; and the timorous or disaffected began to run upon the Bank. But, a few days after, the funds gradually rose to their former value.

Precautions against the plot.

To authorize these precautions, and sound the temper of the people, the lord Townshend writ the following letter to the lord-mayor of London:

My

My lord,

Whitehall, May 8, 1722.

A letter to
the lord-
mayor about
it.

‘ His majesty having nothing more at heart than the peace and safety of this good city of London, the protection of its inhabitants, and the support of public credit, has commanded me to acquaint your lordship, that he has received repeated and unquestionable advices, that several of his subjects, forgetting the allegiance they owe to his majesty, as well as the natural love they ought to bear to their country, have entered into a wicked conspiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raising a rebellion in this kingdom in favour of a Popish pretender, with a traiterous design to overthrow our excellent constitution both in church and state, and to subject a Protestant free people to tyranny and superstition; but I am persuaded, that it will be a great satisfaction to your lordship and the city, to find, that, at the same time I am ordered to inform you of this design, I am likewise commanded by his majesty to let you know, that he is firmly assured that the authors of it neither are, nor will be supported, nor even countenanced by any foreign power. And as his majesty has had timely notice of their wicked machinations, and has made the proper dispositions for defeating them, he has no reason to doubt, but by the continuance of the blessing of almighty God, and the ready assistance of his faithful subjects, this effort of the malice of his enemies will be turned to their own confusion.

His majesty makes no doubt, but your lordship, pursuant to the trust reposed in you, will, in conjunction with the other magistrates of this good city of London, exert, with the utmost care and vigilance, your authority at so important a conjuncture, for the preservation of the public peace, and the security of the city.’

I am, &c.

T O W N S H E N D.

The reception this letter met with was very acceptable to the court. An address was presented by the court of aldermen, thanking the king for his indulgent regard to the city of London, by informing them of the wicked designs of his enemies both at home and abroad, and congratulating him upon the happy success of his negotiations, which had procured assurances, that these traiterous purposes would not be supported by any foreign power:

‘ When

When we reflect (continues the address) on the many blessings, which Britons enjoy, under the protection of a prince, who makes the law of this land his rule for the government of his people, when we consider that neither the civil, or religious rights of your majesty's subjects, have met with the least instance of violation, since your majesty's happy accession to the throne of these realms, when we recollect your majesty's royal clemency and benevolence, (since the last rebellion) to numbers of those who offended, in the highest degree, against their king, and the laws of their country, we cannot but express the utmost abhorrence of those vile and detestable persons, who shall again conspire and attempt to bring a free and happy people under the yoke and tyranny of superstition, and to involve this nation in a state of blood, misery, and utmost confusion.

And as these must be the unavoidable consequences attending any enterprize to alter our present happy establishment, and to introduce a Popish one;

As Englishmen that value our liberties; as honest men that have sworn allegiance to your majesty, and who have abjured and renounced the pretender; and as real friends to our excellent constitution in church and state (with a Protestant prince at the head of it) we beg leave, in the most solemn manner, to declare to your majesty, that, as we are bound in gratitude, we will exert ourselves in our several stations, with the utmost care and vigilance, for the preservation of the public peace and tranquility, and for the restoring of public credit; and that we will use our sincere and hearty endeavours for the firm support of your majesty upon the throne, and for the making your reign easy and happy.'

The example of London was followed by many other cities and burroughs, who all expressed the same zeal and devotion. But, notwithstanding these assurances, the king's journey to Hanover was laid aside, though the regency had been settled, in which the prince of wales had no part. The court, however, went to Kensington, and the prince and princess retired to Richmond.

Various were the reports about the nature and discovery of the conspiracy, as the government did not as yet think fit to publish the particulars. However, to remove all suspicion of its reality, several persons were taken up. On the 21st of May, Mr. George Kelly, who went under the name of Johnson, an Irish clergyman, was seized at his lodgings in Bury-street, by three messengers, for treasonable correspondencies; and, having delivered his sword and papers to them, they

Several persons taken up.

1722. C. . . they placed them in a window, and went in search of other things. Their negligence gave him an opportunity of recovering his sword, which he drew, and swore he would run the first man through the body, that disturbed him in what he was doing, which was burning his papers in a candle with his left hand, whilst he held his drawn sword in the other. When the papers were burnt, he surrendered himself.

On the 4th of August, Mr. Robert Cotton, of Huntingdonshire, one of the gentlemen concerned in the late rebellion, and cleared by the act of grace, was seized at his lodgings overagainst Somerset-house, as were also his footman and landlady. Two days after, Mr. Cochran and Mr. Smith were brought prisoners from Edinburg, and Cochran was committed to the Tower. One John Sample, formerly a servant to Sir Robert Sutton, while he resided as envoy extraordinary at the court of France, having been taken up for high-treason, and being in custody of a messenger, found means, on the 5th of August, to make his escape, upon which a proclamation was issued out, with a reward of 1000 l. for apprehending him. And, on the 13th, another proclamation, with the like reward, was published for apprehending Mr. Thomas Carte, a Nonjuring clergyman, against whom a warrant had been issued by one of the secretaries of state.

On the 24th of August, Dr. Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, and dean of Westminster, was apprehended by some of the king's messengers, who, having searched his house, and secured some of his papers, carried him before a committee of the privy-council, who, having examined him, committed him to the Tower for high-treason. The next day, Mr. Thomas Moore, vicar of St. Botolph Aldersgate, formerly secretary to the bishop of Rochester, was likewise taken up, and afterwards examined, but soon after discharged.

About the middle of September, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Neynoe, a young Irish priest, and two other persons, were seized at Deal, and brought up prisoners to London. About the same time Mr. Laver, a young counsellor of the Temple, being also apprehended he endeavoured, the next day, to make his escape; and succeeded so far in his design, that he found means to get out at a back-window two story high, and, having reached the river-side, he gave a sculler some guineas to carry him over the water to Southwark with all possible expedition. But being discovered, upon his going off,

off, by a servant maid, he was immediately pursued, and, a hue-and-cry being raised after him, he was taken and brought back, and the next morning committed to the Tower. On the 21st of September, he was brought under a strong guard to the Cock-pit at White-hall, and, having been some hours under examination, before a committee of the privy-council, was remanded to his confinement. The day before, Mr. Sayer, of the Temple, was taken into custody; as was also, the next day, Mr. Stewart, clerk to Mr. Layer, while his master was under examination. The same day, John Plunket, serjeant to a company of invalids at Plymouth, was seized at Chelsea, upon suspicion of being concerned with Mr. Layer, and, after examination, committed to the custody of a messenger. On the 25th, Mr. Shippen's house in Norfolk-street was searched for papers, that might give light into some suspicions. Warrants were likewise issued out for apprehending the lord North and Grey, who was gone as far as the Isle of Wight, and had put himself on board a smuggler's sloop, having been some time at Mr. Holmes's house on that island. Colonel Morgan, the deputy-governor, being informed of his being on board the sloop, sent a captain of one of the king's frigates, to have an eye upon the sloop, and, when going to sail, to send his long-boat aboard, and secure all the passengers on suspicion; which being done, the lord North and Grey at first pretended to be another person; but, finding that did him no service, he confessed who he was; and he and the rest of the passengers were carried before the governor, who told them, he must secure them till he could write to court; and, upon an answer from thence, he had orders to send them up in custody. The lord North and Grey's house, in Great-Queen-street, being also searched for papers, the messenger found there Mr. Swathsegger, secretary to the earl of Orrery, who was seized and committed to custody; and, the next morning, September 27, the earl himself was brought to town from his seat at Brittel in Buckinghamshire, and, having been examined at the Cock-pit, was ordered to be confined that night at his own house in Glass-House-Street, under a guard of thirty soldiers; and, the next day, in the evening, was again examined by a committee of the privy-council, and committed to the Tower; as was also the lord North and Grey, being brought up from Portsmouth by lieutenant-general Maccartney, colonel Gordon, and a messenger.

On the 16th of September Mr. Fleetwood was taken into custody, and Mrs. Layer, ignorant of her husband's fate,
and

Geo. I. and coming over from France, was about the same time 1722. seized at Dover.

Two days after, Mr. Stephen Neynoe, the Irish priest, seized at Deal, being closely confined in the house of Mr. Crawford, one of the king's messengers, in Manchester-court, near the Thames, found means about three in the morning, to make his escape from a window two story high, by tying the blanket and sheets together, and got to the wall of a neighbouring garden adjoining to the river; but not knowing, that the tide was high, he leaped into the water, and being unskilled in swimming, was drowned.

After the bishop of Rochester had lain a fortnight in prison, Sir Constantine Phipps presented a petition to the court at the sessions house in the Old-Bailey, in the name of Mrs. Morris, the bishop's daughter, praying that, in consideration of the bishop's ill state of health, he might be either brought to a speedy trial, or bailed or discharged: But it was overruled, as were also the petitions of two other prisoners for the plot, Cochran and Dennis Kelly.

The commitment of the bishop of Rochester made a great noise through the whole kingdom, and gave occasion to the disaffected to heighten jealousies and discontents. They pretended his confinement was injurious to the Church of England, and the episcopal order, and went so far as to offer up public prayers for him (under pretence of his being afflicted with the gout) in most churches and chapels in London and Westminster, on Sunday the 16th of September. On the other hand, endeavours were used to remove the prejudices of the clergy against the ministry, and Dr. Gibson, bishop of Lincoln (late of London) wrote a circular letter, wherein he sets forth the indulgence wherewith the bishop was treated: The great respect the order of bishops met with from the king, who in the disposal of his preferments was directed by their advice: The improbability of so unpopular an act, without a just and even necessary foundation: And lastly, the safety of the nation, which requires that all delinquents should be censured as such, without any regard to the office, or title, or honour they bear (c).

The

(c) Whilst the public was employed in condemning or acquitting the imprisoned bishop, the king thought proper to show himself to the people. He set

out the latter end of August for his western progress, accompanied by the prince of Wales. He came to Hackwood, a seat of the duke of Bolton, near Basingstoke

The noise made by the conspiracy seemed to require the meeting of the parliament as soon as the season would permit. Accordingly, on the 9th of October, the king came to the house of lords, and opened the session with a speech very proper to remove any doubts which might have been entertained of the plot:

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1722.

First session
of the se-
cond parlia-
ment.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I AM concerned to find myself obliged, at the opening of this parliament, to acquaint you, that a dangerous conspiracy has been for some time formed, and is still carrying on, against my person and government, in favour of a Popish pretender. The king's speech.

“ The discoveries I have made here, the informations I have received from my ministers abroad, and the intelligences I have had from the powers in alliance with me, and indeed from most parts of Europe, have given me most ample and concurrent proofs of this wicked design.

“ The conspirators have, by their emissaries, made the strongest instances for assistance from foreign powers, but were disappointed of their expectations. However, confiding in their numbers, and not discouraged by their former ill success, they resolved once more upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of my government.

“ To this end they provided considerable sums of money, engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, secured large quantities of arms and ammunition, and thought themselves in such readiness, that, had not the conspiracy been timely discovered, we should, without doubt, before now, have seen the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, involved in blood and confusion.

Wingfield in Hampshire, on the 28th of August, lay there that night, and the next day arrived at Salisbury, being received every where with demonstrations of the greatest affection and joy. On the 30th, he went to the camp near that city, and reviewed Londonderry's and Wade's regiments of horse, and Evan's and Gore's

regiments of dragoons; and Wills's, Cadogan's Pocock's Stanwix's, Groves's, Montague's, and Clayton's regiments of foot. The king returned by the way of Winchester, visited Portsmouth, lay at Stanstead, the seat of the earl of Scarborough, and arrived at Kensington on the first of September.

“ The

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“ The care I have taken, has, by the blessing of God,
“ hitherto prevented the execution of their traiterous pro-
“ jects. The troops have been incamped all this summer:
“ Six regiments (though very necessary for the security of
“ that kingdom) have been brought over from Ireland:
“ The States-General have given me assurances, that they
“ would keep a considerable body of forces in readiness to
“ embark on the first notice of their being wanted here,
“ which was all I desired of them, being determined not to
“ put my people to any more expence than what was abso-
“ lutely necessary for their peace and security.

“ Some of the conspirators have been taken up, and
“ secured, and endeavours are used for the apprehending
“ others.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ Having thus in general laid before you the state of the
“ present conspiracy, I must leave to your consideration
“ what is proper and necessary to be done for the quiet and
“ safety of the kingdom. I cannot but believe the hopes
“ and expectations of our enemies are very ill grounded, in
“ flattering themselves, that the late discontents, occasioned
“ by private losses and misfortunes, however industriously
“ and maliciously fomented, are turned into disaffection, and
“ a spirit of rebellion.

“ Had I, since my accession to the throne, even at-
“ tempted any innovation in our established religion; had I,
“ in any one instance, invaded the liberty and property of
“ my subjects, I should less wonder at any endeavours to
“ alienate the affections of my people, and draw them into
“ measures, that can end in nothing but their own de-
“ struction.

“ But to hope to persuade a free people, in full enjoy-
“ ment of all that is dear and valuable to them to exchange
“ freedom for slavery, the Protestant religion for Popery,
“ and to sacrifice at once the price of so much blood and
“ treasure, as have been spent in defence of our present esta-
“ blishment, seems an infatuation not to be accounted for.
“ But, however vain and unsuccessful these desperate pro-
“ jects may prove in the end, they have at present so far the
“ desired effect, as to create uneasiness and diffidence in the
“ minds of my people; which our enemies labour to im-
“ prove to their own advantage. By forming plots they de-
“ preciate all property, that is vested in the public funds,
“ and

“and then complain of the low state of credit. They make Geo. I.
 “an increase of the national expences necessary, and then 1722.
 “clamour at the burthen of taxes, and endeavour to impute
 “to my government, as grievances, the mischiefs and cala-
 “mities, which they alone create and occasion.

“I wish for nothing more, than to see the public ex-
 “pences lessened, and the great national debt put in a me-
 “thod of being gradually reduced and discharged, with a
 “strict regard to parliamentary faith; and a more favoura-
 “ble opportunity could never have been hoped for, than the
 “state of profound peace, which we now enjoy with all
 “our neighbours. But public credit will always languish
 “under daily alarms and apprehensions of public danger.
 “And, as the enemies of our peace have been able to bring
 “this immediate mischief upon us, nothing can prevent
 “them from continuing to subject the nation to new and
 “constant difficulties and distresses, but the wisdom, zeal,
 “and vigorous resolutions of this parliament.

“Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“I have ordered the accounts to be made up, and laid be-
 “fore you, of the extraordinary charge, that has been in-
 “curred this summer, for the defence and safety of the king-
 “dom; and I have been particularly careful, not to direct
 “any expence to be made greater or sooner than was of ab-
 “solute necessity.

“I have likewise ordered estimates to be prepared, and
 “laid before you, for the service of the year ensuing; and I
 “hope the further provisions, which the treasonable prac-
 “tices of our enemies have made necessary for our com-
 “mon safety, may be ordered with such frugality, as very
 “little to exceed the supplies of the last year.

“My lords and gentlemen,

“I need not tell you of what infinite concern it is to the
 “peace and tranquility of the kingdom, that this parlia-
 “ment should, upon this occasion, exert themselves with a
 “more than ordinary zeal and vigour. An intire union
 “among all, that sincerely wish well to the present esta-
 “blishment, is now become absolutely necessary. Our
 “enemies have too long taken advantage from your diffe-
 “rences and dissentions. Let it be known, that the spirit
 “of Popery, which breathes nothing but confusion to the
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Geo. I. 1722. " civil and religious rights of a Protestant church and king-
 dom, however abandoned some few may be, in despite of
 " all obligations divine and human, has not so far possessed
 " my people, as to make them ripe for such a fatal change.
 " Let the world see, that the general disposition of the nation
 " is no invitation to foreign powers to invade us, nor encou-
 " ragement to domestic enemies to kindle a civil war in the
 " bowels of the kingdom. Your own interest and welfare
 " call upon you to defend yourselves. I shall wholly rely
 " upon the divine protection, the support of my parliament,
 " and the affections of my people, which I shall endeavour
 " to preserve, by steadily adhering to the constitution in
 " church and state, and continuing to make the laws
 " of the realm the rule and measure of all my actions.'

Addreses of
 thanks from
 both houses.

The addreses of thanks were full of the sentiments which
 so strong and pathetic a speech naturally produced. The
 detestation and abhorrence, as well as the indignation concei-
 ved by both houses, at the hearing of these traitorous and
 dangerous designs against his majesty, in favour of a Popish
 pretender, were unpeakable. The commons especially ex-
 pressed themselves in a very affecting manner: ' We cannot
 express too great an abhorrence of such unnatural practices,
 nor too great an indignation against those who would have
 made the capital of this flourishing kingdom a scene of blood
 and disolation. Wicked men! whilst they have the malice
 to revile your government, and attempt to overturn it, at
 the same time have the insolence to depend upon the clem-
 ency of it for their security: While they are endeavouring
 to destroy all liberty, they are clamouring that a few of them
 are, for the public safety, confined: Whilst they are attempt-
 ing to destroy all property, they are murmuring at the ne-
 cessary taxes given to your majesty for the security of it:
 And, whilst they act against all law themselves, they trust,
 and are confident, that, even in their own cases, the laws of
 the realm will be the rule and measure of your actions.' To
 this were added assurances of not only making good all the
 extraordinary expences already incurred, but of chearfully
 granting whatever should be necessary for the safety of the
 kingdom, as they were entirely convinced, that they could
 by no other means restore public credit, and attempt the
 gradual reduction of the great national debt, than by doing
 every thing in their power for the support of his majesty's
 government, and happy establishment of his royal family.

The

The expressions [of doing every thing in their power] were objected against by some members, as too general, and it was moved to add the words [with due regard to the liberty of the subject, the constitution in church and state, and the laws now in force]. But the motion was rejected, upon Mr. Pulteney's representing, that such a clause would be injurious to the king, since it would look like making a condition or bargain with the king, and tacitly imply, either that the laws had already been infringed, or that the commons were jealous, lest his majesty should, for the future, break in upon the constitution.

As the discovery of the plot made the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act necessary, a bill was brought in for that purpose, the very first day of the session, by the duke of Grafton, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, who represented the necessity of strengthening the hands of the king's ministers, in order to a full detection and entire suppression of the traitorous designs and practices against the government, by empowering his majesty to secure all suspected persons. Accordingly, it was proposed, that the Habeas Corpus act should be suspended till the 24th of October, 1723.

Debates on
the suspension of the
Habeas Corpus
act.

This was opposed chiefly by the earls of Anglesey, Cowper, Strafford, and Coningsby, and the lords Trevor, Bathurst, and Bingley, who represented, that, the Habeas Corpus act being, on all hands, admitted to be the greatest and strongest bulwark of English liberty, it did not consist with the wisdom of parliament to suspend it, without an absolute necessity. That, indeed, in cases of actual rebellion, or intended invasion, that act had been at times before, suspended; but yet this was done sparingly, by degrees, and never for above the term of six months. That this consideration put them under a very melancholy apprehension for the very being or effect of that excellent law, since the suspension of it for a year might be as good a precedent for the suspending it, on another occasion for the term of two years, as any former precedent was now for the present suspension. That the horrid and detestable conspiracy, which occasioned this suspension, having been discovered and notified to the city of London above five months before, and divers of the conspirators imprisoned for it a considerable time past, it was very unreasonable to suppose, that the danger of this plot, in the hands of an able, faithful, and diligent ministry, would continue for a year or more yet to come; and that in

Geo. I. so high a degree, as to require a suspension of the liberty of the subject for so they took the Habeas Corpus act to be.
 1722. That, indeed, their just apprehensions would, in a great measure, be removed, if they could flatter themselves with the hopes, that his majesty, on whose known equity, goodness, and clemency, they intirely depended, would remain among us, during the whole time of this suspension: But that his majesty not having visited his dominions abroad these two last years, would, very probably, leave the kingdom the next spring to that end. That, in his majesty's absence, this great power of suspecting and imprisoning the subjects at will, and detaining them in prison till the 24th of October 1723, and for as much longer time, as till they can, after that, take the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act (if they could then do it at all) would be lodged in the hands of our fellow-subjects, who could not be supposed to be above all prejudices and partialities, as their Lordships were sure his majesty was; and who, besides, might have private piques and resentments to gratify. That this bill did, in effect, vest the ministers with an authority almost as arbitrary and extensive as that of a Roman dictator, since they might inflict, even on innocent persons (who should have the misfortune to displease them) a punishment of above a year's imprisonment, which comes little short of death, and which oftentimes occasions it. That the Dictatorian power among the Romans was always ended or laid down immediately after the occasion, for which it was given, was over; and it was remarkable, that it was never continued much longer, till a little after the Roman commonwealth (from which all other states drew so many maxims of government) lost its liberty. That so long a suspension of the Habeas Corpus act weakens the provision made in the bill for the members of either house of parliament, 'that they shall not be committed or detained, sitting the parliament, until the matter be first communicated, and the consent obtained of the houses respectively,' since it is very probable, the parliament will not be sitting the greatest part of the time, for which this bill was enacted, and would continue a law. That such is the weakness of human nature, that the apprehension of what might befall a member of parliament, while the parliament is not sitting, might have some influence on the freedom of parliament. And, upon the whole matter, since so long a suspension was liable to so many inconveniences, they thought it adviseable and consistent with the usual prudence of that august assembly, to reduce it to the term of six months; at the

the end of which, if there appeared to be a necessity for it, it might be continued six months longer, as was done before in this very reign, during the late rebellion.

These objections to the bill itself, or continuance of it for a year, were answered by the lords Townshend, Harcourt, Carteret, the dukes of Argyle, Wharton, and Newcastle, and some others. They represented, 'That the Habeas Corpus act had been suspended upon much less important occasions, upon bare intimations of a plot; whereas the king had now laid before the parliament the particulars of a conspiracy to introduce a Popish prince: That it was necessary the suspension should continue a whole year, since the conspirators (who probably would lie still all the winter) would exert themselves in the summer when the parliament was up; and might flatter themselves with the hopes of foreign assistance.' After these debates, the suspension, being put to the vote, was carried without a division, and the bill was sent down to the commons.

The debates (which ran chiefly upon the continuance of it) were much the same as in the house of lords. Mr. Spencer Cowper said, 'That he and all his family had come as early and readily into the revolution, and, on all occasions, had appeared as zealous for the present happy establishment, as any one: But yet he could not be of opinion to trust the liberties of the people in the hands of any ministry, for so long a time as above a year. That neither in king William's nor queen Anne's reigns, nor since his present majesty's accession to the throne, even in times of open and actual rebellion, the Habeas Corpus act had ever been suspended for above six months; and therefore he moved, that the present suspension might be limited to that term.' Sir Joseph Jekyll added, 'That, if, at the end of those six months, there appeared to be a necessity for a farther suspension, he should, and he doubted not but the whole house would readily come into it. At last, Mr. Robert Walpole rose up, and laid before the assembly some particulars of the dangerous conspiracy, which for some time had been, and was still carrying on, for the utter subversion of the present happy settlement. He said, 'That this wicked design was formed about Christmas last: That the conspirators had at first made application to some potentates abroad, for an assistance of five thousand men: That being denied, they afterwards (about the month of April) made farther application and earnest instances for three thousand men: being again disappointed in their expectations from foreign assistance, they

Geo. I. resolved desperately to go on, confiding in their own strength, and fondly depending on the disaffection in England: That their first attempt was to have been the seizing of the Bank, the Exchequer, and such other places, where the public money was lodged: That the government had undoubted informations of this plot ever since May last; but, nevertheless, thought fit not to take up any body, because, there being then two terms coming on together, the conspirators would have had the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act, and so the apprehending them was put off till the long vacation.' He added, ' That the traiterous designs against his majesty's person and government had been carrying on ever since the death of the late queen; and it could be proved, that there had been a meeting of some considerable persons, one of whom was not far off, wherein it had been proposed to proclaim the pretender at the Royal Exchange: That an exact account of this detestable conspiracy would, in due time, be laid before the parliament: And, as to the business now before them, though it was true, that the Habeas Corpus act had never before been suspended for above six months; yet, considering the lords had made this suspension for a whole year, if the commons should go about to alter it, the same might occasion a difference between the two houses, which, at this time of jealousy and danger might sound ill in foreign courts.' After this speech, the bill passed the house as sent down by the lords, and, on the 17th of October, received the royal assent.

Pursuant to a clause in the act, that no member of either house should be imprisoned during their sitting, till the matter be first communicated to the house, and their consent obtained, the king, by the lord Carteret, desired the consent of the lords to detain prisoners the bishop of Rochester, the lord North and Grey, and the earl of Orrery, which was readily given.

Soon after passing the bill, the duke of Norfolk was taken into custody at Bath, and brought up to London. He was examined by the council, and afterwards committed to the Tower on suspicion of high treason.

When the lord Townshend acquainted the peers with this affair, those that opposed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act were against consenting to the duke's commitment. They represented, that the cause and ground of his being suspected of high treason should be communicated to the house, and that a general suspicion was not sufficient: That this would subject every peer, even while the parliament was sitting,

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1722.

ting, to unwarrantable imprisonments, and might produce very ill effects. But their reasons were not heard, and, after a long debate, the house consented to the duke's being detained prisoner in the Tower.

As a farther proof of the plot, the king on the 16th of November, sent the following message to the house of peers : The pretender's declaration.

‘ His majesty having been informed, that many scandalous declarations in print have been by several foreign posts transmitted into this kingdom, in order to be dispersed among his good and faithful subjects, to poison their minds, and seduce them from their allegiance; several of those declarations have, by his majesty's order, ever since his majesty received from both houses of parliament the last most solemn and acceptable assurances of their fidelity, been intercepted; and amongst them an original in writing, signed, as his majesty has good reason to believe, by the pretender himself. This, together with one of the printed copies, his majesty has ordered to be laid before you, as a matter not unworthy of your consideration.’

This declaration (dated September 20, 1722, at Lucca) was directed by James III, king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to all his loving subjects of the three nations, and to all foreign princes and states, to serve as a foundation for a lasting peace in Europe, and signed James Rex. Substance of the declaration. The pretender begins with shewing how fond he is of his subjects; that though the obligation he owes to his own honour be great, yet the obligation to the safety and tranquillity of his native country is above all ties the dearest to him and the tenderest. He then talks of the late violations to the freedom of elections : Of conspiracies invented on purpose to give pretence for new oppressions : Of infamous informers : And a state of proscription in which he concludes every honest well-meaning man to be. These considerations have engaged him to enter seriously into himself, and examine his heart, what sacrifice to make on his own part for the public peace, especially of these kingdoms, of which he is the natural and undoubted father. Then he proposes, that, if king George will quietly deliver to him the possession of his throne, he will in return bestow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other states to confirm it, with a promise to leave to him his succession to the British dominions secure, whenever in due course his natural right shall take place. As motives to this resignation, he says that in king George's native dominions an uncontestable right will free him

Geo. I. him from the crime and reproach of tyranny, and represents
 1722. the difference between a calm undisturbed reign over a willing
 people, and a restless possession in a strange land, where authority, forcing the inclinations of the people, can only be supported by blood and violence, eternally subject to fears and alarms, even when no danger appears. He concludes with saying, king George's settlement here is frail and uncertain, because his title shall, while the pretender has health or any descendants in being, be for ever disputed, conjuring him instead of advising with imperious ministry, as much his tyrants as the nation's, to consult his reason, to ask his conscience, and to examine his interest and glory, and then his very ambition will admonish him to descend from a throne, which must be always shaking, to mount another where his seat will be firm and secure.

When this declaration was read in the house of lords, it was unanimously resolved, that it was a false, insolent, and traitorous libel, the highest indignity to the king, full of presumption and arrogance, in supposing the pretender in a condition to offer terms to his majesty, and injurious to the honour of the British nation, in imagining that a free Protestant people, happy under the government of the best of princes, could be so infatuated as, without the utmost contempt and indignation, to hear of any terms from a Popish bigotted pretender. Then they ordered the declaration to be burnt at the Royal Exchange. The king's message, the declaration, and the lords resolution being communicated to the commons, they agreed with the lords, only adding, that the sheriffs should attend in person at the burning of the declaration. An address was presented by both houses, expressing their utmost astonishment and indignation at the surprising insolence of the pretender, and assuring, they were determined to support the king's title to the crown, with their lives and fortunes (a).

The

(a) The address was as follows :

' We your majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament assembled: being deeply affected with the sense of those many blessings, which we have con-

stantly enjoyed, and hope long to enjoy, under your majesty's most just and gracious government; and being thoroughly convinced, that our religious and civil rights, as well as the very being of the British name and constitution, do, under God, intirely depend upon the preservation of your majesty's sacred person,

The commons proceeding to consider of the ways and means to raise the supplies, a motion was made, that, towards defraying the expences occasioned by the late rebellion and disorders, the sum of 100,000*l.* should be raised (in lieu of the forfeitures and profits of the two thirds of their registered estates) upon the real and personal estates of all Papists or persons educated in the Popish religion. This was opposed by Sir Wilfred Lawson and Dr. Friend, who said, that such an extraordinary tax would carry the face of per-

A tax upon
Papists.

person, and of the Protestant succession, as settled by law in your royal line, are filled with the utmost astonishment and indignation at the unexampled presumption and arrogance of the Pretender to your dominions, in daring to offer such an indignity to your majesty and the British nation, as to declare to your subjects, and to all foreign princes and states, that he finds himself in a condition to offer terms to your majesty, and even to capitulate with you for the absolute surrender of the religion and liberties of a free nation.

However great the infatuation of his advisers may be, we are sensible, nothing could have raised his or their hopes to so extravagant a degree of presumption, but repeated encouragements and assurances from the conspirators at home, founded on the most injurious and gross misrepresentations of the inclinations and affections of your majesty's subjects; and a rash conclusion, that because some from whom it ought least to have been expected, had broke through the solemn restraint of reiterated oaths, in order to raise themselves on the ruin of their country; therefore the whole body of the nation was ripe for the same fatal defection,

and ready to exchange the mild and legal government of a most indulgent prince, for the boundless rage of an attainted fugitive, bred up in the maxims of tyranny and superstition.

But we, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, resolve, by a steady and constant adherence to your government, to wipe of the stain and imputation from the name of Britons, and to convince the world, that those wicked designs, formed against your majesty's sacred person and government, which the insolence of this declaration proves to be most real, while it affects to treat them as imaginary, are impracticable against a prince relying on, and supported by the vigour and duty of a British parliament, and the affections of his people.

And we beg leave, in the most solemn Manner, to assure your majesty, that neither the impotent menaces of foreign assistance, nor the utmost efforts of domestic traitors, shall ever deter us from standing by your majesty with our lives and fortunes, and supporting your majesty's most just title to the crown of these realms, against the Pretender, and all his open and secret abettors, both at home and abroad.

cution,

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cution, which was inconsistent with the principles and temper of the Protestant religion: Adding, some of those, who had their education in foreign seminaries, proved some of the best friends to the present government. To this Mr. Yonge answered, That he knew very little of foreign education, but he doubted very much, that loyalty to king George was taught by priests and Jesuits in Romish seminaries. The lord Gage, who was bred a Roman Catholic, and had several relations of that religion, said, That he believed most of them to be very loyal subjects, though, by their principles, they cannot take the oath of supremacy; and therefore he proposed, that a new oath of allegiance might be framed for them. Mr. William Thompson spoke on the same side, and declared his abhorrence of persecuting any body on account of their opinions, in religion. This was answered by recorder Thompson, who stated the true notion of persecution, which, in his opinion, was only when any one is punished for his particular opinion in religion, and for serving God according to that opinion, and the dictates of his conscience. But that (said he) was not the case here, for the extraordinary tax, now intended to be raised upon the Papists, was not a punishment for their being Roman Catholics, but on account of penalties they had at divers times incurred for being enemies to the civil government, raising rebellions, and contriving plots against the state. At last Mr. Walpole represented 'the great dangers this nation had been in, ever since the Reformation, from the constant endeavours of Popery to subvert our happy constitution and the Protestant religion by the most cruel, violent, and unjustifiable methods: That he would not take upon him to charge any particular person among them with being concerned in the present horrid conspiracy: But that it was notorious to the whole world that many of them had been engaged in the Preston rebellion, and some were executed for it; and the present plot was contrived at Rome, and countenanced in Popish countries; That many of the Papists were not only well-wishers to it, but had contributed large sums of money towards carrying it on; and therefore he thought it very reasonable, since they made such savings of the incomes of their estates, that the same should go towards the great expence they and the pretender's friends had put the nation to.' In the course of the bill, which was ordered to be brought in, the friends of the Roman Catholics, when they saw it was like to pass, took the opportunity of a thin house, to clog it with a clause for including the Papists and Nonjurors of Scotland, which was

carried

carried by five voices only in the committee. But, when this amendment came to be considered by the house, Mr. Walpole represented, That, the names and real estates of the Scots Papists and Nonjurors not being registered, it was impossible to ascertain their proportion of this tax. Upon which the clause was rejected, and the bill, having passed, was sent up to the lords, where it was also agreed to with another bill from the commons, to oblige all persons, being Papists, in Scotland, and all persons in Great-Britain refusing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the security of the king's person and government, to register their names and real estates. Both these bills received the royal assent.

Mr. Layer was brought to his trial on the the 21st of November, at the King's-Bench. His indictment set forth, 'That he had been employed in forming a most traiterous and horrid plot and conspiracy against his majesty and his government, by inlisting men in Essex for the pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion; and also, that he had held correspondence with the pretender, by carrying letters and treasonable papers to him beyond seas, and from him to his majesty's disaffected subjects in this kingdom.' The first evidence proved, that the earl of Cadogan was to be seized, and the Tower at the same time; afterwards the Bank of England, and then his majesty and the prince of Wales. The inlisting men for the pretender was proved by several persons, to whom Mr. Layer had given money; and, after a trial of about eighteen hours, he was found guilty, and received sentence of death; but, being reprieved from time to time, the house of commons appointed a committee to examine him in relation to the conspiracy, consisting of Spencer Compton, the speaker; Robert Walpole, chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the rolls; Paul Methuen, comptroller of the household; William Pulteney; John Smith, teller of the Exchequer; Richard Hampden; lieutenant-general Wills, and Sir Robert Sutton. They chose Stephen Poyntz to be their secretary. Mr. Layer's reprieve was prolonged on this occasion, and, his trial not being published, the earl of Anglesey, in the house of lords, took notice, 'That, at the opening of this session, his majesty, in his speech from the throne, had been pleased to acquaint both houses with the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy, which for some time had been formed, and was still carrying on against his person and government: That some of the conspirators had been taken up and secured; and that

en-

Trial of
Layer.

Geo. I. 1722. endeavours were used for the apprehending others. That one of the principal plotters having since that time been tried and condemned, it was somewhat strange, that no particulars relating to the conspiracy had yet been communicated to that house, the rather, because several of the members had been apprehended, and were still confined, on suspicion of being concerned in it.' And therefore he moved, ' That the judges of the King's-Bench be ordered to cause the trial of Christopher Layer to be forthwith printed and published, being first perused by the king's council.' This motion was supported by the earls Cowper, Strafford, and Aylesford; the lords Trevor, Bathurst, Lechmere, and some others. To this it was answered by the lord Carteret, ' That the order moved for was altogether unnecessary, directions having been long before given by the judges for the printing and publishing of the trial with all convenient speed: That the trial being of a very large extent, and several parts of it, that were taken down in short-hand, requiring a great deal of time to be revised and rectified by the judges and the council on both sides, had occasioned the delay complained of; but that, the printing of the trial being now in great forwardness, the same would be published in a few days.' Upon this, a motion for an order to the judges was rejected, and about a week after the trial was published. However, sixteen lords entered their protests.

1722-23. These debates probably hastened the publication of the trial; and, though Layer was still reprieved from time to time, in hopes that he would make a full discovery of the plot, he waved it; and therefore he was at last executed at Tyburn, his head being carried to Newgate, and the next day fixed up at Temple-Bar; but his quarters were delivered to those who came for them. He was attended at his death by Mr. George Hawkins and Mr. John Berryman, two clergymen. His speech was very short; but in it he justified himself in what he had done, and recommended the interest of the pretender. He delivered a paper to Mr. Price, the under-sheriff, and another to a friend.

Report of
the com-
mittee to
examine
Layer.

The report of the committee appointed to examine Mr. Layer, and others, having been delivered to the house, on the first of March, by Mr. Pulteney, the chairman, it appeared from thence, that a design had been long carrying on by persons of figure and distinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the pretender on the throne of these kingdoms. That various methods had been attempted, and various times fixed for putting this design in execution.

That

That the first intention was to have procured a regular body of foreign forces to invade these kingdoms at the time of the late elections ; but that the conspirators, being disappointed in this expectation, next resolved to make an attempt at the time, that it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers, as could pass into England unobserved from abroad, under the command of the late duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpose, at which time the Tower was likewise to have been made a place for arms. But this design being also disappointed by the discoveries made in England, and the king's putting off his journey ; by the encampment of his forces at home, as well as the sending for those from Ireland, and by the readiness of his allies the States-general, to assist him in case of need ; by the orders given in Spain, that the late duke of Ormond should not be suffered to pass through that kingdom, the conspirators found themselves under a necessity of deferring their enterprize till the breaking up of the camp : During that interval, they were labouring by their agents and emissaries to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army, and depended so much on this defection, as to entertain hopes of placing the pretender on the throne, though they should obtain no assistance from abroad, which nevertheless they still continued to solicit for.

The truth and reality of these designs were confirmed by the concurrent advices from almost all parts of Europe, sent by persons who appeared to have had no communication with each other. These advices were also verified by several discoveries made at home by the informations and confessions of the parties concerned, as well as by a long series of correspondence which the conspirators furnished the government against themselves.

From several letters and circumstances it appeared, that the first design was to have been executed with the assistance of foreign forces, at the time of the elections ; that the pretender, the late duke of Ormond, lord Orrery, and the bishop of Rochester, were of this opinion ; that memorials were drawn up here, to be presented to the regent for this purpose, and that those memorials were actually presented, or, at least, application made to the regent in consequence of them, by directions from persons in England ; and that such dispositions had been made for this enterprize at that time, as broke out into riots at some of the elections ; which must have

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Geo. I. have been allowed to have been no unfavourable juncture for
 1722-23. such an attempt, considering the discontents occasioned by
 the late South-Sea scheme, which the conspirators all along
 flattered themselves they should be able to improve into a
 spirit of rebellion, and the liberties usually taken at such a
 season, when all the freeholders of England are necessarily
 assembled together, and when the whole nation is too apt to
 be in a fervent, even in the quietest times.

This design failing, on account (as it is reasonable to believe) of the conspirators not being able to obtain the forces they solicited from abroad, and of their being themselves divided in opinion as to the time and manner of execution, their next endeavour was to attempt an insurrection at the time, when they supposed his majesty would be going to Hanover. For it appeared by several particulars, that the duke of Ormond was to have landed in England with officers and arms about that time. The reason of Ormond's not coming proceeded from the orders issued at Madrid and in France to prevent him, and by the king's not going abroad. In a letter to one of the secretaries of state from Rome, notice was taken, that a person of great distinction at that place had declared it as his opinion, that the grand project formed in the conclave, for placing the pretender on the throne of Britain, was going to be put in execution; but that the same person afterwards assigned four reasons for its having miscarried, which were, the want of money, the suspected faith of the regent, the want of skill in those who were to conduct it, and the pusillanimity of the pretender, who, to avoid hazarding his own person, proposed to send his child.

The report farther observed, that the leaders, in order (as it is natural to believe) to save themselves from the danger of legal conviction, chose to manage their correspondencies by the intervention of persons of meaner rank and figure, and of desperate fortunes, who, they hoped, might escape the observation of the government; being no otherwise considerable, than as the trust reposed in them made them so. Of these inferior agents, Laver appears to have been principally intrusted by lord North and Grey, and lord Orrery; and Plunket, who travelled with Laver to Rome, and whose treasonable practices and correspondencies are closely connected with those of Laver, writes of himself as transacting part of his treasons with lord Orrery's clerk, and sends frequent accounts to the pretender's agents abroad, of matters relating to the said lord.

George

George Kelly, a Nonjuring clergyman, appears to have been the person principally entrusted by the bishop of Rochester, and to have been employed in writing for him, and conveying letters to him, until the time that he, Kelly, was first taken into custody; after which, it appears to the committee, that Thomas Carte, another Nonjuring clergyman, was entrusted and employed by the bishop in the same manner; and the committee observed, that George Kelly's correspondence has a close connexion with that of Dennis Kelly, and likewise that he appears to have been privy to Plunket's and Neynoe's transactions.

The Person employed by the duke of Norfolk, in conveying letters between him, and George Jernegan, an agent of the pretender's in Flanders, they find to be Mrs. Spelman, alias Yallop, who has likewise owned her conveying letters in the same manner between Mr. Harvey of Comb, and one Moore of Brownloe-Street, and the said Jernegan; the committee observe, that John Sample acted under the direction of Mr. Sempil (commonly called lord Sempil) and his son at Paris; and that he wrote letters to the late duke of Ormond and the pretender.

After the reading of the report, it was moved by Mr. Pulteney, that this question might be put, 'That upon consideration of the report, and the several papers and examinations relating to the conspiracy, it appears to this house, that a detestable and horrid plot has been formed and carried on by persons of figure and distinction, and their agents and instruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for invading these kingdoms with foreign forces, for raising insurrections and a rebellion at home, for seizing the Tower, and the city of London, for laying violent hands upon the persons of his most sacred majesty and the prince of Wales, in order to subvert our present happy establishment in church and state, by placing a Popish pretender upon the throne.' This question, after a short debate, was carried without dividing; and then Mr. Pelham moved, 'That it appears to this house that Christopher Layer, in his several examinations before the lords of the council, and the committee of this house, has grossly prevaricated, suppressed the truth, contradicted himself, and endeavoured, as far as in him lies, to disguise and conceal the horrid and detestable conspiracy:' Which was also carried in the same manner. After this, the attorney-general moved, 'That it appears to this house, that John Plunket has been a principal agent and instrument in the conspiracy, and has carried on several treasonable cor-
respon-

Geo. I. 1722-23. responses to procure a foreign force to invade these kingdoms, to raise insurrections and a rebellion at home, and was engaged with others in the villainous and execrable design, of laying violent hands upon his majesty's most sacred person.' This question being carried with very little opposition, the attorney-general moved again, for a bill to inflict certain pains and penalties on John Plunket. Though this motion was warmly opposed, yet, after a long debate, it was carried by a majority of 289 against 130, and the bill, being brought in, passed both houses: But thirty-one lords entered their protests against it. A few days after, the solicitor-general made the like motion in the case of George Kelly, and a bill was also passed against him, which was attended with the same protests.

By these acts Plunket and Kelly were to be kept in close custody during his majesty's pleasure, his heirs and successors, in any prison in Great-Britain; and, in case they should break prison, they and their assistants were to suffer death.

Act against
bishop
Atterbury.

The same day Mr. Yonge in a long speech took notice, how deeply Dr. Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, had been concerned in this detestable Conspiracy; aggravating his crime from his holy function, and high station in the church of England, a church ever conspicuous for its loyalty; from the solemn oaths he had, on so many occasions, taken to the government, and by which he had abjured the pretender; when at the same time he was traiterously conspiring to bring him in, upon the ruin of his country, and of all that was dear and valuable to us as Freemen and Christians: Concluding, that as he was a disgrace to his order, and a dishonour to the Church, so he might apply to him on this occasion these words of the 1st of Acts, verse 20, 'Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein, and his bishopric let another take.' And therefore he moved, 'That it appears to this house, that Francis lord bishop of Rochester was principally concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on the wicked and detestable conspiracy, for invading these kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raising insurrections and rebellions at home, in order to subvert our present happy establishment in church and state, by placing a Popish pretender upon the throne.' Sir William Wyndham said, he saw no cause to proceed against the bishop in so severe a manner, there being little or indeed no evidence besides conjectures and hearsays. However, Mr. Yonge's motion was agreed to, and a bill was ordered

to be brought in to inflict certain pains and penalties on Francis bishop of Rochester.

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When the bill came to be read a second time, the bishop sent a letter to the speaker, which he desired might be communicated to the house, and in which he said, that, though conscious of his own innocence, he should decline giving the house any trouble that day, and contented himself with the opportunity (if the bill went on) of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a member. However the commons proceeded in that affair, and, the council for the bill being called in, and the bill read, the council opened the evidence, and produced a scheme, taken amongst Mr. Laver's papers, which was read, as were also several copies of letter's stopped at the Post-office. Then the council examined several witnesses to make good the allegations of the bill; produced several papers taken at his houses at Westminster and Bromley; as also a packet taken on one of his servants at the Tower of London; and examined two witnesses, one to prove, that a letter and paper contained in the packet were his hand-writing; and the other to prove, that a letter directed to Mr. Dubois, taken amongst his papers at the deanry at Westminster, was sealed with the same seal, with which the letter taken on his seal at the Tower was sealed. Then the council summed up the evidence, and, being withdrawn, the speaker opened the bill, which was committed to a grand committee, on the 6th of April, when the leading men amongst the Tories chose to go out of the house, so that only Mr. Lawson, Mr. Oglethorpe, and two or three more, staid to speak in the bishop's behalf. When they came to the filling up the blank for pains and penalties, it was moved, that he should be deprived of his office and benefice, banished the kingdom, be guilty of felony if he returned, and that it should not be in the king's power to pardon him without consent of parliament; but without forfeiture of goods and chattels. Mr. Lawson represented, that, the evidence against the bishop being all either hearsay or conjecture, and therefore not to be depended upon, he ought to have no punishment at all. Mr. Oglethorpe was of the same opinion, but gave it another turn. He said, 'It was plain, the pretender had none but a company of silly fellows about him; and it was to be feared, that, if the bishop, who was allowed to be a man of great parts, should be banished, he might be solicited and tempted to go to Rome, and there be in a capacity to do more mischief by his advice, than if he was suffered to stay in England under the watchful

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eye of those in power.' But the bill passed and was sent up to the lords; before whom the bishop was brought to his trial on the 9th of May; and, himself and his council having been heard, the lords in a grand committee went through the bill against him; and on the 15th the bill was read the third time; after which a motion being made for passing it, there arose a very long and warm debate (a).

Earl Powlet, who opened the debate, spoke to the nature of the bill, shewed the danger of such an extraordinary proceeding, and urged, that the swerving from the fixed rules of evidence, and consequently from justice, must inevitably be attended with the most fatal consequences to our excellent constitution. Dr. Willis, bishop of Salisbury, in answer to that, alledged, that as extraordinary diseases required extraordinary remedies; so in cases of extreme danger and necessity, when the very being of the state lies at stake, if the common law cannot reach offenders, the legislature ought to exert itself. He was replied to by Dr. Gastrell, bishop of Chester, who owned, that extraordinary proceedings may indeed be recurred to upon extraordinary occasions, and when they are evidently necessary for the preservation of the state; but that was very far from the present case, since the conspiracy, in which the bishop of Rochester was charged to have had a share, had been discovered and disappointed long before. The duke of wharton, in a long speech, summoned up the whole evidence, which had been produced against the bishop of Rochester, and endeavoured to shew the insufficiency of it to prove the charge; concluding, 'That, let the consequences be what they would, he would not have such a hellish stain sully the lustre and glory of that illustrious house, as to condemn a man without the least evidence;' and therefore was for rejecting the bill. He was strongly supported by lord Bathurst, who, in the first place, took notice of the ungracious distinctions, that were fixed upon the members of that

(a) The speakers for and against the bill were as follows:

Against the bill.

1. Earl Powlet.
3. Lord bishop of Chester,
5. Duke of Wharton,
6. Lord Bathurst,
7. Earl of Strafford,
8. Lord Trevor,
11. Lord Gower,
13. Earl Cowper.

For the bill.

2. Lord bishop of Salisbury,
4. Lord bishop of London,
9. Earl of Findlater and Seafield,
10. Duke of Argyle,
12. Lord Lechmere,
14. Earl of Peterborough,
15. Earl of Cholmondley.

noble

noble and illustrious assembly, who differed in opinion from those, who happened to have the majority. That, for his own part, as he had nothing in view but truth and justice, the good of his country, the honour of that house, and the discharging of his own conscience, he would freely speak his thoughts, notwithstanding all discouragements: That he would not complain of the sinister arts, that had been used of late to render some persons obnoxious, and, under pretence of their being so, to open their letters about their minutest domestic affairs. For these small grievances he could easily bear; but, when he saw things go so far, as to condemn a person of the highest dignity in the church, in such an unprecedented manner, and without any legal evidence, he thought it his duty to oppose a proceeding so unjust and unwarrantable in itself, and so dangerous and dismal in its consequences. To this purpose he begged leave to tell their lordships a story he had from several officers of undoubted credit, who had served in Flanders in the late war. A Frenchman, it seems, had invented a machine, which would not only kill more men at once, than any yet in use, but also disable for ever any man, who should be wounded by it. Big with hopes of a great reward, he applied himself to one of the ministers, who laid the project before the late French king; but that monarch considering, that so destructive an engine might soon be turned against his own men, did not think proper to encourage it: Whereupon the inventor came over into England, and offered his service to some of our generals, who likewise rejected the proposal with indignation. The use and application of this story is very obvious; for, if this way of proceeding be admitted, it will certainly prove a very dangerous engine. No man's life, liberty, or property will be safe. And if those, who were in the administration some years ago, and who had as great a share in the affections of the people, as any that came after them, had made use of such a political machine, some of those noble persons, who now appear so zealous promoters of this bill, would not be in a capacity to serve his majesty at this time. He added, that, if such extraordinary proceeding went on, he saw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country houses, and there, if possible, quietly enjoy their estates within their own families, since the least correspondence, the least intercepted letter, might be made criminal. To this purpose he quoted a passage out of cardinal de Retz's Memoirs, relating to that wicked politician, cardinal Mazarine, who boasted, that, if he had but two lines of

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any man's writing, with a few circumstances attested by witnesses, he could cut off his head, when he pleased. He likewise animadverted on the majority of the venerable bench, towards which turning himself he said, he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice some persons bore the learned and ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless it was, that they intoxicated with the infatuation of some of the wild Indians, who fondly believe they inherit not only the spoils, but even the abilities of any great enemy they kill. The earl of Strafford spoke on the same side, as did also the lord Trevor, who, among other arguments against the bill, urged, that, if men were in this unprecedented manner proceeded against without legal proof, in a short time men would be tried as they were liked by ministers: That, for his own part, he believed he stood but indifferently in the opinion and liking of some persons, and therefore he had reason to think himself more in danger, because at present they wanted the protection of the law (meaning the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act;) and, as in a short time they were like to be so unhappy, as to be deprived of his majesty's personal protection, and were still liable to be confined upon suspicion, which he took to be no more than 'will and pleasure,' they were consequently at the will and pleasure of the ministers. That however no apprehension of what he might suffer should deter him from doing what he thought his duty: That, consonant to that principle, he had all along, and still opposed these extraordinary proceedings, which tended to lodge an exorbitant power in their fellow-subjects. That if he were to lose his liberty; he had rather give it up to one single tyrant, than to many; for a tyrant, if a man of common understanding, would, for his own sake, be tender of the lives of his subjects; whereas many tyrants would endeavour to destroy one another, to get one another's preferments. The lord Trevor having done speaking, the Earl of Seafield endeavoured to shew, that the evidence, which had been produced before them, being sufficient to convince any reasonable man, that there had been a detestable conspiracy, and that the bishop of Rochester had a great share in it, was likewise sufficient to justify this extraordinary proceeding against him, especially since they inflicted on him so light a punishment, considering the heinousness of the crime. The duke of Argyle pursued the same argument; run through and confuted the most essential parts of the bishop's defence; and aggravated his offence, by which he had debased his holy function and character, and acted contrary to the solemn repeated oaths

oaths he had taken. The lord Gower spoke afterwards against the bill ; but what surprized most people, the lord Lechmere, who, on several occasions, had expressed his dislike of these extraordinary proceedings, declared it as his opinion, that there was sufficient evidence to support the charge. He was answered by earl Cowper in a long speech, importing in substance, That the strongest argument, which had been urged for this bill, was necessity ; but that, for his part, he saw no necessity, that could justify so unprecedented and so dangerous a proceeding. That, as already had been suggested, the conspiracy had above a twelve month before been happily discovered, and the effects of it consequently prevented. That, besides the intrinsic weight and strength of the government, by numerous offices and employments, civil and military, and the wealth and interest of the well-affected to his majesty's person and the present happy establishment, the hands of those at the helm had still been fortified by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and the additional troops ; so that, in his opinion, there could be no danger to the government, if Plunket and Kelly were not prisoners for life, nor the bishop of Rochester sent into banishment. That, on the contrary, if that prelate's talent and genius lay in contriving and carrying on state intrigues, he thought him less dangerous at home than abroad : That the other reasons alledged to support this extraordinary proceeding had no more weight in them than the first : That the known rules of evidence, as laid down at first, and established by the law of the land, were the birth-right of every subject of this nation, and ought to be constantly observed, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but also in both houses of parliament, till altered by the legislature : That much had been said of the power of parliaments, which he owned was very great ; but that, in his opinion, their absolute power consisted only in making and repealing laws, and, till such time as a law was repealed, every subject had a right to it. That the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the Post-office was a very dangerous precedent : That in former times it was thought very grievous, that, in capital cases, a man should be affected by similitude of hands : But here the case was much worse, since it was allowed, that the clerks of the Post-office would carry the similitude of hands four months in their mind. That these men might be honest, and swear to the best of their knowledge ; but he was sure, they were at least very willing and forward evidence : For as he asked one of them, how he knew such a paper to be Mr.

Geo. I. Kelly's hand? He readily answered, 'He had seen the same four months before, and he was sure it could be no other.' Whereas any man, who has never so little been conversant in the world, knows, that hands may be so well counterfeited, as not to be distinguished. After this, he commended the bishop of Rochester's noble and brave carriage in not answering before the house of commons, whose proceeding in this unprecedented manner against a lord of parliament was such an incroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that, if submitted to by passing this bill, they might well be said to be the last of lords. 'Ultimus Romanorum, my lords (said he in the conclusion) was a character of honour and praise: But to be the last of British peers, by giving up our antient privileges, will never, I doubt, admit of such construction! and therefore I am for rejecting this bill.' Little was said of any great weight after this speech; and, about half an hour past nine the question being put, it was resolved in the affirmative, that the bill should pass, by a majority of 82 voices against 43; upon which several lords entered their protests.

By this act the bishop, from the 1st day of June 1722, was to be deprived of all offices, dignities, promotions, and benefices ecclesiastical, and incapable of holding any for the future. He was also banished the realm, and, in case he returned, he was to suffer death, as well as all persons that corresponded with him.

Burford's
club.

When the report and the other papers were communicated to the Lords by the commons, the earls of Scarisdale, Strafford, and Cowper, the lords Craven, Gower, Bathurst, and Bingley complained, that, in the examinations, it is set forth, that John Plunket told Layer, that they were of a club or meeting, called, in Plunket's letters, Burford's club (b).

These

(b) Layer being asked, If Plunket ever explained to him who were meant by Burford's Club? Plunket told him, It was an appellation made use of by

Lord Strafford,
Sir Henry Goring,
Lord Cowper,
Mr. Hutchinson,
Bishop of Rochester,
Sir Constantine Phipps,
General Webb,

the pretender and his agents, to denote a club of Tory lords and others, of which club lord Orrey was chairman, and consisted of the following members:

Lord Bingley,
Mr. Dawkins,
Lord Craven,
Mr. Shippen,
Lord Scarisdale,
Lord Bathurst,
Lord Gower.

The

These lords severally declared the same to be false and groundless: And earl Cowper in particular made a long speech, complaining of being mentioned in the report, on the bare hearsay of an infamous person, which was enough to give an air of fiction to the whole conspiracy; and then moved, that Plunket should be sent for and examined. The lord Townshend answered, 'That he was much surprized to find that a noble peer, whose abilities and merits had justly so great weight in that illustrious assembly, should, upon a trivial circumstance, ridicule, as a fiction, a horrid execrable conspiracy, supported by so many concurring proofs, and from a false trifling particular infer, that no part of it was true.' As the debate was like to grow warm, some members called for the question, and earl Cowper's motion was rejected by 81 against 26. The earl and Mr. Hutchinson published declarations against the false information of their being of the club, wherein they strongly asserted their innocence.

The lords had also chosen by ballot a committee of nine, to whom the report and original papers were referred to prepare what might be fit to be offered to the commons, by way of answer to what was delivered, at a conference relating to the papers. When the duke of Dorset's report from the lords committees was taken into consideration, it was resolved, That a detestable conspiracy had been formed for raising a rebellion, and laying violent hands on the king and prince: After which, the committee was thanked by the lord chancellor, for having discharged their trust with great exactness, fidelity, and candor.

Dr. Friend the physician, who had exerted himself very zealously for the bishop of Rochester, was soon after taken into custody; for, on the 15th of March, Mr. Walpole acquainted the commons, 'That his majesty having had just reason to apprehend Dr. John Friend (a member of this house) for high-treason, desired the consent of the house to his being committed and detained; and then he moved for an address to that purpose. This motion was opposed by Mr. Shippen and Mr. Bromley who said, they could not see any reason for that house giving leave for detaining any member, unless the species of treason was declared, and that the information was upon oath. Sir Joseph Jekyll and Mr. Wal-

The committee thought it justice due to several of the persons named by Layer, to observe, that the matters, asserted of Burford's club in Plunket's letters to Dillon, seemed utterly inconsistent with the known characters of some of those persons. See Report.

Geo. I. pole replied, That, by the late act for suspending the Habeas Corpus, the king was impowered to take up any person he had reason to suspect: That therefore the government was not obliged to say, whether the information was upon oath or not. But Mr. Walpole added, he did not doubt but Dr. Friend was charged upon oath; and privately declared to several members, that they had a positive oath of his being guilty of the blackest and basest treason. Mr. Shippen then suggested, that the Doctor's having spoke so warmly the Monday before in Mr. Kelly and the bishop of Rochester's behalf, was, in his opinion, the reason of his being taken up the next day himself, and at that rate there was an end of the liberty of speech, which every member of that house had a right to, Mr. Walpole replied, He wondered any gentleman could think any ministry capable of so base a thing, as to take up any gentleman for what he said in that house, without any other cause, when they knew themselves to be accountable as well as others for their actions: Adding, that they, who made such insinuations, might more easily be proved to be Jacobites, than they could make out such an allegation again the ministry. Mr. Pulteney spoke on the same side; and, In relation to Dr. Friend's having spoken in Kelly's behalf, observed, that it was usual, in all conspiracies, for one traitor to endeavour to excuse another. Mr. Shippen animadverted with some warmth upon this reflection, saying, It was not to be indured, to have a member of that house called a traitor, before he was convicted as such. But, Mr. Pulteney having explained himself, that matter ended, and then the motion for an address was carried without a division.

The Har-
burgh
lottery.

The affair which occasioned the most talk, next to the plot, was the Harburgh lottery, which was brought before the parliament this session. The lottery took its name from the place where it was to be drawn, the town and port, of Harburgh on the river Elbe, within the king's German dominions, where the projector was to settle a trade for the woollen manufacture between England and Germany. The house of commons having appointed a committee to inquire into this and other lotteries, then carrying on in London, it was represented in their report, ' That the scheme proposed, that 1,500,000l. sterling, or 16,500,000 guilders, should be subscribed; and that it was to be drawn at Harburgh, in five classes, 100,000 tickets to be drawn in each class, at 3l. per ticket; and that every person subscribing was to pay 12s. or six guilders for each ticket, before the drawing each class

of

of the lottery. That 200,000*l.* of 300,000*l.* in each class, was to be divided into lots, to the fortunate adventurers, which amounts to 1,000,000*l.* to be deducted out of the whole sum, which was to be paid the fortunate adventurers. That a sum of 1,000,000*l.* was subscribed for, to carry on a trade between Great-Britain and his majesty's German dominions; and that 2 per cent. was only paid in upon the stock so subscribing; of which a sum of 13,000*l.* or more was actually paid in money, and 7000*l.* or more was secured by notes; 400,000*l.* whereof was subscribed. At first, 100,000*l.* stock was sold at 15*l.* 3*s.* per cent. of which two per cent. was only paid in to the company, and the rest disposed of as follows; 13*l.* 3*s.* per cent. which amounted to 13,150*l.* 10,000*l.* of which was given to Mr. Nicolai; and 3,150*l.* to Mr. Benjamin Joules, for their services: And as to 13,000*l.* paid in money, and 7,000*l.* in notes, the committee could get no account what was become of it, not being able to see their books; nor could the committee learn what number of tickets had been delivered out, or what money thereupon had been received, or what was become of what they had received. That with regard to the disposition of the other 500,000*l.* 5 per cent. upon 1,500,000*l.* which amounts to 75,000*l.* was to be deducted for management; which being taken out of the said 500,000*l.* leaves 425,000*l.* which sum was to be incorporated into the stock of the first company, and to make a part of a capital of 1,500,000*l.* as the committee apprehended, of which they could get no positive information. But whether the former capital was intended to be so great, or only to consist of this 425,000*l.* and the 1,000,000*l.* which was before subscribed, it appeared to the committee, that a plain fraud was intended in joining this real sum with an imaginary subscription; of which 2 per cent. only was paid in or secured, and that probably embezzled. The trustees of this lottery were twenty; some of whom were in Germany; the rest, who were in England, were the lord Barrington, Sir John Hartop, Charles Frederick Krenbergh, John London, Fiennes Harrison, Peter Hartop, William Squire, Edward Richier, John Caswal, William Sterling, Benjamin Smith, Benjamin Burroughs, John Thompson, Henry Bendish — Foster, Benjamin Joules, and John Manley. But several of them resigned their trust immediately, being dissatisfied with the scheme, for, when Sir Thomas Webster, Sir Charles Wager, and lord Barrington waited upon lord Townshend, lord Carteret, and Mr. Walpole, they were told, that an English charter

Geo. I. charter for the advantage of the lottery could not be granted, because it was illegal and impracticable. Upon reading the report the house came to the following resolutions:

1. That the project called the Harburgh lottery, carried on in the city of London, is an infamous fraudulent undertaking, whereby several unwary persons have been drawn in to their great loss; and that the manner of carrying the same on, hath been a manifest violation of the laws of this kingdom.

2. That it appears to this house, that the managers of, and agents of the said lottery, did frequently, without any authority for so doing, make use of his majesty's royal name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his majesty's subjects to engage, or be concerned therein. After which a bill was ordered to be brought in to suppress the lottery, and to prevent any foreign lotteries from being carried on in this kingdom; and to oblige the persons concerned, in the management of the Harburgh lottery, to make restitution and satisfaction for the money they have received from the contributors. And it was also resolved, nemine contradicente, That it appeared to this house, that John lord viscount Barrington, of the kingdom of Ireland, a member of this house, has been notoriously guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on the fraudulent undertaking, called the Harburgh lottery; and for that offence he be expelled the house.

East-India
Company
at Ostend.

In December 1722, the emperor of Germany granted a patent for establishing an East-India company in the Austrian Netherlands, the substance of which was, that they were empowered to open books of subscription, wherein the subjects of any nation were admitted to subscribe. The company was to be called, the Imperial Company of Commerce established in Flanders. The fund consisted of eight millions of florins, and directors to be chose annually. The nobility had the privilege of entering into this company, without derogation in the least from their nobility: Those of any nation who subscribed 20,000 florins, were to be naturalized from that subscription: And any person had the privilege to subscribe what sum he pleased above 1000 florins, but nothing less, to prevent confusion in their accounts. The settlement of this company was to be chiefly owing to Mr. Colebrook, an English merchant.

Notwithstanding the opposition they met with from the English, French, and Dutch, they opened their books, and had a full subscription in a very few days, owing chiefly to the

the clandestine negotiations of their agents in England, France, and Holland, where great numbers of merchants subscribed to that stock, and masters of East-India ships and supercargoes went to Ostend, to enter into their service, and put them in a way to establish and carry on their trade, which they did effectually, to the great damage of the English, French, and Dutch companies. Monsieur de Fonseca, the emperor's minister at Paris, signified to the duke of Orleans, then at the head of affairs there, that the emperor was much surprized at the most Christian king's forbidding his subjects to be any ways concerned in the Ostend company. He was answered, 'That representations had been made to the emperor, that he was engaged by treaty not to encourage any such commerce; that, nevertheless, his Imperial majesty, without any regard to the said representations, had thought fit to grant a charter in favour thereof. That the most Christian king was master of his own kingdom, and not obliged to give an account of his actions, and therefore the emperor could not take it amiss the prohibition to his subjects, not to have any concern in the company set up at Ostend.'

A memorial of the Dutch East-India company (which had been delivered to the States in March) having been presented to the commons this session, together with an extract of another memorial sent by the States to the court of Vienna, concerning the Ostend company, Sir Nathaniel Gould represented to the house the great damage the East-India company had already received, and was like farther to receive by the Ostend company: it was unanimously resolved, That for the subjects of this kingdom to subscribe, or be concerned in encouraging any subscription, to promote an East-India company, now erecting in the Austrian Netherlands, is a high crime and misdemeanor.' Accordingly a bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent, to prevent the king's subjects from subscribing or being concerned in the Ostend East-India company.

There had been several general courts held by the South-Sea company about transferring two millions of their stock to the Bank of England, which was at last agreed on by the two companies. A petition had likewise been presented to the commons for the reviving the two millions that had been annihilated. Accordingly an act passed this session, whereby it was enacted, that the two millions should be revived, and added to the capital stock, and divided among the proprietors.* By the same act the whole capital, computed at 33,802,483l. 14s. was to be divided into two equal parts, one of which amounting

South Sea
affairs.

* See p. 645.

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amounting to 16,901,241l. 17s. was to be called, The joint stock of South-Sea annuities, attended with annuities payable out of the South-Sea company's fund in lieu of all dividends, viz. at 5l. per cent. till June 24, 1727, and from thence at 4l. per cent. till redeemed. The other moiety was to remain in the company as a joint stock, attended with the residue of the yearly funds, payable at the Exchequer, till redemption, and also attended with the several sums for charges of management, and with all benefits of trade, &c. And, as concerning the moiety so converted into South-Sea annuities, every proprietor should be intitled to annuities at 5l. per cent. till June 24, 1727, and from thence at 4l. per cent. and the company should receive at the Exchequer, out of the duties charged with their whole annuities yearly, the interest of the same moiety, till redemption, in trust for the proprietors: And all powers in force were to be continued for securing the joint stock of South-Sea annuities, and the yearly funds to attend the same. The annuities were payable half-yearly, at Lady-day and Michaelmas.

The Mint
put down.

An act passed this Session for the more effectual execution of justice, in a pretended privileged place in the parish of St. George, commonly called the Mint, where great numbers of debtors had taken sanctuary.

On the 27th of May, the king put an end to the session with the following speech:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I AM persuaded, notwithstanding the unusual length of this session, you will not think your time has been misemployed in consulting the necessary means for preserving the peace and quiet of the kingdom; and bringing to justice some of the chief promoters of that confusion, which lately threatened the nation,

“ The prudent measures you have taken for our common security, and your enabling me to defend my kingdoms against any designs or attempts of our enemies, are the most convincing testimonies of your fidelity and affection to me, and of your concern for the liberties of my people. Be assured, the confidence you have reposed in me shall never be made use of but for their safety and defence.

“ The papers, which have been laid before you, for your information, and have been since published for the satisfaction of the world, evidently shew, that the conspirators had brought their wicked arts and practices to such perfection,

“ that

that they confidently carried on their traiterous projects in defiance of the law, from an assurance of their being able to elude it. The respect and reverence due to the law had been lost, and the tranquility of my people endangered, had you not interposed. This made it necessary for the legislature to exert itself, in punishing such offenders, whose guilt is too certain to leave the least room for doubt, and whose crimes are too heinous to admit of any aggravation.

“ And yet it is with pleasure I reflect, that the justice of parliament has been so tempered with mercy, that even those, who are resolved to be dissatisfied, must acknowledge the lenity of your proceedings, and will be at a loss for any pretence to complain, so few examples having been made, and the penalties inflicted by bill falling so much short of the punishments due for the same crimes, by the common course of law.

“ The firmness, you have shewn, must convince all the world, how much they were mistaken, whose chief hopes were founded on the disaffection of my people. It gave me great satisfaction to see as general a concurrence in full parliament upon this occasion, as has been known on any former: And it is to be hoped, our enemies will cease to flatter themselves with the vain imagination of being able to subvert our religion and present establishment.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ I must acknowledge, in a particular manner, the great readiness you have shewn in raising the necessary supplies for the ensuing year. It is an unexpected felicity, that you have been able so far to disappoint the hopes of our enemies, as to avoid laying any new burthen upon my people: and that so soon after that great shock and convulsion in all the public funds, and in the midst of intestine alarms and disturbances, the credit of the nation so far revive and flourish, that not only the supplies of the year should be raised at a much lower interest, than was ever known in the most quiet times, but part of the national debt should be reduced from an interest of 5 to 3 per cent. and put in a course of being soon discharged.

“ My

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I return you my most sincere thanks for the indefatigable pains you have taken in the service of the public.
“ I earnestly recommend it to you, in your several stations and countries, to persevere in your endeavours for preserving the peace of the kingdom; by justice and resolution to subdue the restless spirit of faction and sedition; and by prudence and temper to reconcile the misled.

“ Some extraordinary affairs called me abroad this summer, I do not doubt but that the wisdom and vigilance of my good subjects will prevent our enemies from taking any advantage of my absence. To gain the hearts and affections of my people shall always be my first and principal care. On their duty and loyalty I will entirely depend. They may as surely depend on my protection, in the full enjoyment of their religion, liberty and property.”

The king
goes to Hannover.

The king, whom the conspiracy had detained in England the last year, had no sooner put an end to the session, but he set out for his German dominions. He embarked for Holland the 3d of June, and, after staying two days with his brother, the bishop of Osnabrug, arrived the 11th at Herenhausen. He appointed lords justices in his absence as usual, the prince being still excluded, who was now in his forty-first year. The lord Harcourt, formerly so strictly united with the earl of Oxford, and queen Anne's other ministers, and who had defended them with so much zeal, was one of the lords justices. Mr. Walpole was likewise of the number, and acted as secretary of state, in the absence of the lords Townshend and Carteret, who were with the king.

Promotions. It was intended to advance him to the peerage, but he chose rather to have that honour conferred on his son, who was made baron Walpole of Walpole in the county of Norfolk (c). About the same time, Mr. Pulteney, chairman of

(c) The lord Townshend's eldest son was called up to the house of peers, by the title of baron Townshend of Linn-Regis, and made one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber, in the room of the lord Teynham, who some days before shot him-

self, and died an hour after.

The preamble to the lord Walpole began thus:

“ Our most beloved and most faithful counsellor Robert Walpole, first commissioner of the Treasury, with the assistance of other

of the late committee of secrecy, was made cofferer of the Geo. I. household; and Philip, lord Stanhope, captain of the yeomen of the guard; Dr. Gibson was translated from Lincoln to London; Dr. Reynolds from Bangor to Lincoln; and Dr. Bradford from Carlisle to Rochester; Dr. Waugh was promoted to Carlisle, and Dr. Willis, on the death of Dr. Trimnell, to Winchester; Dr. Hoadly was translated from Hereford to Salisbury; Dr. Green, on the death of Dr. Fleetwood, from Norwich to Ely; Dr. Leng was made bishop of Norwich; and Dr. Egerton, brother to the duke of Bridgwater, of Hereford.

The king, before his departure, shewed his clemency to those who had been taken up on account of the plot. The

The king's clemency.

earl of Orrery was released from his confinement, and admitted to bail; as were also the duke of Norfolk, the lord North and Grey, Dennis Kelly, Thomas Cochran, and Swathfegger, the earl of Orrery's secretary. On the 20th of June, Dr. Friend was admitted to bail; and two days after, Dr. Atterbury embarked on board the Aldborough, a small man of war, which had orders to land him in France. He was put on shore at Calais, accompanied with his daughter Mrs. Morrice, and her husband, who was high-bailiff of Westminster. At Calais he was told, that the late lord Bolingbroke, having obtained his pardon, was just arrived there in his way to England; upon which the bishop merrily said, 'Then I am exchanged.' The king had granted the lord Bolingbroke a pardon the day after the parliament broke up, of which one of his friends instantly set out for France to bring him word. He immediately returned to England to plead his pardon, in expectation that a new parliament would repeal his attainder. The lord Harcourt had prevailed with the king to shew him this favour, though Mr. Walpole had opposed it at the council-board with unanswerable arguments: He was against loosening the hands of one, who (as he said) he foresaw, from his former con-

other select persons, and chancellor of our Exchequer, having highly recommended himself to our royal favour by his many services to us, to our house, and to his own country, we did not think him unworthy to be advanced to the rank of the peers of this realm. But,

though he rather chuses to merit the highest titles than to wear them, we have however thought fit, in order to ennoble his family, to confer on his son the honour due to the father, and to raise to the peerage Robert Walpole, junior, Esq; &c.

duct

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duct and ambition, and the natural restlessness of his temper, would go any lengths to poison the minds of the subjects, in order to disturb the natural tranquility, that he himself might the easier arrive at power. But, notwithstanding his disapprobation, he was forced to give way (d).

Before the king left England, it was agreed in council, that the troops should be encamped as they had been the last summer, and that the horse-guards should be quartered round Hyde-park, in order to be ready to assemble, if there should be occasion.

These measures kept all things quiet in Great-Britain, during the king's seven months absence. The same reasons, which had required his presence abroad, detained him perhaps longer than he intended. He was received in his dominions in the most agreeable manner, and was complimented by at least twelve foreign ministers. The king and queen of Prussia waited likewise upon him, by which means his court was as splendid, and as much the scene of affairs, as ever the court of Great-Britain had been.

State of foreign affairs.

Affairs were then at a sort of crisis: The uselessness of the congress of Cambray and of Brunswick, where little had been done, having worn out the patience of the princes whose interests were to be determined there, they entered into separate negotiations, and sought the means of coming to an agreement. The czar and king of Sweden were going to conclude a treaty favourable to the duke of Holstein's pretensions to Sleswick, of which king George had guaranteed the possession to the king of Denmark: It was to be feared, that this treaty might effect even Bremen and Verden, lately annexed to the electorate of Hanover.

On the other hand, France and Spain seemed to be sincerely reconciled, and willing to unite against the emperor. The regent had projected a marriage between the king of

(d) Mr. Walpole's conduct with regard to this transaction, and many more, was not unlike the lord Clarendon's, who says of himself, 'That he had often, as believing himself obliged in duty, argued in the Senate in favour of many points, which he had strenuously opposed at the council.' The reasons, on which ministers found their conduct on such occasions, are ob-

vious to every man of common penetration.

It is observed from the lord Bolingbroke's pardon, that Mr. Walpole held not then the first rank, either in power or confidence, but that the direction of affairs, particularly the foreign, after the death of the earls Stanhope and Sunderland, was chiefly conducted by the lord Townshend and baron Bothmar.

France

France and the infanta of Spain, then three years old, and Geo. I. had married his second daughter mademoiselle de Montpel- 1723.
 lier to the prince of Asturias, and, a year after, another daughter to don Carlos, eldest son of Philip V. by his second wife. These two powers endeavoured to draw the czar to their side; they offered new treaties to England, more advantageous than the former, in regard to trade, but strongly insisted upon the restitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon; and it was wished, that court would not be concerned in the affairs of Italy, and would declare openly against the Ostend company.

This situation of so opposite interests was full of difficulties. The Emperor, pressed too much, might declare for the czar and the Swede: Poland, confined between these two powers, could not help taking part with them: Almost all Italy exclaimed against the treaty of London: The pope had protested against any decision at Cambray to the prejudice of his right: The king of Sardinia, the dukes of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, had presented memorials equivalent to so many protestations: France and Spain were inclined to support them: War was every where on the point of breaking out: England, engaged by so many treaties, and her own interests, must have been concerned: For king George to declare against the emperor, was exposing his German dominions, and helping to strengthen two powers already very formidable to the rest of Europe: To take part with the emperor was supporting the new establishment at Ostend, and arming against himself, France, Spain, and perhaps Russia and Sweden.

King George overcame all these difficulties, or at least suspended their ill consequences. He entered into stricter alliances with the kings of Prussia and Denmark: He used his endeavours to prevail with the emperor to be more ready to end his differences with Spain, and to desist from the affair of Ostend, against which his subjects in particular, and his faithful allies the States-General, were extremely incensed. In England, as hath been related, the commons had voted against it.

One of the king's principal designs, when he came to Hanover, was to persuade the court of Vienna to desist from erecting the Ostend India company: He laboured constantly at it, but the success did not answer his good intentions: That court promised, in general, not to do any thing contrary to treaties, and the rights of others, but avoided to en-

Geo. I. ter into any discussion, and disregarded the representations
1723. that were made from all parts.

It was the same with respect to the czar. So that the king's journey proved fruitless, and the negotiations might have been as well carried on at London as at Hanover. Something was also done for the Protestants, whose complaints continued, because they were still oppressed, and new grievances were added to the old. The king of Prussia readily entered into the design to procure them ease and tranquility.

This union put a stop at least to greater calamities; and appeared to be very cordial. King George spent four or five days at Berlin, where he was received and treated with great respect and magnificence. The two secretaries of State, the lords Townshend and Carteret, who attended him, had frequent conferences with the king of Prussia's ministers, in order to conclude some alliance to prevent the czar's designs, in favour of the duke of Holstein: The proposals were neither rejected nor received, and assurance was given that no engagement should be made contrary to what had been agreed (a).

The

(a) All was quiet in England: However, there appeared now and then some sparks of division, which shewed the parties still subsisted, and had not altered their sentiments. At the election of the sheriffs this year, the rabble was spirited up at London, by the opposition which the new sheriffs, Sir Richard Hopkins and Mr. Feast, met with from the old ones, Mr. Humphrey Parsons and Mr. Child, who endeavoured to have the election fall upon Sir John Williams and Mr. Lockwood. Hopkins and Feast were declared duly elected by the lord mayor and aldermen; notwithstanding Parsons and Child had made a contrary declaration in favour of Williams and Lockwood, but, the lord mayor having dissolved the common-hall,

after the court had declared Hopkins and Feast duly elected, the old sheriffs could not meet them after the adjournment, as they intended to have done, but were prevented by the lord mayor's and aldermen's prior declaration. Feast opposed Williams in the election of an alderman for Cripplegate-ward, which being also contested, was decided by the court of aldermen in favour of Williams, upon which the rabble broke the windows of the well-affected in that ward, and committed several outrages, for which some of the ring-leaders were taken and committed to Newgate.

Pursuant to an act of parliament lately passed, requiring all persons to take the oaths before the 25th of December, or to register their estates, the sessions, held

The king having been informed that his subjects in Ireland were in want of small money, made a contract with William Wood, to furnish that kingdom with copper half-pence and farthings. The copper was to be of such fineness, and the money of such a weight, as agreed upon in the patent granted for that purpose. When this money came to be circulated in Ireland, great clamour was raised against it, and the parliament, which met on the 5th of September, came to these resolutions:

Geo. I.
1727.

Wood's
half-pence.

That the importing and uttering of copper half-pence and farthings, by virtue of Wood's patent, would be prejudicial to the revenue, destructive of trade, and of dangerous consequence to the rights of the subject: That the state of the nation had been misrepresented to the king, in order to obtain the patent: That the half-pence wanted weight; and, though the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a loss to the nation of 150l. per cent. That it had been always highly prejudicial to the kingdom to grant the power of coinage to private persons, and would at all times be of dangerous consequence.

Addresses from both houses, agreeable to these resolutions, were transmitted to the king, who, in answer to the commons, said, 'he was very much concerned, that his granting the patent for coining of half-pence and farthings, agreeable to the practice of his royal predecessors, had given so much uneasiness to the house of commons; and, if there had been any abuses committed by the patentee, his majesty would give the necessary orders for inquiring into, and punishing those abuses, and do every thing, that was in his power, for the satisfaction of his people.' Pursuant to this answer,) for which the commons returned an address of thanks) the affair was referred to the lords of the privy-council in England, by a whom a report of it was drawn up in July the next year. In this report they justified the conduct of the patentee, and observed, that his majesty having ordered that an assay should be made of the fineness, value, and weight of Mr. Wood's copper money, and the goodness thereof, compared with the former coinages of copper money for Ireland, and the copper money coined in his mint in England, it had been accordingly referred to Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Southwell, and Mr. Scroope, to make the assay and

held by the justices of the peace sexes and conditions for that over all the kingdom, were purpose.
crowded with persons of all

Geo. I. trial ; and it appeared, ' That the Pix of the copper-monies
 1723. coined at Bristol by Mr. Wood for Ireland, containing the
 trial pieces, which was sealed and locked up at the time of
 coining, was opened at his majesty's mint at the Tower :
 That the comptroller's account of the quantity of half-pence
 and farthings coined, agreed with Mr. Wood's account, a-
 mounting to 59 tons, 3 hundred, 1 quarter, 11 pounds, and
 4 ounces : That by the specimens of this coinage, which had
 from time to time been taken from the several parcels coined,
 and sealed up in papers, and put into the Pix, 60 half-pence
 weighed 14 ounces troy, and 18 penny-weights, which is
 about a quarter of an ounce above one pound weight averdu-
 pois ; and 30 farthings weighed 3 ounces and 3 quarters of
 an ounce troy, and 46 grains ; which is also above the
 weight required by the patent : That both half-pence and
 farthings, when heated red hot, spread thin under the ham-
 mer, without cracking : That the copper, of which Mr.
 Wood's coinage is made, is of the same goodness and value
 with the copper, of which the copper money is coined in
 his majesty's mint for England, and worth, in the market,
 about 13 pence per pound weight averdupois : That a pound
 of copper wrought into bars and fillets, and made fit for coin-
 age, before brought into the mint in the Tower of London,
 is worth 18 pence per pound, and always costs as much, and
 is coined into 23 pence of copper money by tale for England.
 That the half-pence and farthings coined by Mr. Wood,
 when compared with the copper money coined for Ireland in
 the reigns of king Charles II. King James II. and king Wil-
 liam and queen Mary, considerably exceeds them all in good-
 ness, fineness, and value of the copper, none of them bearing
 the fire so well, not being malleable, wasting very much in the
 fire, and great part of them burning into a cinder of little or
 no value at all.' The fact being thus proved to be on the side
 of Mr. Wood, the lords committee shew, that his majesty's
 royal predecessors always exercised the undoubted prerogative
 of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private
 persons, none of which patents were equally beneficial to
 that kingdom, nor so well guarded with proper covenants
 and conditions for the due execution of the powers thereby
 granted, as this of Mr. Wood, though the validity of these
 patents, and a due compliance with them, was never in any
 one instance till this time disputed or controverted. They
 then prove, that Mr. Wood's patent was not, as had been
 suggested in Ireland, obtained clandestinely, in an un-
 precedented manner, but after a reference to the attorney
 and

and solicitor-general, and after Sir Isaac Newton had been consulted in all the steps of settling it. In the last place they made it plainly appear by a cloud of witnesses, that there was a real want of small money in Ireland, to make small payments. But, Mr. Wood having, in compliance with the clamour industriously raised against his coinage, proposed to reduce his coinage from 100,000*l.* to 40,000*l.* value, it was thought fit to accept of it, and to send directions to Ireland accordingly (b).

The parliament of Ireland passed several acts, and particularly one for accepting the Quakers affirmation instead of an oath; and granted 340,000*l.* supply towards paying off the debt of the nation, which was about 660,000*l.* and for the support of the establishment for two years.

On the 10th of October died earl Cowper, eminent for his integrity in the discharge of the office of lord chancellor, which he had twice filled. There may have been chancellors of more extensive learning, but none of more knowledge in the laws of England. His judgment was quick, and yet solid. His eloquence manly, but flowing. His manner graceful and noble (c).

Death of
Earl
Cowper.

The

(b) Notwithstanding this decision of the privy-council of England, dean Swift in his paper, called, *The Draper of Dublin*, represented this affair in the blackest colours, and is supposed to be the author of a lampoon upon it, beginning with these words :

Now, altho' to draw water is
not very good,
Yet we all should rejoice to be
hewers of Wood.

(c) In September this year, four English gentlemen were barbarously murdered in France. Mr. Seabright and Mr. Monpeffon, accompanied by Mr. Davis, passing over to Calais in their way to Paris, set out from thence for that City the 12th of September, Mr. Seabright and

Mr. Davis in one chaise, Mr. Monpeffon and Richard Spindel-
low, Mr. Seabright's man, in another, and Mr. Monpeffon's servant on horseback. About seven miles from Calais they were attacked by six ruffians well mounted, who stopped the postillions, came up to the chaises, and demanded their money, which the gentlemen readily surrendered, they having no fire-arms to make resistance, and even their swords were taken from them. The robbers then, taking them out of the chaises, commanded them to lie down upon their faces, and the postillions to do the same. After which the villains rifled their pockets, and searched them very narrowly; which done, they ordered Spindel-
low to get up and open the portmanteaus, which

Geo. I. The king was still at Hanover, when he heard of the duke
 1723-24. of Orlean's death, who, under the title of prime minister,
 governed France as absolutely as he had done during the mi-
 nority of Lewis XV. King George was much concerned
 at the news: The mutual esteem they had for each other,
 their circumstances and interests which were not unlike, be-
 got

Death of
 the duke of
 Orleans.

which, as he was doing, he saw one of the rogues pull the dead body of Mr. Locke out of a chaise in which he had been killed in his return from Paris, at some small distance from that place; Mr. Locke's servant, a Swiss, was spared, but made to lie on his face. When they had done with Mr. Seabright's portmanteau, they ordered Mr. Monpeffon to open his, and he desired Mr. Seabright to tell them in French, his servant was gone before, and had the key with him. This man they had shot in the back, but, not being dead, he was commanded to lie down on his face, and now they fetched him to open his master's portmanteau; when they had finished their search, they cried Tuez, Kill; they first shot Mr. Seabright through the heart, Mr. Davis was shot and stabbed in several places, and his skull cleft; they stabbed Spindelow in five places of his body, and left him for dead, Mr. Monpeffon at the sametime received a shot which had laid him sprawling on the ground. A peasant of the neighbourhood, who was going to Calais for a licence to marry, unfortunately passing that way, was also murdered, and Mr. Monpeffon, who had lain as if he had been dead, lifting up his head before the murderers were gone, one of them came back to him and cut

his throat; but he and Spindelow made a shift, with the help of some of the country people, to get back to Calais, where Mr. Monpeffon died 36 hours after, and Spindelow, recovering of his wounds, returned to England. The dead bodies of the four English gentlemen were brought to England, and landed at the Tower-warf, four days after, where they were received by their friends, who gave them decent interment; and George Turville, Esq; of the Middle-Temple, who happened to pass by the place where these gentlemen were murdered, a few hours after the said murder was committed, while the dead bodies, stripped naked by the country people, yet lay on the high road, gave orders for erecting a monument of black marble, in form of a pyramid, on the spot where the murder happened, by permission of the duke de Humiers, governor of the Bolougnois, and the bishop of Bologne. These robbers and assassins robbed the Lisle stage coach, seven miles from Peronne, two months afterwards, and killed Poulart and Heunelet, two persons that accompanied the coach; two of the rogues, Joseph Bizeans, a jeweller of Leige, and Peter la Fehvre, another jeweler, being taken, were tried and condemned at Paris in July following, by this
 had

Geo. I.
1723.

got a firm friendship between them, whereof they gave on all occasions the most effectual proofs. The duke died of an apoplexy in the 50th year of his age, and according to his desire, before his decease, the duke of Bourbon was nominated prime minister.

As the death of the duke of Orleans might occasion great alterations, and, as it was uncertain whether the new minister would enter into the views of his predecessor, the king hastened his return to England. Being detained by contrary winds some days in Holland, he received there assurances, from the part of France, of the good disposition of that court, to cultivate, and even improve, the union established by the late duke of Orleans, between the two states.

The king
returns to
England.

The king came to London the 19th of December, and on the 9th of January the Parliament met, and was opened by the following speech, delivered as usual by the lord chancellor.

1723-24.
The second
session of
the second
parliament
of king
George.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I Cannot open this session without congratulating you upon the success of your endeavours last year for the safety, interest and honour of the kingdom. The rise of the public credit, the flourishing condition of our trade and manufactures, and the general tranquility of my people, are the happy consequences of your prudent resolutions. It is to be hoped, that the few examples, which were made of some notorious offenders, will be sufficient to deter the most disaffected from engaging in the like desperate and wicked practices. The augmentation you thought fit to make to our national forces, by sea and land, has not only secured the general quiet of the kingdom against any sudden attempts or insurrections, but has also given me such weight and credit in all foreign negotiations, as greatly contribute towards the preservation of the peace of Europe.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ I will order the proper officers to lay before you the esti-

most dreadful sentence : ‘ To be put to the rack, to have their arms, legs, and thighs broken on a scaffold, and to have their bodies put upon wheels, there to remain with their faces towards the sky as long as they had life, and Bizean’s dead body to be carried and remain exposed on a wheel upon the high road to Calais, and le Fehvre’s on the high road to Peronne,’ which sentence was executed to the full.

Geo. I. 1723-24. " mates for the service of the current year. I desire such supplies only, as you shall find absolutely necessary for preserving the peace of the kingdom, and for the security of my people; and those, I hope, may be raised without laying any additional charge or burthen on my subjects.

" I must, in a particular manner, recommend to your care the public debts of the kingdom, as the most national concern you can possibly take into your consideration. I am persuaded, it must be a very great satisfaction to all my faithful subjects, to see the sinking fund improved and augmented, and the debt of the nation thereby put into a method of being so much the sooner gradually reduced and paid off. It would be a work truly worthy of a British parliament to begin this commendable undertaking, and to make such a progress therein, as, with a strict regard to public faith and private property, may pave the way to this great and desirable end.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" In the present happy situation of our affairs, I have nothing more to recommend to you, than that you would make use of the opportunity, which your own good conduct has put into your hands, in considering of such farther laws, as may be wanting for the ease and encouragement of trade and navigation, for the employment of the poor, and for the exciting and encouraging a spirit of industry in the nation.

" I am fully satisfied, that the trade and wealth of my people are the happy effects of the liberties they enjoy; and that the grandeur of the crown consists in their prosperity: And I am as fully persuaded, that all, who wish well to their country, must agree with me, that it is the vainest of all delusions to imagine, that the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom, can ever be secured, but by supporting the present establishment, and maintaining the succession in the Protestant line. Let us therefore heartily join in every thing, that may tend to promote our mutual happiness, and to extinguish the hopes of those who long have been, and still are restless in their endeavours to subject this nation to the whole train of miseries, that are inseparable from Popery and arbitrary power."

Addresses
of thanks.

This speech drew from both houses addresses of thanks, with assurances of maintaining the present happy establishment, and the succession in his majesty's family, as the only solid

solid foundation of quietly enjoying their religion, laws, and liberties.

The commons, according to custom, proceeded to raise the supplies, which were granted according to the estimate laid before them by the court. Ten thousand seamen, at 4 l. a month each, were voted for the sea-service, and the army was continued on the same foot as last year. The affair of the army occasioned a warm debate, chiefly about the four thousand additional troops raised the year before, which the opposers insisted to have disbanded; but it was carried against them, and resolved that the number of effective men, for the year 1724 (including 1815 invalids) should be 18264. A land-tax of two shillings in the pound, with the malt-tax, was granted towards defraying the expences of the ensuing year.

As the king had particularly recommended to their care the public debts of the nation, the commons took the same into consideration, and came to the following resolutions:

That towards lessening the public debts, the annuities of 5 l. per cent. charged on the general fund, by a clause in the act of the 5th of his majesty's reign, except such as had been subscribed into the South-Sea, should be paid off at Lady-day 1724, as also the unsubscribed blanks of the lottery of 1714. That all these should be discharged, with the money arising from the sinking fund, as well as the two annuities, which by the act, entitled, 'An act for redeeming certain annuities, payable by the cashier of the Bank at 5 l. per cent. were enacted to be redeemed at Lady-day, 1724.' Pursuant to these resolutions, a bill was brought in, which, passing both houses, received the royal assent.

Protections from foreign ministers, peers, and members of parliament, having long been the subject of complaint, a list of the names of the persons protected by written certificates was laid before the commons, and it was resolved, 'That all protections and written certificates of the members of this house be declared void in law, and be forthwith withdrawn and called in: and that none be granted for the future; and that if any shall be granted by any member, such member shall make satisfaction to the party injured, and shall be liable to the censure of the house.' This order was to be printed and set up in the courts of justice, and distributed by the sheriffs in their several counties. The same grievance being taken into consideration by the lords, after some debate, the following declaration was made, 'That all the written protections are null and void; and all other protections, which shall be at any time hereafter given, shall be taken to be

Geo. I.
1723-24

Proceed-
ings on the
Supply.

A bill for
lessening
the public
debts.

Protections
called in

Geo. I. be null and void.' But this order is not to extend to menial servants, nor those employed necessarily and properly about the estates of peers, or any who are really their servants.

In this session, the inland duty was laid on coffee, tea, and chocolate, which has been a considerable increase to the public revenue.

Army bill
passed in
the house
of lords,

The affair of the army caused the greatest debate in the house of lords. There had been the last year an addition of four thousand men on account of the conspiracy, which was now proposed to be continued. The commons had agreed to it, and passed the bill; but the continuance of these additional troops met with great opposition in the house of lords. The two most remarkable speeches were the lord Trevor's against it, and the lord Townshend's for it (d). It was observed,

(d) As these speeches contain the chief arguments on both sides, they are here inserted at large :

The lord Trevor said, 'That, the conspiracy mentioned in the king's speech at the opening of the last session of parliament, which was the occasion of this augmentation of the land forces, being now happily extinguished, and thereby the cause of raising that additional number being perfectly removed, there was not the least reason or pretence for continuing that number. That the keeping on foot a greater army in time of peace, than was absolutely necessary for the security of the king's person and government, was very dangerous to our happy constitution: And, considering the great tranquility we enjoy both at home and abroad, he could not but apprehend, the number of regular forces allowed by this bill to be much greater, than was necessary for that end. That, if so great an army was allowed to be continued in our present happy circum-

stances, a standing army would thereby become an essential part of our constitution, since the reasons for keeping it up in perpetuity, would grow stronger every year, and in every succeeding reign. For, on the one hand, it cannot, with any probability, be foreseen or expected, that in any future time there will be less reason to be given, than at present, for justifying the necessity of keeping up so great an army, there being now as little danger to our present happy establishment to be feared either from insurrections at home, or by any disturbance or invasions from abroad, as the nature and instability of human affairs will allow of. And on the other hand, if so numerous an army be at present allowed of in parliament, no argument can hereafter be urged for the reducing the number in any future reign, but what will seem to carry with it too great a distrust of the prince then on the throne, and will be construed to imply, that the same confidence is not to be reposed in him

served, that the lord North and Grey, the earl of Orrery, Geo. I. the lord Bathurst, and others of that party, appeared very 1723-24. zealous

him, as in his predecessors.' His lordship added, ' That it was not out of any distrust he entertained either of his majesty or his ministers, that he was for reducing part of the army. That, on the contrary, he was fully convinced, his majesty will never make an ill use of his power, of which they had a sure earnest in the equity and moderation, with which his majesty had governed hitherto : But, that as they could not promise themselves, nor expect, that so good and so just a king should always fill the throne, it was prudence early to prevent the inconveniencies and dangers to which our excellent constitution and liberties would be exposed, in case, in any succeeding reign, an ambitious prince and ill ministers should have so great a number of troops at their disposal. That it was notorious, that all the states of Europe, that have lost their liberties, have been enslaved by their own armies, whose officers and commanders, growing every day in power, do, at last, turn it against those, from whom they had at first their commissions; of which we had a fatal example in England still fresh in our memories, in the person of Oliver Cromwell. That, besides the four thousand additional men, the regular forces were double the number of those kept on foot after the peace of Ryswick, in the reign of king William of glorious memory; and more numerous by one third than in the late queen's reign, after the

peace of Utrecht : That therefore they are more than sufficient to secure the government against any sudden intestine commotion, which is the less to be apprehended, by reason of the general affection, which the people had lately shewn in taking the oaths, though many of them, that took them, were not required to do it, by the act passed the last session; and he was confident, that, except a few persons of desperate principles and fortunes, who might hope to fish in troubled waters, there was no body in England, that had any thing to lose, who wished for a revolution. That, if we looked abroad, it appeared, that by the happy influence of his majesty's wise counsels, and the good alliances, that had been entered into and concerted, all Europe enjoyed a profound peace, which, in all probability, would be lasting: But that, in case of a rupture with any neighbouring prince, our fleet, which was certainly the most numerous, and the best in all Christendom, would defend us against any foreign invasion or insult. That the pay of the four thousand additional men amounted to a good sum of money. That indeed, at another juncture, that expence might easily be borne; but that in the present circumstances, when the nation is involved in so great a debt, and groans under the load of heavy taxes, this additional charge is very considerable. That his majesty, in his gracious speech at the opening of this session of par-

Geo. I. zealous for the reduction of the army, which caused the
 1723-24. duke of Argyle to say in his speech, 'That, if he saw the
 nation

parliament, having, in a particular manner, recommended to the house of commons the putting the national debt in a method of being gradually reduced and paid, it was with the greatest satisfaction he took notice, that some progress had already been made in that great and important undertaking; and that, in order to improve that good beginning, not only the pay of these additional forces, but also all other needless expences ought, in his opinion, to be applied to the increase of the sinking fund.' His lordship concluded, as he had began, with the most earnest professions of his sincere and intire affection for his majesty's sacred person and government, and for his royal family, on whose prosperity, under God, absolutely depend both our present felicity, and the preservation of our laws, liberties, properties, and holy religion.

The lord Townshend answered the lord Trevor, and said, 'That he agreed with that noble lord in some parts of his speech, but was sorry he differed from him in others. That he was thoroughly persuaded of his intire affection to his majesty's person, and the present happy settlement; nor did he in the least doubt, but he saw with pleasure the progress, that had been already made towards reducing the national debt: But that, at the same time, they ought to consider, that, as the happy tranquillity, we at present enjoy, is in some measure owing to the

strength of the government, so it was prudence not to weaken that strength, because the same might affect public credit, which being founded on the security of the government, if that security was rendered precarious they would soon see the funds and stocks fall 10 or 12 per cent. which would render the reduction of the national debt altogether impracticable, since it was impossible to reduce that debt, otherwise than by public credit. That it was notorious, that, before the last augmentation of regular forces, the government could not form and march a body of three or four thousand men against any sudden attempt, either at home, or from abroad, without leaving the king's person, the royal family, the capital of the kingdom, and the fortified places exposed; and therefore the said augmentation was become absolutely necessary to prevent these dangers and inconveniencies. That the number of the troops now on foot was not so great as to afford any just ground of jealousy, since the present forces are much inferior to those the crown had formerly. That, by the antient and Gothic constitution of the government, the king had at his disposal the militia of the realm, which chiefly consisted in archers, who were kept in constant discipline and exercise, the memory of which is still preserved, there being almost in every village a place called But-Lane. That the invention of fire-arms had made a great
 alteration

nation unanimous in opinion, that our laws liberties, pro- Geo. I.
 perties, and holy religion, intirely depend on the present 1723-24.
 happy ———

alteration in the antient constitution; and, instead of archers, the crown raised as many regular troops, as were thought necessary upon any emergency. That queen Elizabeth, who had many enemies both at home and abroad, constantly kept a considerable body of troops in the Netherlands, without any contradiction from her parliaments, and thereby maintained herself on the throne, and overcame all her enemies. That, if king Charles I. had steered the same course, he might, in all probability, have preserved both his crown and his life, since he lost both only for want of a sufficient force to suppress faction, which was the principal source of all the calamities and enormities, in which the nation was afterwards involved. That upon the restoration of king Charles II. they, who at that time had the management of affairs, did not think it proper to keep up a great number of regular troops, and therefore chose to restore to the crown its antient power over the militia of the kingdom; but that there was a secret in that. That king James II. not trusting to the militia, had an army of 20,000 men, which would have secured him the crown, had he not given a general disgust to his people, by violating the fundamental laws, and endeavouring to subvert the constitution in church and state. That in the reign of king William of glorious memory, when some leading men in the parliament thought fit to disband the

army, after the peace of Ryswick, they fell upon a project to secure the government, which was to raise and discipline the militia; but that they soon after perceived the unprofitableness of that scheme, the militia proving a great burthen to the people, and of no service to the government. That the reduction of the army had then a double ill effect; for, on the one hand, it obliged king William, and his ministers, to enter into a treaty of partition; and, on the other hand, it very probably encouraged France to break that treaty, which occasioned a second war, and was the source of two thirds of that heavy debt, under which the nation labours at this day. That the disbanding of the army had almost the same ill effect in the reign of the late queen, having encouraged Lewis XIV. to furnish the pretender with a land-force, and a fleet to invade these kingdoms. That, if at present they weakened the hands of the government, we should be exposed to the like insults and attempts. That, if our enemies may be credited in an affair, in which it is their interest to speak truth, they seemed confidently assured of success in their design of overturning the government, provided they had only an assistance of three or four thousand men from abroad; and that, considering the method now practised in embarkation, how good, and how strong soever our fleet may be, it was impossible to hinder a foreign prince, who should

Geo. I. happy settlement, and on the Protestant succession in his
 1723 24. majesty's royal family, he would readily give his vote for re-
 ducing the army. But he was very much afraid, that some
 people so strenuously insisted on the disbanding of the
 additional troops, with no other design than to weaken the
 government, and thereby have an opportunity of involving
 their native country in new troubles. And therefore those
 noble lords, who had spoke for the reduction of the army,
 would do well, when they went down into their several
 countries, to assure the people, with whom, no doubt, their
 reasons would not fail of having great weight, that their li-
 berties and properties were entirely safe under his majesty's
 government.' After a long debate, the motion against the
 additional troops was rejected, and the bill passed, as sent up
 by the commons.

1724.
 End of the
 second ses-
 sion.

The business of the session being over, the king came to
 the house of peers the 24th of April, and, passing the bills,
 delivered the following speech by the mouth of the chan-
 cellor :

" My lords and gentlemen,

" **T**HE unanimity, chearfulness, and dispatch with
 " which you have now finished every thing I recom-
 " mended to you, at the opening of this session, are fresh
 " instances of your affection to my person and government,
 " and cannot fail of contributing, with the blessing of God
 " on our endeavours, towards the establishment of that
 " happy tranquility we now enjoy both at home and
 " abroad.

" Your continuing the like national force by sea and land
 " this year, as was judged necessary by parliament for the
 " service of the last, gives me great satisfaction. You have
 " hereby wisely provided against the mischiefs from any sud-
 " den shocks to public credit ; you have provided for the
 " safety of the kingdom, and have enabled this nation to
 " hold, among the powers of Europe, the rank and figure

should have a mind to under-
 take it, to throw such a number
 of men upon England.' His
 lordship concluded, ' That the
 constant tenor of his majesty's
 administration, since his happy
 accession to the throne, ought
 to convince every body that,
 by the continuing the number of

regular forces now on foot, his
 majesty and ministers have no-
 thing in view but the public
 safety and security, and thereby
 to give the people an opportu-
 nity to improve trade, and en-
 courage industry, as the only
 means to retrieve their former
 losses.'

" due

“ due to her honour and dignity. Nothing could have been Geo. I.
 “ more acceptable to me, than your having been able to 1724.
 “ make that provision, without laying any new or additional
 “ burthens on my people.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ I return you my thanks for the care and pains you have
 “ taken towards augmenting the sinking fund, and impro-
 “ ving the public revenues, by putting them under a stricter
 “ management. I make no doubt, but that the happy be-
 “ ginning you have made will be attended with such imme-
 “ diate good consequences, as will encourage you to pursue
 “ the way you have now opened for a gradual reduction of
 “ the debt, and for putting the trade and navigation of
 “ Great-Britain on such a foot, as may not only in some
 “ measure discourage the unjustifiable incroachments they
 “ labour under from some of our neighbours, but at the
 “ same time extend her exportations beyond what has been
 “ known in former ages.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ As the early recess, which your diligence and unani-
 “ mity has procured you, affords you the opportunity of a
 “ longer retirement into the country, than be business of
 “ former sessions has usually allowed of, I assure myself, that
 “ you will carry with you thither the same zeal for the pub-
 “ lic good, with which you have been animated in parlia-
 “ ment; and that you will make it your business to discour-
 “ tenance any remains there may be yet left of sedition and
 “ disaffection, and to promote that perfect harmony and con-
 “ fidence between me and my people, which I most earnestly
 “ desire, and on which our mutual happiness intirely de-
 “ pends.”

A little before the end of the session, the king had appoin-
 ted the duke of Newcastle to the secretary of state in the room
 of the lord Carteret, who was made lord lieutenant of Ire-
 land. The duke of Grafton was appointed lord chamber-
 lain, the lord Falmouth and Mr. Edgewcombe vice-treasurers
 of Ireland, Mr. Yonge commissioner of the treasury, and
 Mr. Pelham secretary at war. Sir Robert Raymond being
 made a judge of the King's-Bench, Sir Philip York succeeded
 him as attorney-general. And Sir Clement Wearg was made
 fol-

Geo. I. solicitor-general. About the middle of May, Horatio Walpole was appointed ambassador extraordinary at the court of France.

1724.

On the 16th of May the king sent the following circular letter to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge: ' We being greatly desirous to favour and encourage those ancient and laudable nurseries of piety and learning, and to enable them more effectually to answer the end of their institution, by sending forth constant supplies of learned and able men, to serve the public both in church and state; and having observed, that no encouragement or provision has hitherto been made in either of the universities, for the study of Modern History, or Modern Languages, the knowledge of which is highly necessary towards completely qualifying the youth committed to their care for several stations both in church and state, to which they may be called; and having seriously weighed the prejudice, that has accrued to the universities from this defect, persons of foreign nations being often employed in the education and tuition of youth, both at home and in their travels, and great numbers of the young nobility and gentry being either sent directly abroad from schools, or taken away from the universities before the course of their studies can be there compleated, and opportunities frequently lost to the crown, of employing and encouraging members of the two universities, by conferring on them such employments both at home and abroad, as necessarily require a competent skill in writing and speaking the modern languages; in order therefore to remedy these and the like inconveniencies, we have determined to appoint two persons of sober conversation and prudent conduct, of the degree of master of arts, or batchelor of laws, or of some higher degree, in one of the universities, skilled in modern history, and in the knowledge of modern languages, to be nominated by us to be our professor of modern history, one of the university of Cambridge, and the other for that of Oxford, who shall be obliged to read lectures in the public schools, at such times as shall hereafter be appointed. And we have further determined, that each of the professors shall have a stipend of four hundred pounds per annum, and out of the stipend shall be obliged to maintain with sufficient salaries, in the university where he shall be established, two persons at least, well qualified to teach and instruct in writing and speaking the languages, which teachers shall be under the direction of the professors respectively, and shall be obliged to learn two at least of the languages, both the professors and teachers taking especial

especial care, that the times and hours for the instructing and Geo. I. teaching the scholars be so ordered, as not to interfere with those appointed for their academical studies; which professors and teachers shall be obliged, once every year, to transmit an attested account of the progress made by each scholar committed to their care, to our principal secretaries of state, to be laid before us, that we may encourage the diligence and application of such amongst them, as shall have qualified themselves for our service, by giving them suitable employments either at home or abroad, as occasion shall offer. 1724.

The two first professors were Mr. Gregory, of Christ-Church, Oxford; and Mr. Samuel Harris, fellow of Peter House, Cambridge.

For a farther encouragement to the universities, the king ordered that his almoner should chuse, out of the members of Oxford and Cambridge, twenty-four preachers to officiate alternately in the chapel at White-hall, with a salary of thirty pounds a year each.

The inoculation of the small-pox had now begun to be practised in England, and succeeded very well with the two princesses, Amelia and Carolina, and had the same good effect on prince Frederick, the duke of Bedford, and the lady Mary Russel, his sister. But others are said to suffer under it, particularly the earl of Sunderland's son, who died in the operation, upon which Dr. Jurin, secretary to the royal society, published a treatise in favour of inoculating. Inoculation of the small-pox.

The 21st of May died Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer, whose life and character is given at large, by the author of the * Political State (a). Death of the earl of Oxford. * May.

On 1724.

(a) The most material particulars, besides what relates to his family and circumstances, are as follow:

By his strict conjunction with the Foleys and Winningtons, his relations and their friends, he gained at last such an extensive interest, as to be chosen speaker of the house of commons. When the queen thought fit to lay aside the earl of Nottingham, principal secretary of state, Mr. Robert Harley was

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pitched upon to succeed him as her favourite and prime minister, supposing he would be most agreeable to the Whigs, from his education among the Dissenters. The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin's main design, in advancing him, was to secure his interest in the house of commons, and they fondly imagined, that, as to the grand affairs, either he would not intermeddle, or would blindly follow their directions; but they soon after

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found,

Geo. I.
1724.

Death of
Dr. Sache-
verel.

King Phi-
lip's abdic-
tion.

On the 25th of June died Dr. Henry Sacheverel. Though he had taken the oaths to the government, his will shewed he persevered to the end in the same sentiments, for amongst his legacies, he left five hundred pounds to the late bishop of Rochester. It does not appear, that he was any way concerned in the plot.

As to foreign affairs, one of the most remarkable events, this year, was the abdication of Phillip V, king of Spain. Having taken the resolution to renounce his crown, and retire with the queen to the monastery of St. Idefonso, he sent

found, that a person of his ambitious spirit would not be contented to act an under part.

They, who extol his liberality and munificence to learned men, are no more to be depended upon, than when they tell us, that he discharged the office of secretary to king William, with great address; for, as it is certain on the one hand, that he never served king William in that capacity, it is no less true on the other hand, that the only person, on whom he bestowed any public mark of favour, was Dr. Jonathan Swift, the famous author of the 'Tale of a Tub,' whom he employed, with some other obscure writers, to banter and ridicule all that opposed his measures. He was the reverse of his predecessor in the treasury, the earl of Godolphin, who never kept suitors unprofitably in suspense, nor promised any thing that he was not resolved to perform. The earl of Oxford, on the contrary, kept them, who had any pretensions, in perpetual dependance, by feeding them with hopes. This maxim he practised in a most barbarous manner, with Mr. Rowe, author of the tragedy of Tamerlane: the story is too

well known to be repeated. They who commend him for being a kind friend, and a generous enemy, have forgot with what an unrelenting fury he pursued his benefactor, the immortal duke of Marlborough, and Mr. Stephens, the minister, whom he caused to be prosecuted to the pillory, and that ignominious punishment was not remitted, till he was brought to the place of execution. His prodigious rise and greatness was more owing to his cunning in finding out the weaknesses of those he had to deal with, than to his own bright parts. For he neither was master of eloquence in speech, nor of stile in writing, but in both puzzled and intricate: His constant design being to discover other people's thoughts, and conceal his own. But he had at last the fate, which all ambidexters deserve, to be distrusted and disregarded by all parties; of which he was so sensible, that, for several years before his death, he seldom came to parliament, but lived in a country retirement, endeavouring to drown his melancholy thoughts in wine, which at last dozed his spirits, and certainly abridged his life.

from

from thence, the 15th of January 1723-4, the marquis de Grimaldo, principal secretary of state, with a packet for the prince of Asturias, his son, who, the day before, returned from St. Ildefonso to the Escorial. The marquis arriving there, and having acquainted the prince with his message, his highness sent for the Infantes to come to his apartment; and also ordered the count de Altamira, the marquis de Valero, the duke de San Pedro, the count de Salazar, the marquis de Magney, the count de Safateli, and the prior of San Lorenzo, to attend there, and be witnesses of what should pass who being all present, the marquis delivered the packet to the prince of Asturias, who returned it to him opened, that he might read what was in it, which was the instrument of his father's renunciation of the crown, accompanied with a letter of advice to direct the new king's conduct. The renunciation was also sent to the president of the council of Castile, and ordered to be published throughout the kingdom (b). Upon this it was resolved in the council of Castile, that king Lewis might immediately take the government upon him without assembling the Cortes, as having been already sworn to and acknowledged prince of Spain. The pension, which their Catholic majesties reserved to themselves, was about 100,000 pistols, and they likewise reserved about 25,000 for each of the Infantes.

The

(b) The renunciation was as follows:

Having these four years considered with due reflection, and maturely, the miseries of this life, through the infirmities, wars, and troubles, with which God has been pleased to visit me during the twenty-three years of my reign; and having likewise considered, that my eldest son Don Lewis, sworn prince of Spain, is of sufficient age, is married, and has capacity, judgment, and the qualities fit for ruling and governing justly and happily this monarchy; I have determined absolutely to quit the possession and administration of it, renouncing the same, with all its dominions, kingdoms, and lordships, in fa-

vour of the said prince Don Lewis, my eldest son; and to retire with the queen, in whom I have found a ready disposition and voluntary inclination, to accompany me to this place and seat of St. Ildefonso, here to serve God, disengaged from all other cares, to meditate on death, and to seek my salvation. This I communicate to the council for their information, to be notified to the proper persons, that my resolution may be made known to all.

His letter to his son was remarkable neither for stile nor sentiments: Amongst his instructions, he says: 'Preserve ever a great devotion to the most holy virgin, and put yourself, as well as your kingdoms,

K k 2

under

Geo. I.

1724.

Persecution
in France.

The king of France, at the persuasion of the bishop of Frejus, and contrary to the sentiments of the duke of Bourbon, published a severe edict this year against his Protestant subjects: Whoever performed any exercise of the reformed religion, if a man, was to be sent to the galleys; if a woman, to be shaved, and confined where the judges thought fit: The Protestant preachers to be put to death; and those who had any communication directly or indirectly with such ministers, condemned to the galleys: To give their children foreign education, to be punished with a fine of 6000 livres: The memory of those, who died in the profession of the Protestant religion, to be prosecuted: All concealed Protestants, who dissuaded sick persons from dying Catholics, to be sent to the galleys, if men, and if women, as before: To consent, that children should marry abroad without licence, to be punished with the galleys; and baptism and schooling were forbidden to Protestants, under the like pains and penalties. To put a stop to these severities, Mr. Horace Walpole had orders to solicit the French court in behalf of the Protestants; but he could obtain no other answer, than that 'the king's edicts must be obeyed.'

However, the court of France declared, that the edict against the Protestants should not affect the inhabitants of Alsatia, their religious rights being founded on treaties of peace. This was done to prevent the Alsatians, terrified with this edict, from putting themselves under the protection of Germany.

and at
Thorn.

The Protestants at Thorn, in royal Prussia, belonging to Poland, were likewise treated with great cruelty, on account of a pretended riot in July, which was really begun by a student of the Jesuits College, and for which, the president and vice-president of that city, with thirteen others, were condemned to be beheaded, and others quartered and burnt, and the Protestant counsellors at Thorn to be removed from the magistracy, and Papists put in their places; and the church

under her protection, seeing you cannot, by any other means, better obtain what may be needful for you, and for them. Be always as you ought, obedient to the holy see, and to the pope, as the vicar of Jesus Christ. Protect and defend ever the tribunal of the holy inquisition, which may be called the

bulwark of the faith, and to which it owes its preservation in all its purity in the dominions of Spain; so that the heresies which have afflicted the other parts of Christendom, and produced such horrid and deplorable ravages in them, could never be able to get footing here.

of St. Mary to be taken from the Protestants, and given to the Franciscan friars. Mr. Finch, the British minister at Dresden, had orders to go to Poland, and insist upon satisfaction for the Protestants of Thorn, and other places in that kingdom, oppressed by the Papists; but the Poles could not be prevailed upon to do the Protestants justice (c).

A

(c) The affair at Thorn was thus: On the 16th of July, the ordinary procession at Thorn being arrived at St. James's church-yard, a great number of the citizens children resorted thither to see it, with their hats under their arms, according to custom; but a student of the Jesuits College, not satisfied with that mark of civility and respect, would needs have them kneel down, and gave them bad language and blows. About two hours after the procession was over, this same student, with some of his comrades, insulted several young people, without the least provocation on their part; but, in the end, this troublesome young fellow was seized by the soldiers of the garrison, and brought to the guard, after he had wounded several citizens with stones. Next day the Jesuits students got together again, and meeting one of the citizens, whom they had abused the day before, they would oblige him to get their comrade set at liberty; but the citizen had the good fortune to get out of their hands, and ran to his own house for safety, whither they pursued him sword in hand. In the mean time the president of the city had given order for setting him at liberty, at the request of the rector of the Jesuits College, but, another student being likewise carried to the guard-room,

his comrades would oblige the president to set him at liberty also, which he refused to do, till he had spoke to the rector. Upon this the Jesuits students ran furiously to the guard room to rescue their comrade, but, being repulsed, they thought to revenge themselves upon a townsman, whom they pursued with drawn swords to the Burgrave's house, where he took shelter. Then they attacked a Lutheran student, who was in his night-gown at the door of his lodgings. They dragged him by the hair as far as their own college, threw him into the canal, and beat him unmercifully; which being done, they sallied again into the city, and wounded several people with their sabres, who were coming to the assistance of the Lutheran student. But, the president having sent thither the town-guard, they were obliged to betake themselves to their college, where they kept the Lutheran student, till the Jesuits student was first set at liberty. While this exchange was making, some of the trained bands of the town were ordered to post themselves before the Jesuit's College, to protect them from the enraged populace. But, the students throwing stones at them, and firing upon them, it was not possible to restrain the people, who forced open the gate,

Geo. I.
1724.

Commo-
tions in
Scotland.

The third
session of the
second par-
liament of
king
George.

A set of enthusiastical levellers rose in the west of Scotland, who, under pretence of establishing equality among Christians, pulled down inclosures, and committed great ravages and depredations. But, the royal regiment of Scots fuzileers being ordered to march against them, about the latter end of June, and three other regiments of foot landing at Galloway at the same time, they soon suppressed those disorders.

The parliament met again the 12th of November, when his majesty made the following speech to both houses by the mouth of the lord-chancellor:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I AM persuaded you share with me in the satisfaction I feel at the prosperous situation of affairs: Peace with all powers abroad; and at home perfect tranquility, plenty, and an uninterrupted enjoyment of all civil and religious rights, are most distinguishing marks of the favour and protection of the divine providence: And these, with all their happy consequences, will, I doubt not, by the blessing of God upon our joint endeavours, be long continued to my people.

“ The same provision by sea and land, for the defence and safety of the nation, will continue to make us respected abroad, and consequently secure at home. The same attention to the improvement of the public revenues, and to the ease and encouragement of trade and navigation, will establish credit upon the strongest basis, and raise such

and were doing what they could to revenge the cruelty of the Jesuits students, when, in that very instant, the town-clerk, who had got the Lutheran released, came and obliged them to retire. The riot was then thought to be over, but the guards, that were posted before the college, were scarce marched off, when the Jesuits students from within fired again, and threw stones at the people, who again forced open the gate, plundered the college, and committed great disorders, till a de-

tachment of the garrison and trained-bands came to the Jesuits assistance, and dispersed the people.

The bloody decree (notwithstanding the interposition of several Protestant princes and states) was put in execution, only the vice-president was reprieved. As many were exorbitantly fined, with the money arising from thence, a stone pillar with the virgin Mary's statue was erected where her picture was burnt.

" a spirit of industry, as will not only enable us gradually to
 " discharge the national debt, but will likewise greatly in-
 " crease the wealth, power, and influence of this king-
 " dom.

" Gentlemen of the house of commons,

" I have ordered the proper officers to prepare and lay be-
 " fore you, estimates of the expences for the service of the
 " ensuing year; and, as they do not exceed what has been
 " found by experience to be absolutely necessary for the se-
 " curity of the kingdom, I make no question, but I shall
 " have your ready concurrence in raising the supplies in such
 " manner, as shall be most easy to my people.

" There is one thing, that I cannot but mention to you,
 " as deserving your particular consideration. It is too ma-
 " nifest, that the funds established for the finishing the works
 " at Greenwich hospital, and providing for a competent
 " number of seamen there, cannot, in time of peace, be
 " sufficient to answer the expences of this great and necessary
 " work. It is therefore very much to be wished, that some
 " method could be found out to make a farther provision for
 " a comfortable support to our seamen, worn out in the
 " service of their country, and labouring under old age and
 " infirmities.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" You must all be sensible how much our present happi-
 " ness is owing to your union and steady conduct. It
 " is therefore wholly unnecessary to recommend to you
 " unanimity and dispatch in all your deliberations. The
 " zeal and abilities you have on all occasions shewn in sup-
 " porting the interest of your country, even under the
 " greatest difficulties, leave me no room to doubt of my
 " having your intire and effectual concurrence in every
 " thing, that can tend to the service of the public, and to
 " the good of my people."

After the addresses of thanks from both houses, the com-
 mons proceeded upon the supplies for the next year. This
 brought on a debate about the land-forces, particularly the
 additional four thousand men; but at length it was voted,
 that the number should be as the last year 18,264 effective
 men, and the sum of 654,488l. 17s. 8d. was granted for

Geo. I. their maintenance. For raising this and other supplies,
 1724. two shillings in the pound on lands and the malt-tax were
 voted.

Affairs of
 the masters
 in chancery.

Great part of this session was taken up in the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, and the repeal of the late lord Bolingbroke's attainder. There had been for some time a murmuring against the insufficiency of the masters in chancery to answer the great sums lodged in their hands by the suitors in that court; and it was suspected, that the large sums, which they paid for admission into their places, made their way more easy than it ought to have been, and very much lessened the inquiry into their qualifications. This abuse had indeed been long growing up to this degree; and there was scarce any thing bought and sold more freely and openly than a master in chancery's place. The suitors money, for which the masters paid no interest, brought them in great interest from the funds; and, the profits of the place being consequently doubled or trebled to what they had been before, there was such an opportunity to enrich themselves by the advantages they made of the money they had in their hands, that it is not surprizing, that the lord-keepers and lord-chancellor doubled and trebled the price, which the masters were to pay for admittance. But the complaints against this practice growing strong and public, and the lord chancellor Macclesfield finding it impracticable for him to put a stop to those complaints, or keep the great seal under them, he resigned it the beginning of January 1724-5; and it was committed to the custody of Sir Joseph Jekyll, master of the rolls; Sir Jeffery Gilbert, and Sir Robert Raymond; who having in council taken the oath as lords commissioners of the great seal, the king said to them as follows:

‘ I have had such experience of your integrity and ability, that it is with pleasure I now put the great seal into your hands. You are fully informed of the state of the accounts of the masters in chancery. I earnestly recommend to you the taking effectual care, that intire satisfaction be made to the suitors of the court; and that they be not exposed to any dangers for the future; and I have such confidence in the faithful discharge of the trust I now repose in you, that I am persuaded you will look narrowly to the behaviour of all the officers under your jurisdiction, and will see, that they act
 with

with the strictest regard to justice, and to the ease of my subjects.' Geo. L

1724.

On the 9th of February, Mr. Comptroller delivered the following message to the house of commons:

‘ George R.

His majesty having reason to apprehend, that the suitors of the court of chancery were in danger of losing a considerable sum of money from the insufficiency of some of the masters, thought himself obliged, in justice and compassion to the said suitors, to take the most speedy and proper method the law would allow, for inquiring into the state of the masters accounts, and securing their effects for the benefit of the suitors : And his majesty, having had several reports laid before him in pursuance of the direction he had given, has ordered the reports to be communicated to the house, that they may have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair, as the shortness of the time, and the circumstances and nature of the proceedings, would admit of.’

These reports, and the papers referred to in them, being taken into consideration by the commons, Sir George Oxenden rose up, and said, ‘ That it manifestly appeared by these reports, which after the strictest enquiry, and upon the maturest deliberation, had been drawn up by persons of the greatest weight and authority for their abilities, experience, high stations, and integrity, that enormous abuses had crept into the high-court of chancery, chiefly occasioned by the magistrate, who was at the head of that court, and whose duty consequently it was to prevent the same. That the crimes and misdemeanors of the late lord chancellor were many, and of various natures, but might be reduced to these three heads: 1. That he had taken into his own hands the estates and effects of many widows, orphans and lunatics, and either had disposed of part of them arbitrarily to his own profit, or connived at the offices under him, making advantages of the same. 2. That he had raised to an exorbitant price the offices and places of the masters in chancery, and, in order to enable them to pay him those high prices and gratuities for their admission, had trusted in their hands large sums of money belonging to suitors in Chancery. 3. That in several cases he had made divers irregular orders. So that, in his opinion, the first magistrate in

Geo. I.
1724.

in the kingdom was fallen from the height of the dignities and honours, to which he had been raised by the king's royal bounty and favours, to the depth of infamy and disgrace. And therefore he moved, that 'Thomas earl of Macclesfield be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.' This motion was seconded by Mr. Strickland, and supported by Mr. Doddington, one of the lords of the Treasury, who failed not to aggravate the earl's misdemeanors, which, they said, were of the greatest and most dangerous consequence, since most of the estates in England, once in thirty years, pass through the court of chancery. Mr. Pulteney, who spoke next, said, 'That it was far from his thoughts to endeavour to abate the just resentment, which the gentlemen, who spoke last, shewed against the great abuses, that had been committed in the court of chancery: But that, in his opinion, they went a little too fast in so weighty and important an affair, by which means they might lose the very end they aimed at, the effectual punishing the person, by whose neglect at least, those abuses had been committed. That whatever deference they ought to pay, on this occasion, to the capacity, experience, integrity and authority of the persons, who had drawn up the reports, that had been laid before them, yet it little became the dignity, and was even derogatory to the prerogative of that house, which is the grand inquest of the nation, to found on impeachment upon those reports, without a previous inquiry and examination into the proofs that were to support it. And therefore he moved, that this affair might be referred to the consideration of a select committee.' Sir William Wyndham urged, 'That, by proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports laid before them from above, the commons would make a dangerous precedent, and seem to give up the most valuable of their privileges, the inquest after state-criminals.' These reasons had great weight with several members, particularly on Sir Wilfred Lawson and Sir Thomas Pengelly, who supported Mr. Pulteney's motion. But, Mr. Yonge and Sir Clement Wearg having answered those objections, the question was put, and it was carried by a majority of 273 against 164, That Thomas earl of Macclesfield should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors; and Sir George Oxenden was ordered to go up to the lords, and at their bar to impeach him in the name of the house of commons. This being done, a committee was appointed to draw up the articles. Then a bill was ordered to be brought in, to indemnify the masters in chancery from the penalties
of

of the act of the 5th and 6th years of king Edward the sixth Geo. I. (against buying and selling of offices) upon their discovering 1724-25. what consideration, price, or gratuity they paid, or agreed to pay, for the purchase of, or for their admission to, their respective offices; which bill passed both houses, and had the royal assent.

The earl of Macclesfield's trial lasted twenty days. The eight first articles against him were, for taking large sums of the masters in chancery for admission or purchase. By the other articles, he was accused of admitting persons of small substance, and of suffering an unjust and fraudulent practice to continue, of paying for their places out of the suitors money, by means of which great deficiencies happened: Of neglecting to secure Fleetwood Dormer's person or effects, who, by disposing suitors money to his own use, had caused a deficiency of 24,000l. Of neglecting to prevent the like abuses for the future, by taking security upon admission: Of borrowing money of the masters out of the suitors cash, and making use of the same so long as he pleased. Upon these and other accounts, sentence was passed upon him by the mouth of Sir Peter King, speaker of the house of lords; that he should be fined 30,000l. and imprisoned in the Tower till the sum was paid.

Trial of the
earl of Mac-
clesfield.
May. 6.

After the trial, it was moved that the earl should be for ever rendered incapable of any office in the state; but the motion was rejected, as well as another for his not sitting in parliament, or coming within the verge of the court. The earl was carried to the Tower, and confined in the same apartment as was formerly the earl of Oxford's; and, three days after, the king in council ordered his name to be struck out of the list of privy counsellors. The earl paid his fine about six weeks after, and was discharged from his confinement. Sir Peter King, being created baron of Oakham in Surry, succeeded him in the chancellorship (d).

The

(d) This great lawyer was designed by his father to follow his own trade, that of a salter or grocer, in the city of Exeter; and did actually serve several years, as (or in the nature of) an apprentice to it; but his genius to learning, breaking thro' the disadvantages of education discovered itself in two or three

very learned treatises, of the ecclesiastical constitution, of the creed, and primitive Christianity, which he wrote even while he was breeding up in the trade of his father; who, being related to the famous philosopher Mr. Locke, did, doubtless, by the advice of that great man, enter his son in the Temple, where

Geo. I. The debts of the civil list being increased to above 1725. 500,000*l.* the king, on the 8th of April, sent by Mr. Walpole the following message to the commons :

Debts of the
civil list dis-
charged.

‘ The necessities of his majesty’s government having rendered it impracticable for his majesty to make any considerable retrenchments in the expences of his civil list ; and having engaged his majesty in some extraordinary expences, which he is persuaded his loyal commons will believe have been employed, not only for the honour and dignity of the crown, but for the interest and prosperity of his people, his majesty hopes, from the known zeal and affection of his parliament to his person and government, that he may be enabled to make use of the funds lately settled for the payment of the civil list annuities, and for replacing the same to his majesty in the most advantageous manner, and, upon the credit thereof, to raise a sum of money sufficient to redeem those annuities, and to discharge the present debts contracted in the civil government.’

Mr. Pulteney, cofferer of the household, who, about this time, began to be dissatisfied, moved for an address, that an account should be laid before the house, of all the monies paid for secret service, pensions, bounties, &c. from the 25th of March 1725. This address being voted, a motion was made for the house to go into a grand committee, to consider of the king’s message ; but Mr. Pulteney represented, ‘ That, the house having ordered an address for several papers relating to the civil list and other expences, they ought, in his opinion, to put off the consideration of the message, till those papers were laid before the house ; it being natural to enquire into the causes of a disease, before one applies remedies to it.’ This being opposed by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pulteney replied, ‘ That he wondered how so great a debt could be contracted in three years time, but was not surprized some persons were so eager to have the deficiencies of the civil list made good, since they and their friends had so great a share in it ; and desired to know, whether this was all that was due, or whether they were to expect another reckoning?’

he soon distinguished himself in the study and practice of the law. His father was a native of Glastonbury in Somersetshire ; and, when the charter

of that antient corporation was revived, in the year 1705, Sir Peter King was appointed their recorder by it, and continued so to his death.

To

To this it was answered in general, ' That there was indeed a heavy debt on the civil list, and a great many pensions; but that most of these had been granted in king William's and queen Anne's reigns, some by king Charles the second, and very few by his present majesty. That, since the civil list was first settled for his majesty, an expence of above 90,000*l.* per annum had happened, which could not then be foreseen, and therefore was left unprovided for. That, upon examination of the account of the civil list debts, it would appear, that most of those expences were either for the necessary support of the dignity of the crown and government, or for the public good. That there was indeed a pension of 5,000*l.* of another nature, upon the account of the cofferer's place, but which could not well be avoided; for both lord Godolphin, who was in that office, and his father, had so well deserved of the government, that they could not handsomely remove him without a gratuity, and therefore they gave him a pension of 5,000*l.* to make room for the worthy gentleman, who now enjoys the post.' Then the commons, in a grand committee, took the message into consideration, and a motion was made, ' That, for the redeeming the annuities of 25,000*l.* per ann. charged on the civil list revenues by an act of parliament of the 7th year of his majesty, and for discharging the debts and arrears due from his majesty to his servants, tradesmen, and others, his majesty be enabled to raise any sum not exceeding one million, by exchequer bills, loans, or otherwise, on the credit of the deductions of six-pence per pound, directed by that act, and of the civil list revenues, at an interest not exceeding 3*l.* per cent. till repayment of the principal.' This motion, after some further debate, being carried by a majority of 239 against 119, a bill passed for that purpose, and received the royal assent on the twentieth of April.

The same day a petition was presented to the house of commons in behalf of Henry St. John, late viscount Bolingbroke, attainted for high-treason. The purport of the petition was to suspend the execution of the law, with respect to his forfeitures, as a pardon suspended it, with respect to his life. After the petition had been offered to the house by the lord Finch, Mr. Walpole † acquainted the house, that he had received his majesty's commands to inform them, that the petitioner had seven years since made his humble application and submission to the king, with assurances of duty,

Lord Bolingbroke petitions the parliament.

† See note p. 674.

al-

Geo. I.
1725.

allegiance, and fidelity, which his majesty so far accepted, as to give him encouragement to hope for some future marks of his grace and goodness; and that his majesty is satisfied, that the petitioner's behaviour has been such, as convinces him, that he is an object of his mercy; and his majesty consents, that this petition be presented to this house. Then the petition was read, setting forth, that the petitioner is truly concerned for his offence, in not having surrendered himself, pursuant to an act (whereby the petitioner was attainted of high treason, and forfeited all his real and personal estate) and, by reason thereof, hath suffered very great losses. That, upon the petitioner's marriage in 1700, Sir Walter St. John, Bart. and the right honourable the lord viscount St. John (the petitioner's grandfather and father) together with the petitioner, made a settlement of the family-estates in the counties of Wilts, Surrey, and Middlesex, all which premises (except a very small part thereof) are now in the possession of the petitioner's father, and the petitioner cannot become intitled thereto for his life, until after his father's decease: That the petitioner hath, in a most humble and dutiful manner, made his submission to his majesty, and given him the strongest assurances of his inviolable fidelity, and of his zeal for his service, and for the support of the present happy establishment, which his majesty hath been most graciously pleased to accept; and praying, that leave may be given to bring in a bill for enabling the petitioner, and the heir-male of his body (notwithstanding his attainder) to take and enjoy the settled estate, according to the limitations of the settlement, or other assurances therein mentioned, and for enabling the petitioner to hold and enjoy any personal estate or effects, whereof he now is, or hereafter shall be possessed, and to invest the same in the purchase of any real or personal estate within this kingdom. After the reading of this petition, the lord Finch moved for a bill, which was seconded by Mr. Walpole, who, having repeated part of what he had before laid before the house by the king's command, added, 'He was fully satisfied, that the petitioner had sufficiently attoned for his past offences, and therefore deserved the favour of that house so far, as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance, that was settled upon him; which, according to the opinion of the best lawyers, he could not do by virtue of his majesty's pardon, without an act of parliament.' This was confirmed by the attorney and solicitor-general. But after a short dispute among the lawyers about the validity of such a pardon in the present case, Mr. Methuen,

thuen,

thuen, comptroller of the household, strenuously opposed the Geo. I. lord Finch's motion, and said, ' That, as he had the honour 1725. to be one of the king's immediate servants, it might perhaps by some be thought unbecoming his station to appear against a petition to the presenting of which his majesty, in his royal clemency and goodness, hath been graciously pleased to give his consent. But that, being at liberty to follow the dictates of his conscience in this matter, he would freely declare his opinion, that the public crimes, for which this petitioner stood attainted, were so heinous, so flagrant, and of so deep a dye, as not to admit of any expiation or attonement; and whatever he might have done to deserve his majesty's private grace and pardon, yet he thought him altogether unworthy of any national favour.' Then he went through the late lord Bolingbroke's conduct, while he had a share in the administration of affairs in queen Anne's reign; ' how he was the principal adviser of, and actor in the wicked measures, that were then pursued; and his clandestine negotiation of peace, without the privity of the queen's allies, contrary to the express tenor or the grand alliance; his insolent behaviour towards all the confederates in general, and the Dutch in particular; his sacrificing the interest of the whole confederacy, and the honour of his own country, particularly in the base abandoning of the poor and brave Catalans; a transaction, with which he had an opportunity to be intimately acquainted, as having had the honour, at that juncture, to serve the nation as the queen's minister in Portugal: And, to sum up all his crimes in one, his traiterous design of defeating the Protestant succession, the foundation of both our present and future happiness; and of advancing a Popish pretender to the throne, which would have involved his native country in endless misery.' Though this speech made a great impression on the assembly, and several other eminent members spoke to the same purpose, particularly Mr. Onslow and lord William Pawlet, the motion for a bill was carried by 231 against 113. When the bill was brought in, it was moved, that a clause should be inserted, to disable him to sit in parliament, or enjoy any place under the king; but upon Mr. Walpole's opposing it, the clause was rejected, and the bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent (f).

Bill passed
in his fa-
vour.
May 31.

The

(f) The most material acts passed this session, besides what have been mentioned, were these, an act for disarming the Highlands, and securing the peace of Scotland. A protest was entered against this act in the house of lords, alledging, That

Geo. I. The king put an end to the session with the following
1725. speech :

The end of
the third
session,
May.

That the disorders in the preamble were not proved : Too great power was given to the lord Lieutenants and justices of the peace, and that the behaviour of the Highlanders had of late been inoffensive.

Another act passed for regulating elections within the city of London, and for preserving the peace, good order, and government of the city. This law, which is now the rule for all elections in the city, raised so great a ferment in London, that a printed summons was dispersed inviting the citizens to assemble at Guild-hall to consider of it. This attempt being resented by the lord mayor and aldermen, the gates of Guild-hall were ordered to be shut, and the government was acquainted with what had passed. Upon this the guards were doubled at St. James's, Leicester-house, and Somerset-house, and such precautions taken as kept all things quiet. This spirit was supposed to have been raised by that majority of the common council, who had voted thanks to Mr. Francis Child and Mr. John Barnard, for strenuously opposing the bill. By a clause of this act, the right of election of Aldermen and common council men belongs to freemen, being householders, paying scot and lot to the amount of 30s. provided they have been in houses of 10l. a year, twelve calendar

months. This, and some other particulars, occasioned a petition from the freemen of London against the bill, whilst it was depending.

A motion was made in the house of commons for inserting a clause in a bill about the 50 new churches, to disable bodies corporate to purchase advowsons or other ecclesiastical preferments. This motion made by Mr. Arthur Onslow was chiefly intended to restrain the universities from purchasing advowsons, but it was rejected.

Thomas Guy, formerly a bookseller in London, and afterwards member of parliament for Tamworth, dying in the 80th year of his age, left a benefaction of 200,000l. to an hospital for incurables erected by himself, and near finished in his life-time, besides many other charities. In order to the better management and disposition of his charities, an act passed the 24th of March, for incorporating the executors of the last will and testament of Mr. Thomas Guy.

Two acts passed to dissolve the marriage of William Yonge with Mary Heathcote, and of Francis Annesley with Elizabeth Sutton.

The princess of Wales was delivered on the 5th of December of a princess at Leicester-house, who was christened by the name of Louisa.

“ My

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I AM come to put an end to this session of parliament, which, though it has been extended to an unexpected length, has been so well employed for the service and interest of the public, that I assure myself it will be to the general satisfaction of the nation.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ The prudent use you have made of the present flourishing state of credit, by a certain reduction of more than three millions seven hundred thousand pounds to an interest of four per cent. and by a wise provision for the redemption thereof by parliament, without further notice, on payment of such sums, as the circumstances of the government will from time to time admit, has secured a considerable addition to the sinking fund, not subject to the hazard of future events (a).

“ You have not only raised the supply for the service of the current year at the lowest rate of interest, that has been ever known, but, without laying any new burden on my people, you have enabled me to discharge the debts of my civil government; debts contracted by necessary and unavoidable expences, and in support of such measures of government, as have greatly increased the happiness of my people. You have thereby shewn your just regard to my honour, and the dignity of the crown.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ As all our public blessings are the happy effects of the general tranquillity we now enjoy. I cannot but express my satisfaction in the provision you have made for suppressing and preventing disturbances and commotions in those parts, where the peace of the kingdom might have been most indangered.

“ Nothing more remains necessary, than to tell you, that I intirely depend on the faithful discharge of your duties in your several stations, and on your constant care, in your respective countries, to preserve the peace and quiet of the

(a) An act passed this session, for continuing to the bank the several annuities of 80,751l. 7s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$, and of 100,000l. until Midsummer 1727, and from

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thence for reducing the same to 71,000l. 2s. 3d. $\frac{3}{4}$. and 80,000l. redeemable by parliament (that is, from 5l. per cent. to 4l. per cent.)

L 1

“ public

Geo. I.
1725.

“ public. But I know not how to part with you without
“ first returning you my very hearty thanks for the many re-
“ peated instances you have, in this session, given me of your
“ duty and affection. All such returns may be expected
“ from me, as can be made by the most indulgent prince to
“ an affectionate and loyal people.”

Knights of
the Bath
revived.

Presently after the end of the session, the king revived the order of the knights of the Bath, of whom prince William was the first, and the duke of Montague was appointed grand-master. Among the knights were Sir Robert Walpole, and his son the lord Walpole. The whole number was 38, including the sovereign. Several promotions were likewise made. Mr. Methuen was appointed treasurer of the household, and the earl Lincoln, cofferer, in the room of Mr. Pulteney. William Bateman was created baron of Calmore, in Ireland, and viscount Bateman. Soon after Sir Robert Walpole was made knight of the garter (b).

Riots in
Scotland.

The king having settled his affairs in England, and appointed the lords justices, set out for Hanover the 3d of June, and arrived the 14th at Herenhausen.

The Scots, ever since the union, had very unwillingly paid any of the taxes that had been laid on the united kingdom; and had behaved on all such occasions, as if they thought themselves injured, when they were obliged to contribute any thing towards the public expence. The enemies to the government failed not to feed this ill humour, and, under colour of zeal for the old constitution, to set the people against that, which was now established. The malt-tax was most clamoured against; and it was foreseen, that it would not be collected without peril to the officers. At Edinburgh indeed, the excisemen were suffered to take an account of the malsters stock in hand; but those at Glasgow were obliged to apply to the commissioners of the excise at Edinburgh for protection and assistance, their lives being threatened, if they offered to visit the malt-houses. The

(b) Lords of the Treasury. Lords of the Admiralty.

Sir Robert Walpole,
Sir Charles Turner,
Sir William Yonge,
George Doddington, Esq;
Sir William Strickland.

James Earl of Berkeley,
Sir John Jennings,
John Cockburn, Esq;
William Chetwynd, Esq;
Sir John Norris,
Sir Charles Wager,
Sir George Oxenden.

com.

commissioners applied to major-general Wade, commander Geo. I. in chief of the forces in Scotland, who, on the 23d of June, 1725. sent captain Bushel, with two companies of soldiers to Glasgow. where they arrived the next day in the evening. At their entrance into the town, they found a great mob of men, women, and boys, who gave them abusive language, and threw stones at them, as they marched along the streets, crying aloud, No Malt-tax. The officer desired them to forbear, for he meant them no harm. The provost gave him billets for quartering his men, but told him, he could not put him in possession of the guard-room, because the rabble had locked it up, and carried away the key, as soon as they heard the soldiers were coming. The officer, unwilling to exasperate them, by forcing open the door, ordered the guard to be kept at a public house, which they hired for that purpose. About eleven o'clock that night, several thousands of the mob got together about the house of Mr. Daniel Campbel, representative in parliament for Glasgow, threatening to plunder it. Upon which captain Bushel sent an officer to the provost, letting him know the mischief they designed to commit; and that he was ready with his men to assist him in preventing it. But his answer was, He thought the number of his soldiers too few, and therefore he would make no use of them. Thus the rabble, finding no opposition, nor even the appearance of a magistrate to restrain their fury, with hatches and other instruments forced into the house, and turned out two or three of Mr. Campbel's servants (he, with his wife, having the day before retired to his country-house) and fell to plundering every thing they could carry away, and destroying what was not portable. This riot continued till nine the next morning, when several of the mob were lying drunk in the house, with the wine and liquors they found in the cellars, but the magistrates did not get any of them secured. The officers of the excise hid themselves as well as they could: Some of them fell into the hands of the mob, and with great difficulty escaped with their lives, after having been unmercifully beaten. The rabble were then pretty quiet, till about four in the afternoon, when they began to meet again; women, or men in womens cloaths, beating drums about the streets to call them together. Captain Bushel, not knowing what their designs might be, ordered the soldiers to be near the guard-room, which the provost had now caused to be opened: But the mob did not long keep their secret; for they advanced towards the guard, crying, 'Drive the dogs out of town: We will cut them to pieces.' The officer said again, 'We

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1725.

‘ We mean you no hurt, but, if you continue to provoke the soldiers, we shall not be able to restrain them from firing at you.’ The rabble answered, ‘ You dare not fire with ball;’ and continued throwing stones in such quantities, and so large, that they broke some of the locks of the soldiers pieces, and their bayonets, and wounded several men. Upon which they were ordered to fire over the heads of the mob to frighten them; but they advanced still upon the soldiers, and throwing stones in greater quantities, the soldiers at last fired on them, and killed or wounded three or four, which made them retire to some distance. In this short interval, the provost sent to captain Bushel, desiring him to save himself and his men, by retreating out of the town; for the rioters were collecting all the arms they could; and, if he did not march away, there would be more blood shed. The captain taking his advice, marched immediately for Dunbarton, being followed by great numbers of the mob, and that so closely, that he was forced to fire now and then to secure his retreat out of the town. Three or four hundred of them followed him six miles, but they durst not come up with him. He sent an officer from Dunbarton to Edingburgh, to give general Wade an account of what had happened; and, on the 8th of July, the general, accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord advocate, set out from Edinburgh, and at noon the next day joined a body of forces, that had been ordered to draw together on a moor within two miles of Glasgow, consisting of four troops of horse, and a detachment of colonel Campbell’s dragoons; eight companies of the earl of Deloraine’s regiment of foot; the earl of Stair’s regiment, and one of the new-raised Highland companies. The general wrote a letter to the magistrates to let them know he was coming; and the next day, about two o’clock in the afternoon, entered the town; the troops advancing with silence and good order; and they were distributed into quarters without any disturbance. The two following days the excisemen were set to take an account of the malsters stock in hand, and had quiet admittance. The rioters having endeavoured by circular letters to every town of any note to excite tumults, the mob rose July the 9th, at Elgin, attacked in the night-time three soldiers, who were posted centinels at a shop, wherein was lodged a quantity of brandy, that had been seized by the Custom-house officers, and obliged the soldiers to fire in their own defence, by which one of the rabble was killed. The soldiers being over-powered were put in prison by the magistrates; and the mob immediately carried off the brandy.

The

The malsters at Glasgow complied with the terms of the act of parliament. Many of the rioters were seized; most of them mean persons. Near an hundred witnesses were examined, but little or nothing was found against any of them: It was all laid on those, who fled, and on strangers. The general and the lord advocate, having staid a week at Glasgow, returned to Edinburgh. The lord advocate committed seventeen men and boys, and four women, to prison. The provost, Bailiffs, dean of guild, and deacon conveener were also apprehended, and the next day, under a strong guard of dragoons, sent to Edinburgh. When they came near the city, there was a vast concourse of people at such an unusual and unexpected sight, besides a great many merchants and men of note on horseback, who went out to meet them, and accompanied them to the prison-doors, the Glasgow magistrates being in coaches. They did not continue long under confinement; for, this affair being brought before the lords justiciary, they were unanimous in their opinions, that they were innocent; upon which they were immediately set at liberty. It was reported, that the whole royal boroughs of Scotland had come to a resolution to stand out against payment of the malt-tax. But they were so far from doing it, that, the convention being assembled at Edinburgh on the 7th of July, they resolved to write a circular letter to each of the royal boroughs, to be sent by express, testifying the falshood of that report, and their abhorrence of the thought of resisting or not paying due obedience to the law, which has enacted the levying of that tax, exhorting the magistrates and governors of each royal borough, to concur vigorously with the officers of the revenue, in the execution of the laws relating thereto, and in suppressing of all mobs, riots, and tumultuous assemblies; and requiring them every where to use all diligence for the discovery of the authors of such malicious reports and seditious practices; and to acquaint the annual committee of the convention therewith, that the offenders might be prosecuted, and brought to deserved punishment at the suit of the convention, as disturbers of the public peace. The rioters at Glasgow were brought to their trial before the court of justiciary, of which the earl of Ilay was chief; and Walter Buchanan, William Hamilton, George Macfarlane, Patrick Mitchel, and Janet Balleny, being found guilty of the riot, the four men were, the next day, sentenced to be transported, after they had been scourged at Glasgow by the common hangman; and Balleny, the woman,

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1725.

Foreign
affairs.

was sentenced to stand twice in the pillory there ; so that no capital punishment was inflicted on any of these offenders.

General Wade did likewise another very important service to the public, by disarming, pursuant to the act of parliament, the Highlanders, Mackenzies, Macdonalds, Grants of Glenmoriston, Macleods, Chisholms, Stewarts, Camerons, Macphersons, Mackintoshes, Macgregors, Gordons, Farquharsons, Macfarlans, and other clans, their tribes and followers ; as also the inhabitants of the Isles of Sky and Mull ; the arms amounting to between two and three thousand. The companies of the soldiers left in the Highlands were so posted, that they possessed all the considerable passes and thereby prevented the stealing of cattle.

As to foreign affairs, there were great alterations abroad this year. Mention has been made of the marriage of Lewis, prince of Asturias, with the duke of Orleans's second daughter, and of king Philip's resignation of the crown to his son. It has been also related, how Lewis XV. of France was married to the infanta of Spain ; and madamoiselle de Beaujolois, another of the duke of Orleans's daughters, to don Carlos, infant of Spain by king Philip's second wife. The first marriage was consummated, but soon after dissolved by the death of Lewis king of Spain. Upon his decease, his father, king Philip, resumed the crown. In the beginning of March 1724-5, the French king, who could never gain upon himself to be tolerably civil to the young infanta, declared his resolution to send her back into Spain (c). This was so highly resented by the court of Spain, particularly by the queen, that it was resolved to send back to France madamoiselle de Beaujolois, whose marriage with don Carlos was yet unconsummated ; which was accordingly done, and at the same time the infanta was sent to Madrid, the Spanish ministers, the marquiss de Monteleone, and Patrick Lawless (the pretender's agent in England in queen Anne's reign) returned with her,

(c) The French king being taken very ill, and in great danger of his life, by a fever, in February 1725, N. S. it alarmed the whole French nation, and made them cry aloud for his marrying immediately after his recovery, to prevent the fatal consequences of a civil

war, in case of his dying without issue. It was therefore suddenly resolved in council to send back the infanta. Upon this unexpected turn the court of Spain proposed the sole mediation to Mr. Stanhope, the English minister at Madrid, which, as will be seen, was refused.

The

The sole
mediation of
Cambray
refused by
king George.

The queen of Spain's resentment did not end here. She resolved the French should intermeddle no more in the Spanish affairs, and offered to adjust her differences with the emperor (for which the congress of Cambray had been appointed) under the sole mediation of Great Britain. This offer was refused by king George upon many accounts. The emperor was so far from seeking the sole mediation of Great-Britain, with the same warmth as Spain, that he shewed such a coolness on the occasion, as not only indicated a jealousy, but foretold an unsuccessful issue in case it was assumed. Besides, the accepting of it, in order to gratify the passions of the queen of Spain, must have disoblged France, with whom, ever since the death of Lewis XIV. the British court had contracted the strictest friendship. The same motive still subsisted, that had induced king George to enter into a reciprocal confidence with that crown, the title of the house of Orleans to that monarchy in virtue of the treaty of Utrecht. The young king was as yet a minor, and unmarried, and the duke of Bourbon prime minister of France, who solely guided the helm, was next in reversion to the crown, after the young duke of Orleans, then unmarried, and of a weak constitution. The coolness therefore of the emperor, the engagement with France, and the prospect of disuniting forever the house of Bourbon, by means of the branches of Orleans and Condé, induced king George not to accept the sole mediation at the hazard of losing France, without any appearance of gaining, or, if gained, of keeping Spain one moment fixed to his interest or alliance. Upon the king's refusal of the sole mediation, the emperor and queen of Spain resolved to adjust their differences by a secret negociation. This was managed on the part of Spain by the baron de Ripperda, a Dutchman, who had abandoned the Protestant religion, and entered into the Spanish service. The first treaty of Vienna was soon concluded, and signed the 30th of April, and, the next day, a treaty of commerce was also signed. It was urged, that, the mediators having for several years in vain endeavoured to reconcile the emperor and king of Spain, they resolved to do it by themselves without the intervention of any other power, especially since France had affronted Spain, by sending back the infanta, and England had refused to continue her mediation at Cambray without France (d).

By

(d) It appears by stating and comparing the dates of these transactions

Geo. I.
1725.

Treaty of
Vienna.

By these treaties, the emperor acknowledges Philip V. as lawful king of Spain and the Indies, and promises not to molest him in the possession of the dominions secured to him by the treaty of Utrecht, nor to appropriate to himself any right to them. King Philip, on his part, renounces all his pretensions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the emperor by the treaty of London, in July 1722. The emperor grants (without the consent of the empire) the investiture of the dukedoms of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia, to the queen of Spain's eldest son, in case these dukedoms should be vacant for want of heirs; the determination of king George and the regent of France in the treaty of London, that they are masculine siefs of the empire, being taken for granted. Spain agreed to guarantee the succession of the Austrian dominions according to the

tions, that the sending back the infanta, or the refusal of the sole mediation, could have no share in the motives for negotiating. The courier, dispatched from France to signify the resolution of sending back the infanta, March 13, 1725, did not arrive at Madrid till the 19th, and king George's answer, declining the sole mediation, came to Spain the 24th of April, 1724. N. S. Ripperda's full powers were signed in November, 1724; and the court of Madrid received advice from him in March 1725, that the principal articles were then agreed at Vienna. In consequence of this agreement, the treaty of peace and friendship between the emperor and Spain was signed at Vienna the last of April, and that of commerce the first of May, 1725. Now could the resolution of sending back the infanta, which was not thought of in France till March, 1725, nor known at Madrid till the 19th of that month, be

the occasion of negotiating at Vienna treaties of such importance and long discussion, the principal articles of which were the very same month of March known at Madrid to have been agreed upon at Vienna? Or could the king's refusal of the sole mediation, which was not known at Madrid till the 24th of April, 1725, N. S. have possibly occasioned the signing of treaties at Vienna the last of April, and first of May, 1725? To this it may be added, that the acceptance of the sole mediation to accommodate the difference between the two courts, who were already agreed in every respect, would have been as ridiculous and absurd, as it is to imagine, that the declining of it could possibly be a motive for signing of treaties so injurious to the States-general, as well as to Great Britain, when neither of them had given the least reason for such treatment.

Prag-

Pragmatic Sanction (e). By the treaty of commerce, the emperor's subjects were to have commercial advantages in Spain, to which no others were entitled: Spain was to guaranty the Ostend trade to the East-Indies, and pay an annual subsidy of about four millions of pieces of eight. Geo. I. 1725.

The treaty of peace was not liable to any great objection, though the article, by which Spain agreed to guaranty the succession of the Austrian dominions, according to the Pragmatic Sanction, gave some room to suspect, it was to operate in favour of Spain. And therefore it did not alarm the other states, but it was not the same with the treaty of commerce, which was so much to the advantage of England and Holland, particularly with regard to the privileges granted to the Ostend India company.

But, besides these treaties, king George had reason to suspect that another, much more repugnant to the interest of Great-Britain, was also concluded. This suspicion was afterwards confirmed, not only by some indiscreet expressions of Ripperda, but by the most positive intelligence from different persons all capable of knowing the truth, and all concurring in the most material facts. By this third treaty, which was carefully concealed, it was declared, that the Spanish minister having represented that the king of Great-Britain had promised the restitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, and that the king of Spain did insist upon it, the emperor would concur in employing force for restoring Gibraltar to Spain, if it could not be amicably effected. King George had moreover cause to believe, that several other points of still more dangerous consequence were settled between the emperor and Spain, particularly that the two arch-duchesses should be married to the infants of Spain, and that means should be taken for placing the Pretender on the Throne. This last article the king was informed of by a person of great rank, veracity and credit, though the emperor himself ordered his ministers to give, in his name, the most solemn denial of the fact. It must indeed be owned, that the duke of Bavaria received likewise assurances equally strong from the ministers of Vienna, that nothing had been

Private
treaty be-
tween Spain
and the em-
peror.

(e) By the Pragmatic Sanction the order of succession to the dominions of the house of Austria is settled on the emperor's heirs and successors of either sex, and declared to be a perpetual, indivisible, and inseparable feoffment to the primogeniture. This Pragmatic Sanction or perpetual law was published at Vienna, December 5, 1724.

trans-

Geo. I. transacted between the emperor and the court of Madrid, relating to the marriage of an archduchess to a prince of Spain, though it was afterwards owned by the imperial ministers, and the execution of it openly demanded by those of Spain. And it may here be observed, that, if those marriages had taken place, and the French king and the prince of Asturias at that time, both princes of weak constitutions, had died without issue, it would have laid the foundation for the most formidable power ever known in Europe, by uniting together in one sovereign all the dominions belonging to the houses of Austria and Bourbon.

In consequence of these treaties between the emperor and Spain, great sums, amounting to about a million sterling, were remitted in six months, from the signing of them by Spain, to Vienna. The court of Vienna gave immediately the necessary orders for an augmentation of their own forces, with thirty thousand men, and took immediately into their pay thirty thousand more. Negotiations were set on foot for engaging other powers in support of their cause; and particularly Russia, by her accession, was to furnish thirty thousand men.

Treaty of
Hanover.

King George, justly alarmed at these proceedings, resolved to take such precautions, as were likely to defeat the pernicious designs of the new allies. The court of Vienna had behaved with uncommon coolness towards the court of London, ever since the accession of king George. The emperor, whether out of some old personal enmity to the king, or from his jealousy of seeing a protestant prince of Germany become sovereign of a powerful nation, behaved with great indifference, and in a very contradictory manner towards him on many occasions. He refused to guaranty the succession in his line, and denied him the investiture of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which he had a right to demand and expect, as a purchaser and member of the empire. To this may be added, the late erection and support of the Ostend India company, in violation of treaties, which greatly affected the British commerce to the East-Indies, and against which the whole nation made loud complaints. Led by these motives, the treaty of Hanover was projected by king George, to check the ambitious views of the emperor and king (or rather queen) of Spain, who, from being irreconcilable enemies, ran into each other's arms voluntarily, tying themselves down by treaty to the closest and strictest friendship. The king succeeded in his design, and a treaty was concluded in September between England, France, and Prussia, in the usual

usual forms of a defensive alliance, with a mutual guaranty to protect the respective countries rights and privileges, those of commerce in particular, which the parties enjoyed or ought to enjoy, as well out of as in Europe; which had a view to the Offend company. There was nothing in the treaty that reflected directly or implicitly upon the conduct of any other power: Nor was there any expression to be found in it, nor inference from it, or from the consequent measures, to shew it was projected to increase the dominions and claims of the electorate of Hanover, or to involve Great-Britain in the quarrels of that electorate, or could give offence to any but those who intended to offend. The treaty was to last fifteen years. There were three separate articles: The first related to the affair of Thorn, and was an engagement to procure satisfaction for what had been done contrary to the treaty of Oliva. By the second, the two kings electors engaged, in case the emperor declared war against France, not only to furnish their quota of troops, but to act in concert with his most Christian majesty. By the third, France consented, that, if the empire declared against her, the two electors kings might furnish their quota, provided they furnished no more, and fulfilled their engagements to his most Christian majesty.

Thus was concluded the treaty of Hanover, which has been painted in more invidious colours, than any transaction during the reign of king George.

In the mean time the duke of Bourbon was removed from the administration of affairs in France; having received, as he was preparing to follow the king to Ramboillet, an order to go to Chantilli, his country seat, and there to stay till further orders. Presently after the count de St. Florentine, secretary of state, went to acquaint him, that the king had resolved to take the government into his own hands; which he did on the 10th of June, in a council of state at Versailles, to whom he made a speech suitable to the occasion. This revolution in the ministry of France was generally supposed to be owing to the intrigues of the court of Spain, who could never forgive the sending back the infanta, which they imputed to the influence of the duke of Bourbon on the counsels of France. The bishop of Frejus, the young king's preceptor, and afterwards cardinal, had a great hand in this measure, in order to assume the post of prime minister himself; but he assured Mr. Horace Walpole, the British ambassador at the court of France, 'That the alterations in the court of France, instead of making any in the measures taken with the king of Great-

Geo. I. Great-Britain, pursuant to the treaty of Hanover, would rather tend to the execution of that treaty.'

1725.

The king of France soon after married the princess Mary, daughter of Stanislaus, once king of Poland; the contract for the marriage being signed by proxy in July.

The duke of Wharton, who had acted with great extravagance and licentiousness of all kinds in England, and ruined his estate there, having left his country, went to Vienna, whence he proceeded to Rome, where he was introduced by the Spanish minister to the Pretender, in whose house he was concealed for six days, and then posted away to Madrid, where the baron de Ripperda, his great and intimate friend, was now in high credit and favour. Thither he came with credentials from the pretender; and, as a public mark of confidence in him, adorned with a garter, and the title of Northumberland. King George, being informed of these proceedings, sent a letter under the privy-seal to the duke, commanding him, upon his allegiance, to return forthwith to Great-Britain. This letter being carried to Madrid by Mr. Crew, the messenger, it was delivered, on the 31st of June, to the duke in a coach, as he was passing through one of the streets in the town; but, as soon as he was told the contents of it, he threw the letter out of the coach, and made a great clamour at the executing a summons upon him by a British officer of justice, even in the sight of his Catholic majesty's palace. He likewise gave out, that he would present a memorial upon it to the king of Spain, and demand justice against the king's messenger, who brought him the letter. Colonel Stanhope, the British minister at Madrid, hearing of this, sent his secretary to the marquis de Paz, to acquaint him with it. The marquis promised to represent the matter to his Catholic majesty, and desired the secretary to return to him the next morning, when he assured him, that the king of Spain knew nothing of the memorial, but had been informed of what had passed with relation to the delivery of the letter of privy-seal, and would not in any manner interpose his authority in opposition to that proceeding. The duke, about that time, openly professed himself a Roman Catholic, by making his public abjuration of the Protestant religion; and, on the 23d of July, N. S. married one of the ladies of the queen of Spain's bed-chamber, by whose interest he obtained the pay of a lieutenant-colonel.

The king's
stormy pas-
sage to En-
gland.

The king, having settled affairs abroad, set out from Hanover on the 18th of December, O. S. and came to Helvoet-Sluyce, where Sir John Norris waited with the
convoy

convoy and yachts, and where he embarked on board the Carolina yacht on New-Year's-Day, about one in the afternoon. Towards seven that evening there arose a most violent storm with rain and hail, which separated the ships one from another, except one man of war, commanded by captain Dancey, who kept company with the king's yacht, on board which was Sir John Norris. The tempest continued so high, and the sea so boisterous, for thirty-six hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmost danger. On the 3d of January, the yachts and men of war were near Dover; and one of the yachts, with some of the king's attendants, entered the river; but it was thought more adviseable, that the king should land at Rye, where he arrived about noon. The king went immediately into the small boat, the tide being down; and, as soon as he could reach a horse, which captain Pigram had brought him, he mounted it, rode by the wall, and over the new bridge. The mayor, Mr. Lambe, and the jurats, in their formalities, with the neighbouring gentlemen, attended the king, who alighted at the mayor's house, being saluted all the way with loud huzza's and acclamations. He was extremely fatigued, having eat nothing since the day he embarked. The lord Townshend and his lady, who were in the Mary yacht, kept company with the king, and with some difficulty landed at the same place. On the 4th of January, a messenger, dispatched by the lord Townshend, arrived at the Cock-pit, with the agreeable news of the king's safe landing at Rye, from whence he intended to have set out for London on the 6th; but, the roads in that part of the country being unsafe from the fall of snow, it was found necessary to give orders for the clearing of the ways; which done, the king began his journey the next day, and having crossed the water from Rye, at a place called the Point, lay that night at Hythe, the next at Sittingburne; and on the 9th arrived in good health at St. James's.

On the 20th of January the parliament met, when the king made the following speech to both houses by the mouth of the lord chancellor :

The fourth
session of
the second
parliament.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I HAVE had such frequent experience of the wisdom and
“ zeal of this parliament on many important occasions,
“ that it is with pleasure I now meet you again; and I make
“ no doubt, but that your endeavours for the good and service

Geo. I. " vice of your country will be as successful, as they have
 1725-26. " hitherto been.

" The distressed condition of some of our Protestant bre-
 " thren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements en-
 " tered into by some foreign powers, which seem to have
 " laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in
 " Europe, and to threaten my subjects with the loss of sever-
 " al of the most advantageous branches of their trade,
 " obliged me, without any loss of time, to concert with
 " other powers such measures, as might give a check to the
 " ambitious views of those, who are endeavouring to render
 " themselves formidable, and put a stop to the farther pro-
 " gress of such dangerous designs. For these ends I have
 " entered into a defensive alliance with the most Christian
 " king and the king of Prussia, to which several other
 " powers, and particularly the States-general, have been
 " invited to accede; and I have not the least reason to doubt
 " of their concurrence. This treaty shall in a short time
 " be laid before you. By these means, and by your sup-
 " port and assistance, I trust in God, I shall be able not only
 " to secure to my own subjects the enjoyment of many va-
 " luable rights and privileges long since acquired for them
 " by the most solemn treaties, but effectually to preserve the
 " peace and balance of Europe, the only view and end of
 " all my endeavours.

" Gentlemen of the house of commons,

" I have ordered the estimates for the service of this year
 " to be prepared and laid before you, which, from an un-
 " willingness I always have to put my subjects to an extraor-
 " dinary expence by any unnecessary precautions, are formed
 " upon the foot of employing no greater number of forces,
 " than was thought necessary the last year; for which, if
 " the supplies you give, shall be fully and effectually raised,
 " I shall be enabled to have a strong fleet at sea early in the
 " spring. If the posture of affairs shall at any time make it
 " necessary to augment our maritime force, I confide so in-
 " tirely in the zeal and affection of my parliament, that I
 " assure myself you will enable me to make such an addition
 " to the number of seamen, as shall be found requisite.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" It is not to be doubted, but the enemies to my govern-
 " ment will conceive hopes, that some favourable opportu-
 " nity

“ nity for renewing their attempts may offer, from the prof-
 “ pect of new troubles and commotions. They are already
 “ very busy by their instruments and emissaries in those
 “ courts, whose measures seem most to favour their purposes,
 “ in soliciting and promoting the cause of the pretender.
 “ But I persuade myself, notwithstanding the countenance
 “ and encouragement they may have received, or flatter
 “ themselves with, the provision you shall make for the
 “ safety and defence of the kingdom, will effectually secure
 “ us from any attempts from abroad, and render all such
 “ projects vain and abortive.

“ When the world shall see, that you will not suffer the
 “ British crown and nation to be menaced and insulted,
 “ those, who most envy the present happiness and tranquil-
 “ lity of this kingdom, and are endeavouring to make us
 “ subservient to their ambition, will consider their own in-
 “ terest and circumstances, before they make any attempt
 “ upon so brave a people, strengthened and supported by
 “ prudent and powerful alliances, and, though desirous to
 “ preserve the peace, able and ready to defend themselves
 “ against the efforts of all aggressors. Such resolutions, and
 “ such measures, timely taken, I am satisfied, are the most
 “ effectual means of preventing a war, and continuing to us
 “ the blessings of peace and prosperity.”

Addresses suitable to the speech were presented by both
 houses, and the commons proceeded to consider of the sup-
 ply. The reduction of the four thousand additional troops
 was again insisted on, and particularly by Mr. Pulteney, who
 now set himself up to oppose every motion of the court; but,
 after a warm debate, the same number of land-forces, 18,264
 men, and the same provision for them, were voted. A mo-
 tion by Mr. Pulteney for a committee to state the public
 debts, from the year 1714 to 1725, was rejected by 262
 against 89. It was observed, that most of the Tories then
 in the house were against it.

The treaties of Hanover and of Vienna being laid before
 the commons, they were debated by a full house of 420 mem-
 bers. No stranger was admitted except the earl of March-
 mont, who had been a plenipotentiary at Cambray. Mr. Ho-
 race Walpole, ambassador at the court of France, opened
 the debate with a long speech, setting forth the state of affairs
 in Europe from the peace of Utrecht to the present time.
 He took notice, ‘ That, since his majesty’s accession to the
 throne, his constant care and endeavours had been to settle
 the

Geo. I.
1725-26

Proceedings
of the com-
mons.

Debates on
the treaties
of Hanover
and Vienna.

Geo. I. the balance of power on a solid foundation, and to preserve 1725-26. and secure the tranquility of Christendom; to protect and defend the Protestant cause, and promote the honour and interest of his British subjects. That, with these great views, his majesty was become mediator and guarantee both of the Barrier Treaty concluded in 1715, and of a convention made in 1718, for the execution of that treaty, between the emperor and the States-General of the United-Provinces. In the year 1716, his majesty concluded a defensive alliance with the emperor; and, in 1717, another with the most Christian king and the States-General; the genuine design of both which treaties was only to preserve the public repose of Christendom, established by the peace of Utrecht, to guaranty the succession to the crown of Great-Britain in the Protestant line. In order to fortify all these treaties, and to extinguish the war, the Spaniards had kindled in Italy, his majesty, in 1718, made a convention with the most Christian king, for proposing ultimate conditions of peace between the emperor and the king of Spain, and between his imperial majesty and the (then) king of Sicily. This convention was, a few days after, followed by a treaty of alliance between the emperor, the king of Great-Britain, and the most Christian king, which, by their ministers, was concluded at London, and signed the 22d of July 1718, and in which the States-General were named as one of the contracting parties (upon a supposition that they would come into it) from whence this treaty was named the Quadruple Alliance. A few months after, the king of Sicily was admitted into this treaty; and at length the king of Spain himself was forced to accede to it, which was mainly owing to the generous assistance, which his Britannic majesty gave the emperor in the Mediterranean. There remaining some points still controverted between the emperor and king of Spain, the same were referred to be amicably determined in a congress, which was afterwards opened at Cambray, under the mediation of his Britannic majesty and the most Christian king. By reason of several difficulties industriously raised by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, the great pains taken for three years by the ministers mediators, proved unsuccessful, and at last the congress was suddenly dissolved, upon advice, that the emperor and the king of Spain had secretly adjusted the differences between them, and concluded a treaty of peace at Vienna. This unexpected event occasioned no small surprise, and raised jealousies, which appeared to be the better grounded, when it was known, that the treaty of peace was soon

soon followed by a treaty of commerce, the main design of Geo. I. which was to support and countenance the East India company, 1725-26. some years before established at Ostend, by granting to the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands greater privileges, both in the East and West Indies, than were ever granted either to the English or Dutch, which visibly tended to the intire ruin of many valuable branches of our trade, and was contrary to several solemn treaties still in force. His majesty, ever watchful for the interest of his British subjects, had caused lively representations to be made against the treaty of commerce, both to the emperor and king of Spain. At the court of Madrid, these complaints were received with coldness; and at that of Vienna, with stiffness and haughtiness, even to such a degree, that the imperial ministers did not stick to insinuate, that, if his Britannic majesty persisted in his resolution to take measures in opposition to the treaties of Vienna, his imperial majesty would not only think himself disengaged from the guaranty of the Protestant succession to the crown of Great-Britain, but that the same might be attended with consequences in relation to his majesty's dominions in Germany. These insulting menaces made no impression on his majesty's firmness, nor deterred him from his fixed resolution of concerting with other powers such measures, as might give a check to the ambitious views of those, who endeavoured to render themselves formidable. These measures seemed to be the more necessary, because there were just grounds to believe, that the unforeseen reconciliation of the emperor and king of Spain was owing to the constant view of the house of Austria, of rendering the imperial dignity hereditary in their family. In order to that, it might reasonably be supposed, that the treaties of Vienna were to be cemented by a match between the emperor's eldest daughter and the infant Don Carlos. It was easy to foresee the consequences of such a marriage. For the issue male, that might come from it, might, in time, be possessed not only of all the hereditary dominions belonging to the house of Austria, and of the imperial dignity, but also of all the dominions of the Spanish monarchy; which would entirely overthrow the balance of power, and render the liberties of all the rest of Europe very precarious. This supposition would appear more than probable to any one, who considered that there was scarce any other way of accounting, either for the king of Spain's breaking through solemn treaties with Great-Britain, in favour of the emperor's subjects in the Netherlands; or for the emperor's forgetting so far the obligations he had to Great-Britain and

Geo. I. 1725-26. Holland, as to enter into engagements to assist Spain towards the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca, and to persist in supporting and countenancing the Ostend company, established with no other view, than to deprive the subjects of the maritime powers of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade. In order to give a timely check to the further progress of such dangerous designs, his majesty, in his great wisdom, had entered into a defensive alliance with the most Christian king and the king of Prussia, to which several other powers, and particularly the States-General, had been invited to accede. The States of Holland had already done it; and it was not to be doubted, but their example would soon be followed by the other United Provinces. The main view of this alliance was to maintain and preserve the public repose and tranquillity of Christendom, and to secure to each contracting party the possession of their respective dominions and territories, with the rights, immunities, and advantages, particularly those relating to trade, which their subjects enjoyed, or ought, by treaties, to enjoy. And, as his majesty ever had a particular concern for the protestant interest, so, out of his royal and tender compassion for the distressed condition of some of our Protestant brethren in Poland, his majesty had not only interposed his good offices in the most pressing manner in their favour, but had taken the occasion of the defensive alliance made at Hanover, to engage, by a separate article, the most Christian king and the king of Prussia, who, together with his majesty, are guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, to see it maintained and observed in its full extent, and to cause reparation to be made for what may have been done at Thorn contrary to that treaty. He concluded with an encomium upon his majesty's wisdom, care, vigilance, steadiness, and resolution in the conduct of all these weighty and important affairs.

Mr. Walpole's speech occasioned a great debate. A member having suggested, that it was to be supposed, the king of Spain did not seem to grant any further privileges to the emperor's subjects in the Netherlands, than what had been granted to the English, and other most favoured nations; he was answered by colonel Bladen, who pointed to the second article of the treaty of commerce of Vienna, whereby it was expressly stipulated, 'That the ships of war, and merchant-ships belonging to the contracting parties, or their subjects, should be allowed full liberty to frequent the harbours, coasts, and provinces of each other;' naming particularly the East-Indies, and without any exception as to the Spanish West-

Indies,

Indies, or any restraint on the ships of war and merchant-ships, than not, 'to buy any thing besides victuals and materials for repairing their ships;' which implied a permission to vend their merchandizes for ready money; so it was manifest, that the subjects of the Austrian Low-Countries were allowed more extensive privileges than ever had been granted to any other nation, contrary to several treaties in force between the crowns of Great-Britain and Spain.

Colonel Bladen having cleared this important point, Mr. Daniel Pulteney made a long speech, wherein having made his observations on most of the points mentioned by Mr. Horace Walpole, he insinuated, that the subject-matter of this day's debate was of the greatest importance, and therefore they ought maturely to consider of it, before they came to any resolution upon it. He was supported by Mr. Shippen, who raised the main objection to the treaty of Hanover, That it would engage the British nation in a war for the defence of his majesty's dominions in Germany, contrary to an express provision made for the securing our religion, laws, and liberties, in the 'act for further limitation and succession of the crown in the Protestant line;' which being the basis and foundation of the present settlement, was become part of our constitution, and therefore ought to be sacred and inviolable. They were answered by Mr. Pelham, who urged, that the true meaning and intent of that limitation was not wholly and for ever to deprive his majesty's foreign dominions of any assistance from this nation; for, if so, his majesty, in that respect, would be in a worse condition upon his accession to the British throne than he was before; but only to restrain the sovereign, for the future, from engaging the nation, at his pleasure, in a war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of England, 'without the consent of parliament;' to whom the legislature wisely left to judge and determine, Whether such a war was just and necessary or no? Concluding, that, for his own part, he was fully of opinion, that, if, in the present juncture and circumstances of affairs, his majesty's foreign dominions should be attacked or insulted, this nation ought to stand by and support his majesty against all his enemies whatsoever. And therefore he moved, 'That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of this house for his great goodness in communicating the treaties of peace and commerce concluded between the emperor and the king of Spain, and the defensive alliance between his majesty, the most Christian king, and the king of Prussia. To express our just sense of his ma-

Geo. I. 1725-26. jesty concern for the balance of power in Europe, and the Protestant religion; and, above all our unfeigned gratitude for his earnest and seasonable care of the particular interests of his British subjects, by forming and entering into the defensive alliance with the most Christian king and the king of Prussia, in order to obviate and disappoint the dangerous views and consequences of the treaty of peace betwixt the emperor and the king of Spain; and to preserve the many valuable rights and privileges of this nation against the fatal tendency of the said treaty of commerce, calculated for the intire destruction of the British trade, in breach of several solemn treaties now in force. To acknowledge his majesty's prudence and resolution, in not letting any attempts or insinuations whatsoever divert his majesty from consulting and steadily pursuing the true interest of these his kingdoms; and to assure his majesty, that in justice and vindication of the honour and dignity of the British crown, this house will effectually stand by and support his majesty against all insults and attacks, that any prince, or power, in resentment of the just measures, which his majesty has so wisely taken, shall make upon any of his majesty's territories and dominions, though not belonging to the crown of Great-Britain (a).'

This motion being at last approved by a majority of 28; against 107, the address was presented on the 19th of February, to which the king returned this answer.

' Gentlemen,

' I return you my thanks for this particular mark of your duty, affection, and confidence in me. Your assurances not to suffer my foreign dominions to be exposed or insulted, on account of the measures I have taken for the interest of these kingdoms, will, I hope, be a means to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. I have no views of ambition to gratify; I have no thought of aggrandizing myself, or extending any parts of my dominions at the hazard and expence of the other; and, as my honour is the common cause and concern of my subjects, their particular interests shall, upon all occasions, be my constant care.'

(a) Mr. Pulteney spoke against this motion, and, among other things, said, ' That the imperial court's backwardness in granting the investiture for Bremen and Verden, might have been one of the motives to some late measures.' Upon this, Sir Robert Walpole assured the house, that the king might long ago have had the investiture, if he would have paid the exorbitant fees, that were demanded for it. The

Debate on
them in
the house
of lords.

The lords took likewise into consideration the three treaties, which had been laid before them: The lord Townshend opened the debate, and concluded with a motion much to the same purpose with that of Mr. Pelham in the house of commons. He was seconded by the duke of Newcastle, who acquainted the house with a remarkable passage out of a letter from Mr. Stanhope, his majesty's minister in Spain, 'That in a private conversation, the duke of Ripperda had not scrupled to own, that, besides what had already been communicated to him about the late treaties of Vienna, there were still some other secret articles, which in due time should be made public, whereby the contracting parties mutually engaged to assist each other with a certain number of troops, in order to support the Ostend company, and to recover Gibraltar.' The duke being asked, whether he would produce that letter? He said, He had not the King's commands for it, but was only left at liberty to take notice of what he had mentioned. Upon this the lord Lechmere observed, that no stress could be laid on an information, that did not come regularly and in form before the house: That besides it was usual with ministers of state sometimes to drop things, that have no reality, in common conversation, only to sound those, with whom they negotiate. That, the treaties, that had been communicated to them, being a matter of the greatest importance, they ought to proceed in it with the utmost caution and maturest deliberation; and therefore he was of opinion, they ought to take some time to consider of it, and adjourn the debate to another day. He was answered by the earl of Scarborough; and, the question being put upon the motion for an address, it was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of one.

After this the lord Lechmere stood up, and declared, 'That he would go as far as any member of that illustrious assembly, in vindicating the honour and dignity of the British crown, and in supporting and defending his majesty's person and government. That, as their present and future happiness depended, next under God, on the settlement of the crown of these realms on his majesty and his royal issue, they ought to be extremely cautious of any the least derogation from the act of parliament, by which that happy settlement was made; and therefore he was of opinion, and moved, that to the resolution for an address the following words be added:

"This house not doubting but your majesty, in your great wisdom and justice to these your kingdoms, will always

Geo. I. “ preserve to them the full and intire benefit of the provision
 1725-26. “ made for the further securing our religion, laws, and liber-
 “ ties, by an act passed in the 12th and 13th years of the
 “ reign of his late majesty king William III, of glorious me-
 “ mory, whereby it is enacted, That, in case the crown
 “ and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to
 “ any person, not being a native of this kingdom of Eng-
 “ land, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for
 “ the defence of any dominions or territories, which do not
 “ belong to the crown of England, without the consent of
 “ parliament.” But this motion was rejected.

The address, in substance the same with that of the com-
 mons, was presented by the house of lords in a body, on the
 18th of Februrary, and received the like answer.

Mr. Hamp-
 den's affair.

On the 2d of March, a petition from Richard Hampden,
 late treasurer of the navy, and knight of the shire for the
 county of Bucks, was presented to the commons by Sir Wil-
 liam Yonge, for leave to bring in a bill, to impower the
 commissioners of the treasury to compound with the petitioner
 for his debt to the crown (b). Sir Robert Walpole having
 acquainted the house, that the king had given his consent
 that they might do as they thought fit, the petition was taken
 into consideration. It was said by Mr. Onslow the speaker,
 and some others, ‘ That, out of regard to his antient family,
 and, in particular, in consideration of his great grand-father,
 John Hampden, who made a most noble and courageous
 stand against arbitrary power, in opposing ship-money, and
 fell the first victim in the glorious cause of liberty, they were
 for having something done for his relations.’ His wife and
 brother presented petitions, setting forth the distress they
 would be reduced to, by the deficiency Mr. Hampden was
 charged, without relief from the house. These petitions oc-
 casioning a debate, Sir William Yonge took notice, ‘ That
 Mr. Hampden's deficiency had, in some measure, been occa-
 sioned by a general calamity : That he had already done all
 that lay in his power to make it up : That, however, since
 neither his lady, nor his brother, had any ways been ac-
 cessary to his misfortunes, it was unreasonable and unjust to
 involve them in his offence and its punishment: That his real
 and patrimonial estate amounted to about 2200l. a year, one

(b) His debt was at first about half the debt, so the re-
 95,256 l. but he had delivered mander was about 48,000 l.
 in. by South-Sea stock, sub- His paternal estate was about
 scriptions, and other securities, 2000 l. a year.

full

full half of which was settled for a jointure to his wife, who brought him near 11,000 l. in marriage, besides an annuity of 200 l. per annum during her life, for her separate use; all which settlements ought to be secured to her: That either Mr. Richard Hampden, or his brother, may have issue male; and, in consideration of the signal services, at divers times, performed by their illustrious ancestors, some provision should be made for their posterity out of the family estate.' And therefore he moved, that a bill be brought in for 'vesting the real and personal estates of Richard Hampden in trustees, for making some provision for his wife and family, and for the better securing the debt due from him to the crown.' But Mr. Clayton and some other gentlemen represented, that, if this affair went through the usual tedious course of extents in the Exchequer, great part of Mr. Hampden's estate would be consumed in law expences, so that the crown would not get 200 l. a year out of it. And therefore they proposed, that the estate should be divided into two equal parts, one of which should be allotted as a provision for his wife and family, and the other half immediately sold off, towards satisfying the debt due from him to the crown. Many members shewed their approbation of his proposal; but the majority were for Sir William Yonge's motion; and a bill was ordered to be brought in, which afterwards passed into a law.

Upon a petition of Daniel Campbell, member of parliament for Glasgow, for satisfaction for his damages, by the rioters in that city, a bill passed in his favour; and the satisfaction given him was laid upon the place, where the crime was committed, by an act for an imposition of two pennies Scots, upon all ale and beer brewed in the city of Glasgow. However, the malt-tax was thought so great a grievance in Scotland, that the convention of the royal boroughs presented an address by John Campbell, member for Edinburgh, in which, though they disavowed the conduct of the Glasgow men, they remonstrated against that tax, 'as a burthen too heavy for their country to bear;' and afterwards petitioned the commons concerning it; as did likewise the shires of Renfrew, Bamff, &c.

Campbell of Glasgow voted satisfaction for his damages.

On the 24th of March, Sir Paul Methuen, knight of the Bath, delivered the following message from the king to the house of commons:

The king's message for an extraordinary supply.

'His majesty having nothing more at heart, than an earnest desire to secure to his own subjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, and in the best manner to prevent and frustrate such designs, as have been formed

M m 4

against

Geo. I. 1725-26. against the particular interest of this nation, and the general peace of Europe, has found it necessary, not only to augment his maritime force, but to concert such other measures, as may most effectually conduce to these desirable ends : And, as these services will require some extraordinary expence, his majesty hopes he shall be enabled, by the assistance of parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted and granted for the service of this year, and to enter into, and make good such engagements, as the circumstances and exigency of affairs may require.'

This message occasioned a debate of six hours ; but it was at last agreed to comply with it, by a majority of 270 against 89, and an address to that purpose was presented to the king.

This message had not been communicated to the house of lords, though the king said in it, that he hoped he should be enabled, by the assistance of his parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted. Notice was taken of it, and the earl of Strafford asserted, ' That the message was unprecedented, and struck at the ancient privileges of the house of peers, who are the grand standing council of the sovereign, the hereditary and perpetual Guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, and, next the king, the principal part of the legislature, and who therefore have a right to be consulted in all matters of public concern.' He moved, therefore, ' That an address be presented to know, who advised his majesty not to send the same message to the house of peers, as was sent to the house of commons.' The lord Trevor (who had been made lord privy seal on the 6th of March, in the room of the duke of Kingston) moved, that the further consideration of that matter be adjourned for a month. But the lord Lechmere represented, ' That the subject-matter of this debate was of so great consequence to his majesty's service, to the honour of that noble and illustrious assembly, to the antient constitution of parliament, and to the prosperity and welfare of the kingdom, that it ought not to be postponed at all, much less for such a length of time, as amounted to a laying it intirely aside. That it must be for the service and support of the crown, upon all occasions, to have the advice of both houses of parliament ; and as the message in question was only sent to the house of commons, and there had not yet been any communication with their lordships upon it, though it contained matters of the highest importance, it tended to undermine the very foundation of the house of peers, and of the antient constitution of the kingdom. That the rights

rights of the people of England were, in some measure, invaded, whenever they were deprived of the assistance of that house of parliament, without whom no aid can be given to the crown, nor any taxes laid upon the subjects. And therefore, if this debate should be adjourned to so long a day, it might be inferred from such a dilatory proceeding, that their lordships were not as jealous of their own privileges, and of the rights and properties of the people, at this time, and as much determined to support and defend them both, as any of their ancestors and predecessors had formerly been. That it was the undoubted, inherent, and fundamental right of the house of peers to alter and amend all money-bills, which came from the commons; and though in some late instances the commons had disputed that right, yet the lords had never failed to maintain and assert it. That, according to antient usage, all demands of supply should come from the throne in the house of peers; and therefore all other methods are unparliamentary, new, and dangerous to the constitution.' All these assertions were corroborated with several precedents upon record, which he caused to be read. He was answered by the lords Onslow and Townshend; who were replied to by the lord Bathurst, who took notice, 'That the appellation of parliament being given to the commons, and separately from the lords, was intirely new and unprecedented. That this was so far from being the language of former times, that though of late the commons took upon them to begin all money-bills, yet there was a time, when they were so inconsiderable, as to apply to the lords to desire them to provide money for the public service. That, if, at this time, the lords suffered themselves to be over-looked in this manner, they might come at last to be voted useless, as they had formerly been. And therefore, lest any mistake of this kind should be attended with such ill consequence, as to encourage any evil ministers hereafter to a total neglect of the house of peers, he was of opinion, that proper notice should be taken of it immediately, instead of deferring the further consideration of it for a month.' The earl of Scarborough said, 'He did not deny, that the peers have a right to be advised with in all matters of importance, and to give their consent to money-bills. But, in the case before them, it seemed needless to send the message in question to their house, because their lordships had implicitly given their consent to the augmenting the number of seamen, in their address of thanks, wherein the augmentation was hinted at. As to what had been suggested, that formerly the commons applied to the lords

Geo. I. lords to provide money for the public service, the reason of it was, because, at that time, none had any money to give but the lords, most of the lands being then in their hands; whereas since the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. the case is very much altered; and therefore they ought not to consider, how things were formerly, but how they are at present, and so act as they find them.' After several other speeches the affair was put off for a month, by 69 voices against 31. When the month was expired, it was again adjourned for a fortnight, and the house was moved, 'That an humble address be presented to his majesty, representing the fatal consequences which must happen to this kingdom, when any advice shall be given to the crown, whereby the counsel and assistance of this house shall not be asked, at the same time that the counsel and assistance of the house of commons shall be asked, in matters which concern the peace and safety of this kingdom; and most earnestly to beseech his majesty, that he will for the future discourage all such counsels as shall tend, in so unwarrantable and dangerous a manner, to the destruction of the rights of this house.' But this address was rejected (c).

End of the fourth session of the second parliament.

The business of the session being over, the king dismissed the parliament with the following speech:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I Cannot in justice put an end to this session, without returning you my hearty thanks for the many instances you have given me of your duty and affection to my person and government, and of your zeal to maintain the honour and true interest of this kingdom.

" The spirit and resolution you have shewn on this important occasion, when our most valuable rights and privileges have been struck at, are highly becoming the weight and authority of a British parliament: And the steps that have been taken abroad, in support of the measures entered into against this nation, must convince every body of your wisdom and prudence in endeavouring to put

(c) Among the bills passed this session were these two:

An act for building a bridge over the Thames, from the town of Fulham in Middlesex, to the town of Putney in Surry.

An act for preventing frivolous and vexatious arrests. By this act, no person shall be held

to special bail on any process from a superior court where the cause of action shall not amount to 10*l.* nor from any inferior court under 40*s.* In such cases the plaintiff shall not arrest the body of the defendant, but shall serve him personally with a copy of the process.

" an

“ an early stop to the further progress of them. I hope the
 “ precautions, you have enabled me to take, will be suffi-
 “ cient, in conjunction with my allies, to defeat the designs
 “ which have been formed against us; and that the pro-
 “ moters of them, when they have fully weighed their
 “ own circumstances, and better considered those of the
 “ several powers united in defence of the tranquility and
 “ liberties of Europe, will find it their own interest to pre-
 “ serve the peace, and think it most safe and prudent to de-
 “ sist from their dangerous schemes.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ I return you my particular thanks for the supplies,
 “ which you have so cheerfully and affectually raised; and
 “ you may be assured, that they shall be faithfully applied to
 “ the uses, for which you intended them.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ The constant employment of my thoughts, and the
 “ most earnest wishes of my heart, tend wholly to the secu-
 “ ring to my subjects their just rights and advantages, and
 “ to the preserving to them, and to all Europe, the enjoy-
 “ ment of a safe and honourable peace. And I must not
 “ conclude, without giving you the strongest assurances,
 “ that the particular confidence, you have placed in me,
 “ shall be made use of in such manner only, as may most
 “ effectually conduce to the attaining those good and great
 “ purposes.”

The supplies, raised during this session of parliament, were
 immediately employed in fitting out three different squadrons; Three squadrons fitted out.
 one of seven men of war, designed for the West-Indies,
 under the command of vice-admiral Hosier; another of
 twelve or more ships of the line, for the Mediterranean,
 under the command of Sir John Jennings, admiral of the
 white; and a third, designed for the Baltic, under the com-
 mand of Sir Charles Wager, vice-admiral of the red, and
 Sir George Walton, rear-admiral of the blue, consisting of
 twenty-one ships and two fireships.

The court of Great-Britain had evident proofs, that no-
 thing could influence the emperor and king of Spain to terms
 of reason, but to shew a vigorous spirit against a very per-
 nicious or suspicious part of the treaty of Vienna. And as
 all appearances convinced the ministry, that nothing could
 so effectually guard against approaching evils, as the dispatch-
 ing sufficient squadrons of ships to several places, they did
 with

Geo. I. with all possible diligence fit out the forementioned squadrons.
1726.

Sir Charles
Wager sails
to Russia,

The squadron sent to the Baltic was to prevent very great evils in those parts, there being no room to doubt, that the czarina's real view was to go with a fleet to Stockholm, and under a pretence of demanding the use of the ports, and the assistance of Sweden for the recovery of Sleswick to the duke of Holstein, actually to dethrone the king of Sweden, and make that nation dependent on Muscovy. It was therefore judged of the utmost importance to prevent this. Accordingly, about the end of April, Sir Charles Wager, with his squadron, came to an anchor in the road of Copenhagen; and, on the 25th of that month, had an audience of the king of Denmark. On the 2d of May he sailed to Stockholm, where, eight days after, he had an audience of the king of Sweden, being introduced by Mr. Poyntz, the British envoy extraordinary. A squadron of Danish men of war having joined the British squadron, the united fleet became so formidable, that the court of Russia thought proper to suspend the fitting out their large ships, and only to equip some frigates; and the land-forces, which had been drawn together near Petersburg, in order to be put on board the Russian fleet, were sent to work on the Ludoga canal, and the fortifications at Cronslot. The court was under the greatest uneasiness, and immediately gave orders for reinforcing the garrisons of Wibourg, Cronslot, Revel, and Riga. Mean while, Sir Charles Wager, having been joined by the Nassau and Port-Mahon on the 20th of May, sailed from Elsenal near Stockholm the 25th, and arrived the 29th near the island of Nargen, three leagues from Revel, and, the next morning sent an officer with a letter to lieutenant-general Wulcoffe, who commanded at Revel, and ordered the Port-Mahon to sail to Cronslot, having on board Mr. Barnet, one of his lieutenants, by whom he sent his majesty's letter to the czarina, inclosed in a packet to admiral Apraxin (d). In this letter, which was dated the 11th of April, his majesty observed, 'That, as the czarina's great preparations both by sea and land for war, in a time of peace, could not fail of giving him, as well as his allies in those parts, great and just cause to be alarmed; she would not be surprized, that he had sent a strong squadron into the Baltic,

(d) The czar of Muscovy by the empress Catherina, his wife.
died the 28th of January, 1725-6, and was succeeded

to obviate any danger, that might ensue from so extraordinary an armament.' He laid before her the several instances he had given of a sincere disposition to establish a firm and lasting friendship with the crown of Russia; but that his intentions had been disappointed by the delays of that court; and he expressed his surprize, 'that, while he was carrying on amicable negotiations, and had not given the least provocations on his part, measures were taken at her court in favour of the pretender, and great encouragement to his adherents. After what, says he, we have now set forth, your majesty will not be surprized, that we, being indispensably obliged to provide for the security of our dominions, to perform our engagements with our allies, and to maintain the public tranquillity in the North, which seems to be very much in danger from your majesty's late preparations, have thought it necessary to send a strong fleet of our men of war into the Baltic, and that we have given orders to our admiral, who commands it, to endeavour to prevent fresh troubles in those parts, by hindering your majesty's ships from coming out in case that you persist in your resolution to put your fleet to sea, to execute the designs, which you may have in view. But, as it is our firm intention to live in peace and friendship with your majesty, we wish, from the bottom of our heart, that your majesty, seriously reflecting upon the true interest of your subjects, would permit them to enjoy the blessings of that peace, which they purchased at the expence of so much blood and treasure, under the conduct of his late majesty; and that, rather than enter into measures, which must inevitably plunge Russia into a war, and the whole North into confusion, your majesty would please to give your people, and all mankind, convincing proofs of your inclination for peace, and of your good disposition to live in quiet with your neighbours.' The czarina, in her answer, dated June 15, declared her surprize at not receiving the king's letter till the very instant his fleet appeared on her coasts, and after it had cast anchor before Revel, 'since it had been more agreeable to the custom established among sovereigns, and more consistent with the amity, that had so long subsisted between her kingdoms and the crown of Great Britain, had his majesty thought fit to expostulate with her about the umbrage he might have conceived from her armament; and to expect her answer thereupon, before he advanced to so offensive a step. That then his majesty might have been assured by her, that it was so far from her thoughts to disturb the repose in the North, that, on the contrary, all her cares

and

Geo. I. and attention were wholly bent on the security and preservation of it; both for the time present and time to come, as being more concerned than his majesty, in preventing whatever might endanger that tranquility.' That, with regard to what was charged upon her, in relation to the pretender, it 'was a frivolous and stale accusation, made use of, as it had heretofore been, as the main pretence for all the unkind steps taken against her.'

Sir Charles Wager remained in his station near Revel till October, when, the year being so far advanced, and he having intelligence from Petersburg and Cronstot, that the Russian galleys were laid up in their winter harbour, and their fleet not in a condition to put to sea, he sailed from the bay of Revel for the coast of Denmark, and arrived at Copenhagen the same month. From thence, after a stay of a few days, he sailed for England, where he safely arrived in November.

Sir John Jennings puts to sea.

Sir John Jennings, with his squadron, which was furnished with a considerable number of land-forces and artillery, visited the coasts of Spain, and shut up the ports of that kingdom. His orders were to cruize between Cadiz and Cape St. Vincent, to intercept the galleons, and to assist Gibraltar, in case of a siege, with the land-forces on board his fleet, and to annoy the enemy to the utmost. But he did no damage on the coast of Spain, and only caused alarms, and protected the trade of Great-Britain.

Hosier sails to the West-Indies.

Vice-admiral Hosier's squadron was inferior to those of Sir Charles Wager and Sir John Jennings; but he was authorized to join to his fleet all the ships he could meet with in the West-Indies; and his orders were to prevent the galleons from sailing out of the Spanish ports there; or, if they should come out, to seize them, and bring their cargoes untouched to England. He arrived at the Bastimento's off Porto-Bello, in the beginning of June; but, ten days before his arrival, an advice-boat from Spain brought orders for putting on shore the money on board the galleons, said to be twenty-six millions of pieces of eight, and send it back to Panama.

Ripperda dismissed.

These measures were taken against Spain, in resentment of the engagements, which that court had entered into with the court of Vienna, to the prejudice of Great-Britain, and the designs formed in favour of the pretender, by the instigation of the dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and earl Marischal, who were then at Madrid. But the duke de Ripperda, who had been the principal agent in forming and concluding the treaty of Vienna, and the author of the violent

lent counsels against Great-Britain, was of a sudden disin-
 fessed, on the 14th of May from all his employments, though
 allowed a pension of 3000 pistoles for his subsistence. The
 pretended cause of his disgrace was the embezzlement of the
 finances (of which he was superintendant) to the value of
 four millions. The duke, upon his receiving the king of
 Spain's decree for dismissing him from his post, went imme-
 diately to the house of monsieur Vandermeer, the Dutch
 ambassador; but, not thinking himself safe there, Vander-
 meer carried him in his coach to the house of colonel Stan-
 hope, the British ambassador, whose protection he begged
 and obtained. The king being informed of this, caused the
 ambassador's house to be surrounded by two hundred grena-
 diers. The next day colonel Stanhope had an audience of
 the king, and gave him an account of what had happened
 in relation to the discarded minister, which the king did not
 seem to disapprove; and the grenadiers were called off from
 his house, on a promise from him, that the duke de Ripper-
 da's person should be forthcoming; and sixty guards were
 posted in the streets leading to colonel Stanhope's house, to
 take him, if he should attempt to make his escape. But on
 the 25th of May, N. S. the king appointed don Lewis Cu-
 ellar, one of the alcades of his court, assisted by don Francis
 Valansa, adjutant-general of the life-guard, to enter colonel
 Stanhope's house, and take from thence the duke de Ripper-
 da, and convey him to the castle of Segovia, with a sufficient
 guard; which was done. But this violation of the law of
 nations, in forcibly entering the house of an ambassador,
 was justly complained of by the court of Great-Britain, who
 ordered the letters and papers, which passed between the mi-
 nisters and ambassadors of both courts upon this occasion,
 and upon Sir John Jennings's coming with his fleet on the
 coast of Spain, to be published. Among these papers is a
 memorial of colonel Stanhope to the king of Spain, dated
 Sept. 24, 1726, in which he observes, that the king his
 master was surprized, that the king of Spain should not know
 the reasons, and be sensible of the necessity, which obliged
 his majesty to send the fleet under Sir John Jennings to the
 coast of Spain; considering, says he, the engagements, into
 which some of the most considerable powers of Europe have
 of late entered, and of which his majesty has complained so
 often and so loudly. The naval armaments and equipments,
 which have been made in most of the ports of Spain; the
 preparations of war, and the motions of a considerable num-
 ber of Spanish troops towards that part of their coast, which
 lies

Geo. I. lies nearest and most convenient for executing an enterprize
 1726. on his majesty's dominions; the great hopes of the emissaries
 — and adherents of the pretender, who have publickly boasted
 of the assistance they should receive from those parts; the
 confidence they had in it, and which has appeared clearly in
 the pernicious and indiscreet conduct of some among them,
 who have been lately received and favoured at Madrid: This,
 joined with the intrigues, which have been carried on with
 the Muscovites, and the reasons his Majesty has to suspect the
 ill designs upon which the three ships were sent last year from
 Petersburg to Cadiz, and from thence to St. Andero; the
 knowledge his majesty had last winter, by the avowal of the
 minister of Spain, that there was an offensive alliance between
 the courts of Madrid and Vienna, and that, by one of the
 articles of that alliance, it was stipulated to use open force to
 get Gibraltar restored to the king of Spain, a place, which his
 majesty possesses by virtue of so just a right; the great subsidies,
 which have been furnished to the imperial court, and which
 are not seen to be settled by an alliance, that has yet been
 made public; the notorious infractions, which the Spanish
 guarda costas have for a long time made, with respect to the
 commerce and navigation of his majesty's subjects in the West
 Indies, infractions, which have been so often complained of
 without the least appearance of satisfaction or reparation:
 These things, joined together, are sufficient to exhibit clearly
 the reasons, which have induced his majesty to take the
 measures he judged proper, and to equip the several fleets,
 which have put to sea; and his majesty's subjects would have
 had just cause to complain, had not care been taken for the
 security of the kingdom, and of their rights and properties,
 which they saw threatened and in danger.'

The States
 accede to the
 treaty of
 Hanover.

The king
 of Prussia
 falls off
 from that
 treaty.

In August, the States-general signed their accession to the
 treaty of Hanover, after having been dissuaded by the im-
 perial and Spanish ministers not to do it, and pressed to come
 into that of Vienna. Though the emperor had not suc-
 ceeded with the States, he found means to detach, in great
 measure, the king of Prussia from his engagements with the
 allies of Hanover. The conduct of his Prussian majesty, in
 this instance, as a Protestant and son-in-law of king George,
 could hardly be defended. It was thought he proposed some
 extraordinary advantages from his desertion of the allies of
 Hanover, and closing with those of Vienna; one part of
 which advantages was probably to be supported by the em-
 peror, in making some conquest upon the dominions of Ha-
 nover. However that be, he made a treaty with the empe-

ror, which gave great jealousy to the friends of the treaty of Geo. I. Hanover. By this treaty the king of Prussia engaged in a new contract, not very consistent with the apprehensions of the Hanover allies, of the emperor's power and projects; since the king of Prussia was to guarantee the order of succession in the hereditary dominions in the heirs female, in default of male issue; while, on the other hand, the emperor obliged himself to use his endeavours to obtain from all those, who had pretensions to the duchies of Juliers and Burges, a cession of their rights in favour of his Prussian majesty.

The treaty of Hanover was attended with the greatest difficulties, and a prodigious but unavoidable expence. Of this Sweden was an instance. All the summer pressing and repeated applications were made by the British and French ministers at Stockholm, to induce the court of Sweden to accede to the treaty of Hanover. And no less pains were taken by the Russian and Austrian ministers, to procure his Swedish majesty's accession to the treaty of Vienna. But that wise prince resolved to leave the determination of so important an affair to the general diet of the states of Sweden. The Holstein faction in Sweden were spirited in their opposition to this accession, by count Freytag, the imperial ambassador, and the ambassador of Russia; but that did not hinder the States signing it, as well as the king of Sweden.

During these negociations, Spain, incensed to the last degree, made great preparations for war. A camp of about twenty thousand men was formed at St. Roch near Gibraltar, and all the necessaries for a siege were provided. Preparations were likewise made at sea; four thousand sailors were landed; several men of war were come to Cadiz, and as many more, as could be, were brought. The pretence was, to rebuild the castle of Old Gibraltar, though some greater design was very visible.

In these circumstances the parliament of Great-Britain met, on the 17th of January. The king opened the session with a very long, lively, and pathetic speech, but, at the same time, extremely offensive to the princes of whom mention was made. This speech was as follows:

The fifth session of the second parliament of king George.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I Acquainted you last year with the treaties of peace and commerce concluded between the emperor and the king of Spain. As that sudden and unaccountable conjunction gave, at the first appearance, just grounds of jea-

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“ lousy

Geo. I. " lousy and apprehension to the neighbouring powers of Eu-
 1726.27. " rope, and the subsequent proceedings and transactions in
 " those two courts, and the secret and offensive alliances
 " concluded between them about the same time, have laid the
 " foundations of a most exorbitant and formidable power,
 " and are so directly levelled against the most valuable and
 " darling interests and privileges of this nation, that we must
 " determine either tamely to submit to the peremptory and
 " unjust demands of the king of Spain in giving up Gibralt-
 " tar, and patiently to acquiesce in the emperor's usurped
 " and extended exercise of trade and commerce, or must re-
 " solve to be in a condition to do ourselves justice, and to
 " defend our undoubted rights against these reciprocal en-
 " gagements, entered into in defiance and violation of all
 " national faith and the most solemn treaties.

" I have likewise received information from different
 " parts, on which I can intirely depend, that the placing the
 " pretender upon the throne of this kingdom is one of the
 " articles of the secret engagements: And if time shall
 " evince, that the giving up the trade of this nation to one
 " power, and Gibraltar and Port-Mahon to another, is
 " made the price and reward of imposing upon this kingdom
 " a Popish pretender: What an indignation must this raise
 " in the breast of every Protestant Briton!

" Nor were these fatal combinations confined to those
 " parts of the world alone, but they extended themselves
 " into Russia; and, had not the designs of that court against
 " some of their neighbours been prevented, by the seasonable
 " arrival of our fleet in those seas, a way had been opened
 " for invading those kingdoms, and giving a powerful
 " assistance to any attempt to be made from other quar-
 " ters.

" Such circumstances would not suffer me and my allies,
 " among whom there has been and is the most perfect har-
 " mony, union, and concert, to be idle spectators, and re-
 " gardless of their own safety, and the common cause of
 " Europe; for which purpose his most Christian majesty
 " has been at a great expence, this last year, in augmenting
 " his forces; and the States-general, sensible of the immi-
 " nent danger, have not only acceded to the defensive alli-
 " ance concluded at Hanover, but have come to strong and
 " seasonable resolutions for an extraordinary augmentation
 " of their forces both by sea and land. The accession of the
 " crown of Sweden is in such a forwardness, and the nego-
 " tiations with the crown of Denmark are so far advanced,
 " that

“ that we may reasonably depend upon the success and good Geo. I.
 “ effect of them. 1726 27.

“ This short view of the present posture of affairs will, I
 “ am confident, not only secure to me the support and assis-
 “ tance of my parliament, in carrying on this great and ne-
 “ cessary work, in conjunction with my allies, but justify
 “ the measures hitherto taken, and the expences already
 “ made.

“ The confidence, you reposed in me last year, has been
 “ made use of for the benefit of the public : And as the
 “ chief article of exceeding has, by my equipping and send-
 “ ing to sea three considerable squadrons, fallen upon the
 “ head of the navy, I am persuaded the necessity of the ser-
 “ vices, and the security, advantage and glory, that has ac-
 “ crued to this nation from these squadrons, will sufficiently
 “ speak for themselves, as long as both friends and foes,
 “ with joy and concern, confess they have seen and felt the
 “ effects of the naval power of Great-Britain.

“ It is not to be wondered at, that the princes engaged
 “ in these enterprizes are very much disturbed to see their
 “ projects rendered abortive. The king of Spain, impatient
 “ of the disappointments he has met with, can no longer
 “ disguise that enmity to us, which for some time he has
 “ only waited for a favourable opportunity to declare. He
 “ has now ordered his minister residing here to depart im-
 “ mediately from this country, leaving a memorial that is
 “ little short of a declaration of war, wherein he again de-
 “ mands and insists upon the restitution of Gibraltar. He
 “ does not himself deny the offensive alliance, nor his en-
 “ gagements to support the Ostend company. He makes
 “ my recalling those squadrons, which his conduct has put
 “ me under a necessity of sending to the West-Indies, and
 “ the coast of Spain, the condition of any further correspon-
 “ dence between the two crowns ; and, supposing the con-
 “ tinuance of my fleets abroad to be actual hostilities, threa-
 “ tens to repel them with force, to the utmost of his
 “ power.

“ But, not content with these menaces, insults, and
 “ infractions of treaties, his Catholic majesty is now making
 “ preparations to attack and besiege Gibraltar ; and in order
 “ to carry on that service, or to cover another design, has
 “ assembled a great body of troops in that neighbourhood.
 “ But as the present state and condition of that garrison,
 “ with the reinforcements I have ordered thither, give me
 “ little cause to apprehend, or my enemies to hope for suc-

Geo. I.
1726-27.

“cess in that undertaking, the certain and undoubted intelligence I have, that it is now resolved to attempt an invasion upon these kingdoms in favour of the Pretender, by an embarkation from the coasts of Spain, gives me reason to believe, that, though the siege of Gibraltar may probably be undertaken, the public, avowed, and immense preparations made for that purpose are chiefly calculated to amuse the world, and to disguise the intended invasion, which I am surely informed has been for some time agreed to be the first step and beginning of the long premeditated rupture.”

“Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“These considerations must awaken in you all such a sense of our common and immediate danger, as will, I doubt not, inspire you with a zeal and cheartfulness in raising the supplies necessary for the defence of your country, and for making good our engagements with our allies.

“I received too much satisfaction from the happiness of my people in their full enjoyment and future prospect of peace, ease, and prosperity, not to be sensibly affected with these new convulsions, and the unavoidable necessity I am under of asking larger supplies of my people, and of desiring to be enabled to make such an augmentation of my forces by sea and land, as the present exigency of my affairs requires.

“I will order the proper estimates to be laid before you, and such treaties as I have made with foreign princes for the hire of foreign troops: And as the expence, I was last year in a particular manner intrusted to make, has amounted to no inconsiderable sum, and the public utility may again require the like services to be performed, I hope you will again repose the same trust and confidence in me.

“It is with great pleasure, that I see the time so near approaching, when such a considerable addition will be made to the sinking fund. Let all, that wish well to the peace and quiet of my government, have the satisfaction to see, that our present necessities shall make no interruption in the progress of that desirable work of gradually discharging the national debt. I hope therefore you will make a provision for the immediate application of the produce of the sinking fund to the uses, for which it was so wisely contrived, and to which it stands now appropriated.

“My

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I have had no thoughts of making any acquisitions to any parts of my dominions. My whole care and concern has been to preserve and maintain the undoubted rights and privileges of my people ; and therefore all my measures have been preventive and defensive. But, such endeavours being now rendered impracticable, vigorous resolutions, and a speedy execution of them, can alone put an effectual end to the dangers, that surround us. However hazardous and desperate the enterprizes formed against us may appear to be, your being assured, that they are resolved upon, will, I am persuaded, be sufficient to prevail upon you, to put yourselves in a condition to resist and defeat them.

“ If preserving a due balance of power in Europe ; if defending the possessions of the crown of Great-Britain, of infinite advantage and security to our trade and commerce ; if supporting that trade and commerce against dangerous and unlawful incroachments ; and if the present establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a Protestant people, are any longer considerations worthy of the care and attention of a British parliament. I need say no more to incite my loyal and faithful houses of parliament to exert themselves in the defence of all that is dear and valuable to them.”

The zeal and indignation raised by this speech was so great, that, in the addresses of thanks, words were wanted to express the deep resentment at the insults offered the king, at the invasions of the most valuable branches of trade, at the designs formed against the nation, and to applaud the wise measures taken by the king, to prevent the destructive designs against the liberties of Europe. However, when the address was moved for in the house of commons, it was opposed by Mr. Pulteney and others. They urged, ‘ That the matter of peace and war is of the greatest weight that can fall under their consideration : That, as his majesty’s speech contained many points of the highest moment and importance, so no doubt his majesty, in his great wisdom and goodness towards his people, expected, on this occasion, not only the support, but likewise the advice of that house : That, in order thereto, they ought maturely to deliberate on those

Geo. I. several heads, which could not be done, before several papers
 1726-27. were communicated to them, that seemed absolutely necessary to state some facts relating to those weighty matters : That the motion, as it was drawn up, implied an approbation of measures taken to prevent dangers ; which seemed preposterous, before they knew either what those measures were, or whether those dangers were real : That therefore they ought, for the present, to content themselves with returning his majesty the most humble thanks of the house, for his most gracious speech, with assurances of supporting his majesty in all just and necessary measures ; and appoint a day for taking the speech into consideration.' To this it was answered in general, ' That delays were often dangerous, and might be fatal in the present situation of affairs, which required vigorous and speedy resolutions, both for the encouragement of our friends, and the perfecting some alliances, that were already in great forwardness, and for the discouragement of our enemies, who had already blocked up Gibraltar, and threatened it with a siege : That the measures, that had been taken, were but a consequence of the last year's resolution, which the house had come to, after a full examination and mature consideration of the state of affairs, then laid before both houses by his majesty : But that, however, such an address, as was proposed, did not preclude a farther enquiry into those matters.' As the promise of restoring Gibraltar was mentioned in some of the speeches, Sir Robert Walpole said, ' That, such a promise not having been made, while he had the honour to be in the administration, he could say nothing to it : That, if such a promise was ever made, he durst aver, that it was conditional, and made void and invalid by the king of Spain's refusing to comply with the conditions, on which it was made ; and that, whenever the performance of that promise was mentioned to him, as insisted on by the king of Spain, he always delivered it as his fixed and positive opinion, ' That Gibraltar could not be given up without the consent of parliament.' After the debate, the address was carried by 251 against 81.

Supplies.

The commons, pursuant to the king's desire in his speech, applied themselves to the affair of the supplies. It was unanimously resolved to grant 20,000 seamen, and to augment the land-forces to 26,383 men. To defray the expence of the fleet and army, Sir Robert Walpole proposed a tax of four shillings in the pound on land. This was opposed by some members, who alledged, That it was more eligible to

to apply the produce of the sinking fund towards the present Geo. I. occasions ; but the land-tax was voted (a). 1726-27.

The warmest debate this session was in the house of lords, on the 24th of January, all the peers in London having been summoned to attend. In a grand committee, of which the lord de la War was chairman, the clerk was directed to read the titles of the papers that had been laid before the house, consisting chiefly of letters and memorials between the ministers of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, and the act of accession of the States to the Hanover treaty. This done, the debate was opened by the lord Bathurst, whose speech, and the lord Townshend's answer, were as follows : The lord Bathurst began with taking notice, ' With what caution and circumspection the States-General had acted in the whole affair. That they had not fully and intirely acceded to the treaty of Hanover, since they had formally and expressly excused and discharged themselves from the ' general ' guarantee of the treaties of Westphalia and Oliva, in which, ' (they said) they were never engaged.' And, as to the business of Thorn, ' they had only promised to employ their ' friendly offices for obtaining a reasonable satisfaction.' So that they acceded only upon account of the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of Munster, ' for preserving and maintaining ' their rights with respect to commerce ;' whereas, by the treaty of Hanover, Great-Britain and France stood engaged

Debates on
the king's
speech.

(a) The whole supply of this last year of king George was as follows :

	l.	s.	d.
Jan. 24. For 20,000 seamen	1,040,000	0	0
—26. For 26,383 land men	885,494	9	4
—For garrisons in the plantations, Minorca, Gibraltar, &c.	157,637	6	5
—For extra expences not provided for	30,750	19	5
Feb. 2. For the office of land-ordinary	100,000	0	0
—For the ordinary of the navy	199,071	7	8
—14. For half-pay officers	60,000	0	0
—For Chelsea-Hospital out-pensioners	4,847	2	0
—For arrears to the landg. of Hesse	50,000	0	0
—For 12,000 Hessians	170,000	0	0
—For deficiency of funds	160,306	17	5
March 21. For making good the deficiency of the general fund	54,196	7	9
	2,998,104	11	0

Geo. I. 1726-27. to guarantee to the Dutch, not only the 5th and 6th articles of the peace of Westphalia, but likewise the Barrier Treaty, and the treaty of Oliva, in favour of the Protestants of Germany. And thus, in short, the Dutch having engaged themselves to nothing, what they had done, did not deserve the name of Accession, the rather because they made it an express condition, that their Act of Accession should be 'approved and ratified' by the King of Great-Britain, the most Christian king, and the king of Prussia. But, though this last potentate was one of the principal contractors in the treaty of Hanover, yet, no mention being now made of him, he could not tell what to make of it. That it seems his minister had refused signing the Act of succession, probably upon account of the Dutch excusing themselves from the general guaranty. But, let his reasons for receding from his engagements be what they would, his example might be of dangerous consequence; for by a letter from the duke de Bournonville, the Spanish minister at Vienna, it appeared, that they were not without hopes at the imperial court, that France might thereby think herself disengaged from the Hanover alliance; in which event Great-Britain alone must bear the burden of an expensive war with two of the greatest potentates of Europe. That, the Dutch receiving far greater advantages than Great-Britain, from the East-India trade, and consequently being more concerned than we in the suppression of the Ostend company, they ought, at least, to bear an equal share with us in the expences of this war, and guarantee to us the possession of Gibraltar, in the same manner, as Great-Britain guarantees to them their barrier. That, after all, he did not see any just reason for a rupture with Spain. That indeed the duke de Ripperda might have dropped some indecent and indiscreet expressions; but he was known to be a hot-headed man; and princes have a right to disavow the indiscretions of their ministers, which the king of Spain had done in a most solemn manner, with relation to Ripperda. That it was well known, that violent ministers do many unaccountable things. And, if their idle talk and foolish expressions were a just foundation for war, nations would ever be at daggers drawing. That, for some time past, the emperor had been treated here very cavalierly by some persons; and that, in the memorial the marquis de Pozzobuono left behind him, at his departure, it was suggested, 'That the violent state, to which affairs are now reduced, is owing to the ministers of England.' That in the same memorial, mention is made of a Positive Promise made by the king of Great-Britain for the restitution of Gibraltar,

raltar; which could not be supposed to be said, without any Geo. I. foundation; and therefore it would be highly necessary to in- 1726-27. quire, whether, in reality, such a promise was ever made; and whether any thing like it was mentioned in the treaty concluded at Madrid? That, let that matter stand how it would, all possible methods of an amicable accommodation ought, in his opinion, to be tried before they engaged in a war, which, in our present circumstances, might be attended with very dangerous consequences. That the nation is loaded with a debt of above fifty millions. But, though they are told of a sinking fund applied to the gradual discharge of that heavy burden, yet it was more to be wished than expected, that the operation of that wise contrivance should suffer no interruption by the exigences inseparable from a war. That one of our best mathematicians has foretold, that, if ever England raises above five millions in a year, it will infallibly be exhausted and ruined in a few years. Now if, at this juncture, we should enter upon a war, and not meddle with the sinking fund, according to the scheme of those in the administration, they must be obliged to raise, at least, seven millions a year upon the people of England; the consequence of which was obvious and glaring to any one, who admitted the principle of that great mathematician. That, in some of the papers laid before the house, mention was made of great sums of money distributed in divers places, to bring some measures to bear. That, for his own part, he had touched neither Spanish nor English gold. He was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Englishman, and, as long as he had the honour to sit in that house, he would speak and act for the good of his country. That therefore he would sum up all he had said, with earnestly desiring their lordships seriously to consider the matter before them, which was of the last consequence and importance to the whole nation. What (said he) can we get by a war, if it be a successful one? I will say it in one word, Nothing. What can we lose, if it be unsuccessful? I will say it in one word, in a syllable, All."

This speech was answered by the lord Townshend, who said, 'That the treaty of Hanover, being purely defensive, had made no alteration in the treaties subsisting before, either between the contracting powers, or other princes and states. That the true aim and intention of this alliance was a reciprocal guaranty for the protecting and maintaining the dominions and countries, both in and out of Europe, whereof each of the allies was actually possessed at the time of the signing this alliance. So that, by acceding thereto, the crowns

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Geo. I. crowns of Great-Britain and France became guaranties of the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of Munster, by which the Dutch are entitled to exclusive rights and privileges of trade in the East-Indies. But that this guaranty was reciprocal between Great-Britain and the States-General, since, by the treaty of 1667, Spain had granted to England the same rights and privileges, which the Dutch enjoyed by the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of Westphalia. That therefore the suppressing of the Ostend company, which manifestly invaded those exclusive rights and privileges, was become a common cause between us and the Dutch. That our concern therein is almost equal to theirs; since our East-India trade brings about 300,000 l. a year into the customs; which being part of the general mortgage, if so considerable a branch of trade should be lost, that yearly sum would be taken from the sinking fund. That by former treaties Great-Britain was guarantee to the Dutch for their barrier in the Netherlands, as reciprocally, by the same treaties, they were guaranties to Great-Britain for the Protestant succession. So that, in those respects, we stood no more engaged to them, than they to us. That, indeed, by their act of accession to the Hanover alliance, the States-General exempt themselves from the general guaranty of the treaties of Westphalia and Oliva, to which they never stood engaged; but nevertheless, by the same act, 'they engage themselves to employ, 'jointly with Great-Britain and France, their friendly offices 'for obtaining a reasonable satisfaction and reparation, as to 'the infractions, which might have been made in the treaty 'of Oliva;' which is as much as the contracting powers have engaged themselves to by the first secret article of the treaty of Hanover, and is indeed as little, as the Protestant potentates could do, in commiseration of the severities lately exercised against the Protestants of Thorn. That as to the idle talk and indecent expressions of the duke de Ripperda, they were not alledged as a just foundation for a rupture with Spain, but only as pregnant and corroborating indications of an offensive alliance between that prince and the emperor, of which there were such convincing proofs, as left no room to doubt it. That as to the secret article of that alliance in favour of the Pretender, his majesty had received from several parts such positive and concurring informations, that if the safety of the state permitted to lay those advices before the house, they would no more question the certainty of such an article, than if they had been present at the signing of it. But he hoped that illustrious assembly would not think any

of his majesty's servants, who had the honour to sit amongst them, so audacious, as to tell them downright untruths, or to presume to impose upon their lordships, by alledging facts of so great importance, without sufficient vouchers. That, as to the other articles of the secret offensive alliance, relating to the supporting of the Ostend company, and the restitution of Gibraltar, the king of Spain and his ministers were so far from denying them, that, on the contrary, they did not scruple publicly to avow and justify them. That therefore his majesty could not, in prudence, but take early and proper measures to oppose an alliance, so directly levelled against his crown and dignity, and invasive of the most valuable rights and privileges acquired to his subjects by the most solemn treaties. That, at the same time, notwithstanding these high provocations, his majesty shewed his inclination and disposition to an amicable accommodation; and, with this view, it was intimated to the courts of Vienna and Madrid, that, if the emperor would remove the Ostend company to Trieste, or any other place in his dominions, which did not heretofore belong to the Spanish monarchy, Great-Britain would quietly acquiesce. But instead of accepting this proposal, those two courts not only seemed resolved to support the Ostend trade, but Spain, in the memorial lately presented by the marquis de Pozzobueno, insisted on the speedy restitution of Gibraltar, by virtue of a pretended positive promise, that exists no where; which put his majesty and the whole nation under the necessity of a vigorous self-defence.'

After these and several other speeches, particularly by the lord Bingley, who was answered by the lord Carteret, it was resolved (by 98 against 25) 'That it fully appears to this committee, upon consideration of his majesty's speech, and the letters and memorials laid before the house, by his majesty's order, That the measures, his majesty has thought fit to take, were honourable, just, and necessary for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements, entered into in favour of the pretender; for preserving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great-Britain, by solemn treaties, and particularly those of Gibraltar, and the island of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their most valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquility of Europe.'

Against this resolution, a protest was entered by seventeen lords; and the lord Lechmere moved for an address to the king, 'to make new and pressing instances with his Prussian majesty,

Geo. I. majesty, and his other allies, in such manner as the present
1726-27. critical and dangerous juncture requires.' But this motion
was rejected, which occasioned another protest.

Proceedings
of the com-
mons.

Mean time the commons addressed the king for the accession of the States to the treaty of Hanover, and for copies of the memorials, letters, and answers, between the British ministers and the courts of Vienna and Madrid. Some pushed matters farther, and moved for a copy of the memorial presented by Mr. Pointz to the king of Sweden, the 4th of June, 1726, and also for the secret offensive article between the emperor and the king of Spain, but both these motions were rejected. As the court of Spain had persisted in the restitution of Gibraltar, pursuant to a promise made to that purpose, it was moved for an address for the declaration, letters, or engagements, which, in the marquis de Pozzobuono's letter to the duke of Newcastle, of the 21st of December last, is asserted to be a Positive Promise (b). This motion was supported by Mr. Pulteney, and opposed by Sir Robert Walpole, who did not disown, 'That such a promise might indeed have been made in a former administration: But this he was sure of, that, if there was such a promise, it was upon certain conditions, which not having been performed within the limited time, it was thereby become invalid: And as for the declaration, or letter, the commu-

(b) The paragraph in the letter relating to Gibraltar, was as follows:

'But as to what was then declared to Mr. Stanhope by word of mouth, and in writing, that the good correspondence and friendship with England depended absolutely on the speedy restitution of Gibraltar: I cannot avoid confirming it anew to your excellency, by order from the king my master, as a declaration most justly founded, insisting on that restitution, after the king of Great-Britain, had on this point given, as he did give, a positive promise; besides that, on the other hand, the cession, which his majesty made precedently of that place, is become null, be-

cause of the infractions made in the conditions on which it was permitted that the English garrison should remain in possession of Gibraltar; seeing that, contrary to all the protestations made, they have not only extended their fortifications, by exceeding the limits prescribed and stipulated, but what is more, contrary to the express and literal tenor of the treaties, they receive and admit the Jews and Moors, in the same manner as the Spaniards, and other nations confounded and mixed, contrary to our holy religion; not to mention the frauds and continual contrabands which are carried on there, to the prejudices of his majesty's revenues.'

nication

nication of which was insisted on, the same was altogether Geo. I. impracticable and unprecedented, the private letters of princes 1726-27. being almost as sacred as their very persons.' After a debate, this motion was also rejected by a majority of 204 against 97. After this, the lord Morpeth moved 'for an address for copies of all such memorials or representations to his majesty from the crowns of Sweden and Denmark, as did induce him to send the squadron the last year into the Baltic.' This motion was opposed by Mr. Horace Walpole, who, in a long speech, justified all the steps that had been taken by Great-Britain since his majesty's accession (particularly from the opening of the congress at Cambray) to preserve the balance of power, the peace of Europe, and the tranquility of the North; and with this last view to prevent the czarina's designs against Sweden and Denmark, in favour of the duke of Holstein. Mr. William Pulteney answered this speech; but, the question being put upon the lord Morpeth's motion, it passed in the negative by a majority of 196 voices against 79.

In the account how the money given for the service of the last year was disposed of, there was an article of the sum of 125,000 l. charged in general terms, as issued out for other engagements and expences, over and above such as were therein specified. Upon this it was resolved to address the king for an account of the disposition of that money; in answer to which the house was told, 'That the sum mentioned in the address was issued and disbursed, pursuant to the power given to his majesty by parliament, for necessary services and engagements, of the utmost importance to the trade and navigation of this kingdom, and the tranquility of Europe; and which require the greatest secrecy; and therefore a particular account of the distribution of it cannot possibly be given, without a manifest prejudice to the public.'

Mr. Pulteney, not satisfied with this answer, said, 'That when the commons, in the last session, resolved to make good all such expences, as should be for the security of trade and navigation, and for the preservation of the peace of Europe, they did not divest themselves of their undoubted right of being acquainted with the disposition of public money: That, if they gave up so essential a right, that house would become altogether useless, or serve only blindly to approve of, and register the acts and deeds of the ministers: That he did not in the least, doubt the disbursement of the 125,000 l. for necessary services: But that, if they were satisfied with
such

Geo. I. such a general account, the same might, in future reigns, 1726-27. prove a very dangerous precedent, and serve to cover embezzlements of the public treasure.' Then he moved for a further address for an account of that sum. But the question was carried against addressing, by 235 against 110; and, instead of it, it was resolved, without a division, 'That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of this house, for his great care and wisdom, in taking such steps, and entering into such engagements, as his majesty thought would best conduce to the securing of the trade and navigation of this kingdom, and to the preservation of the peace of Europe; and to assure his majesty that this house, placing an entire confidence in his majesty's goodness and regard for the true interest of his people, will stand by and support his majesty in all such further measures, as his majesty shall find necessary and expedient for preventing a rupture, for the honour and advantage of these kingdoms's.'

Palm's memorial.

The king's speech was examined in other places as well as in the parliament. The court of Vienna took great offence and passed severe censures upon it. The imperial resident at London was ordered to present a bold memorial to the king, and afterwards to publish it to the whole nation, as an appeal to the people against their sovereign. With it was published count Zinzendorff's letter to Palms, which was still more injurious than the memorial (c)

The

(c) The memorial was as follows:

'Most serene and potent king,

As soon as the speech, made by your majesty to the parliament of Great-Britain now assembled, came to the knowledge of his imperial and catholic majesty, my most gracious master, he was struck with the utmost astonishment, that your majesty could suffer yourself to be prevailed upon to declare from the royal throne, to that most renowned nation, in a manner hitherto unheard of, as certain and undoubted facts, several things, some of which are

strained in that speech to a wrong sense, some are intirely distant from the intentions of his imperial and catholic majesty; and lastly (which affect much more sensibly than all the rest) some things absolutely void of all foundation.

For as to what regards the peace, concluded at Vienna, with the most serene king of Spain, who can forbear being astonished, that this very peace, which is built on the quadruple alliance, signed at London, and other treaties contracted with your majesty, as its solid and sole foundation; and, for the obtaining of which peace, your

ma-

The king had the satisfaction to see this memorial highly Geo. I.
resented by the parliament. Both houses joined in an ad- 1726-27.
drefs

censured in
parliament.

majesty, together with your allies, waged so bloody, so long and so glorious a war, and took yourself so much pains to procure, should now be alledged by your majesty as a just ground of complaint, and should be made use of as a pretence for these things, which hitherto your ministers have been doing in all parts, to the great detriment of the emperor and the empire, and the public tranquillity, and should be represented by your majesty to the British nation, with so much animosity against the emperor and king of Spain, as a violation of treaties.

After complaining of the peace made at Vienna, complaint is likewise made of the treaty of commerce entered into with Spain, which is calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the subjects of both parties, which is agreeable to the law of nations, and to the customs of all people in amity with each other; which can in no respect be of any prejudice to the British nation, whether we regard the situation of the countries, or the particular nature of the trade, and which is not in the least repugnant to the treaties made with Great-Britain. So that, if this treaty be considered with a mind free from prejudice, and from all design of inflaming the nation, there will remain no pretence to say, that this treaty can be grievous or hurtful to a nation for which his imperial majesty has

the greatest affection and esteem, and whose glorious exploits and important succours no time will efface out of his memory.

The other head of complaint, which contains such things as are void of all foundation, relates principally to that imaginary alliance, which in the speech is called offensive, and is there supposed to have been made against your majesty, between the emperor and king of Spain. But it will not only appear how groundless and frivolous this supposition is, from the offer lately made by his imperial and catholic majesty, of entering into a convention, 'De se mutuo non offendendo,' but will be entirely refuted by the consideration of the tenor of the treaty of alliance and friendship itself made with the crown of Spain, and communicated in its whole extent to your majesty when it is proper; from the words of which, whether the least shadow or appearance of an offensive alliance can be drawn, is submitted to the judgment of the whole world.

Another part of the complaint relates to the secret articles made in favour of the pretender, whereof your majesty asserts that you have certain and undoubted informations, by which articles it should have been agreed to set the pretender on the throne of Great-Britain. With what view, on what motive, and to what purpose, these informations, founded on the falsest reports, were represented to the
peo-

Geo. I. dress, expressing their indignation at the affront offered to his
 1726-27 majesty, by the memorial of Mr. Palms, and at his insolence
 of dispersing the same throughout the kingdom: Assuring,
 that this audacious manner of appealing to the people, and

people of Great-Britain, is not only easy to be understood, by his imperial and catholic majesty, but is obvious to the meanest capacity. But since the inviolable dignity and honour of such great princes cannot suffer, that assertions of this nature, intirely unsupported by truth, should be advanced from the royal throne to the whole nation, and to all mankind; his sacred imperial and catholic majesty has expressly commanded me, that I should declare to your majesty, and to the whole kingdom of Great-Britain, how highly he thinks himself affronted thereby, solemnly affirming, upon his imperial word, that there exists no secret article nor convention whatsoever, which contains, or can tend to prove the least tittle of what has been alledged. But that the secret designs, which lie concealed under a conduct till this time unheard of, may more manifestly appear, it must be observed, that the time is purposely taken for doing this, when a negotiation is on foot at Paris, for composing the differences which have arisen without any fault of his imperial and catholic majesty; which negotiation sufficiently shews how much his imperial and catholic majesty is at all times inclined to peace, and to the religious observation of his treaties.

As to what is said of Gibraltar, and concerning the siege thereof, under which in the speech it is insinuated, as if

some other design was concealed; the hostilities notoriously committed in the Indies, and elsewhere, against the king of Spain, in violation of treaties, seem to have given a very just occasion to the king of Spain, for attempting that siege. But, as to the intentions and engagements of the emperor upon that article, it is easy to see what they are, by the treaty abovementioned, which has been communicated.

As to what is said in the last place, concerning the Ostend trade, which the goodness of the Catholic king induced him to favour (being bound by no treaty) after he had been apprized of the just reasons for the establishment of it, various expedients for a composition have been proposed, not only at the Hague, but even lately at Paris, lest this harmless method of providing for the security of the barrier should prove an obstacle to the common friendship of neighbouring powers.

Which things being thus, the injury offered to truth, the honour and dignity of his sacred imperial and catholic majesty require, that they should be exposed to your majesty, to the kingdom of Great-Britain, and to the whole world. And his sacred imperial majesty demands that reparation which is due to him by all manner of right, for the great injuries which have been done him by these many imputations.

turning

turning a memorial into a seditious libel, was a proceeding that created in them the utmost abhorrence and detestation.

‘ The endeavouring (says the address) to instil into the minds of any of your faithful subjects the least distrust or diffidence in your majesty’s sacred royal word, or to make a distinction between your majesty and your people, is an attempt as vain as presumptuous. If time has not effaced the memory of the glorious exploits, and important succours (confessed to have been received from Great-Britain) gratitude, affection and esteem for this nation, will be best manifested, by doing honour to the king, whom the people honour, and justice to the people, whose rights and privileges the best of kings is now defending, against the invasions and incroachments made upon them.’ Besides this address, the lord Townshend sent a letter in the king’s name to the emperor’s resident, ordering him forthwith to depart the kingdom.

About the same time monsieur de Chavigny, the French minister at the general diet of Ratisbon, presented a declaration to the diet, affirming, that the preparations which were making in France, were only for the preservation of peace : That the guarantee of the treaty of Munster, in favour of the States, did not any way concern the Germanic body : That, far from designing to invade the territories of Germany, the king of France, on the contrary, would exert himself to preserve their rights and privileges : That the report, as if his ambassador at the Porte had solicited the Turks to come to resolutions against the peace of the empire, was a calumny : That he would faithfully observe the treaty of Westphalia : And hoped for a suitable return by the like sentiments and dispositions.

The imperial commissioners at the diet were highly offended at this declaration, which was not registered according to custom, and they published, a few days after, an imperial decree, full of invectives against the steps taken by the courts of Great-Britain and France, particularly against his Britannic majesty’s speech to his parliament. Mr. Le Heup, the British minister at Ratisbon, delivered the next day to the diet a declaration of the same import with Chavigny’s, which raised a great ferment among the imperialists, who loudly complained, ‘ That this second declaration was manifestly intended as a personal insult to his imperial majesty, since it was presented in open defiance of his decree against the first.’ But to this it was answered, in behalf of the British minister, ‘ That he was not to take any public notice of his imperial

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majesty's decree; and that such decrees, in what form or stile soever, cannot divert or interrupt foreign ministers in the exercise of their functions, directed to the states of the empire, and not to the emperor; nor in the execution of the orders they may, at any time, receive from their respective masters.' The imperial ministers at Ratisbon made also a terrible outcry against an expression in the English and French envoys memorials, wherein they call the charge against the kings their masters, as if they had endeavoured to excite the Ottoman porte against the emperor, by no softer name than that of Calumny; which was so warmly resented, that the imperialists gave out, There could be no reconciliation between the emperor and the king of Great-Britain, till satisfaction was made for that affront.

Sweden accedes to the treaty of Hanover.

The king at this time had the satisfaction of hearing the king of Sweden's accession to the treaty of Hanover. This accession was signed the 14th of March at Stockholm. The king of Sweden was to furnish, when the case of the alliance should happen, three thousand foot and two thousand horse: His guarantee was not to reach beyond the limits of Europe: The stipulated troops were not to be employed in Italy or Spain: His engagement was only with Great-Britain and France. The main point was the secret article, by virtue of which the two kings, to shew their friendship to his Swedish majesty, were to pay at Hamburgh, Amsterdam, or London, as Sweden should direct, the sum of 50,000l. sterling for three years, or the value thereof, according to the exchange, in half-yearly payments. In return for this mark of their friendship, the king of Sweden was to hold in readiness another body of 7,000 foot, and 3,000 horse, to be employed where the cases of the alliance should render it necessary. Provided however, that, when their Britannic and most Christian majesties should require the service of these 10,000 men, they should be in their pay, and liable to be recalled when Sweden should be in any real or imminent danger.

Treaty with Denmark.

The king of Denmark did not accede in form to the treaty of Hanover, but signed an alliance the 16th of April. The king of Denmark promised to keep on foot 24,000 men, ready to march upon the first advice of the motion of the Muscovities, or of any other troops that should come to attack Sleswick, and disturb the peace of Lower-Saxony: The French king promised to pay to his Danish majesty 350,000 rix-dollars for four years, payable quarterly at Hamburgh. As soon as the Danish army should march, the king

of France was to take 20,000 men into his pay : His Britannic majesty was to hold in readiness 12,000 men to join the 24,000 Danes, when they began to march, and to send a squadron of ships to cover the Danish coasts upon the first advice of the motions of the Muscovite fleet. The French king was to hold in readiness at least 30,000 men to march or make diversions where it should be needful, and his Britannic majesty engaged to have likewise in readiness another body of 12,000 men for the same purposes. If the king of Prussia should be attacked for refusing a passage to the Muscovites, the contracting kings were to join their armies in his defence. By the secret articles, the king of Denmark was not to dispose of any troops contrary to the interest of the two kings. If the French king should desire to employ the 12,000 men in his pay, for affairs not relating to Denmark, but only to his own service, or that of the treaty of Hanover, in such cases they shall be allowed for the service of his most Christian majesty. As the Muscovites, in order to trouble the peace of the empire, must penetrate through Poland, his Polish majesty was to be acquainted with the measures taken to hinder their coming into the empire, and invited to stop the passes the Muscovites would take in his territories.

A convention had likewise been made the last year with the prince of Hesse, by which he was to hold in readiness, for the service of Great-Britain, eight thousand foot and four thousand horse. He was to maintain these troops at his own charge for two years. As the landgrave had not so many troops on foot, and was to be at a great expence in levying what was wanted, as well as in remounting the cavalry, the king promised to pay him 75,000*l.* sterling after the ratification of the convention, and 50,000*l.* in the February following, or before, in case the troops should be required. For the subsidies, pay, and subsistence of these forces when they should serve, they were to be settled according to the treaty made at London in 1722. France came not into this treaty, so the whole expence fell upon England.

As these treaties were very expensive, an opportunity was taken, when the commons were debating on the malt-bill, to have it moved by Mr. Scroope, secretary of the treasury, ' That a clause of approbation should be received, empowering the king to apply such sums as should be necessary for defraying the expences and engagements as had been, or should be made before the 25th of December next, in concerting such measures as he should think most conducive to

Convention
with Hesse-
Cassel.

Motion for
a clause in
the malt-
tax.

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the security of trade and navigation, and restoring the peace of Europe.' Upon this arose a very long and warm debate. It was said, in support of the motion, 'That his majesty was so unwilling to put his subjects to any extraordinary expences, that he had demanded no more supplies this session, than what he thought absolutely necessary for the service of the year : But, in the present posture of affairs, some unforeseen accidents might require a further expence, for which no estimate could now be made, because some treaties, his majesty thought fit to enter into, were not yet finished. Therefore they ought to enable him to answer such contingencies. That the house had several times reposed the same confidence in him, which he had never abused : And what was now asked was only for a short time.' On the other hand it was urged, 'That the asking and granting supplies without an estimate was unparliamentary : That the clause moved for was inconsistent with that part of the bill, which forbids the issuing of the supplies thereby granted, to any other purposes than those specified, and rendered ineffectual that appropriation of the public money, which the wisdom of all parliaments had thought a necessary security against the misapplication of it : Which was the more to be feared, because no provision was made to oblige any person to account for any money, that shall be disposed of, by virtue of the power in this clause. That vast sums had already been granted, which appeared sufficient to answer any occasions, as far as their present views could reach ; and, if any unexpected emergency should demand a further supply, that might be provided for in the usual manner, when necessity required. That this might be done with less inconvenience, and with less danger of misapplication, than by such a delegation of almost a dictatorial authority to the ministers, That this parliament had already given so many instances of their zeal and affection for his majesty, that there could be no room to doubt of their readiness to make good whatever he should expend in concerting such measures, as he should think most conducive to the advantage and interest of his people. That such an unlimited and absolute power ought never to be given in a free government, but upon occasions of evident necessity, when the very being of the government is in imminent danger. That the reposing a confidence in the crown in the disposition of such immense sums of money, as by the advice of unthrifty ministers may be expended, might be attended with great prejudice to the properties of the subjects, and great danger to our excellent constitution, which

can-

cannot be preserved but by a strict adherence to those essential parliamentary forms of granting supplies only upon estimates, and of appropriating the same to services and occasions publicly avowed and judged necessary. That the departing from these excellent methods would by degrees render parliaments altogether useless. That the precedents alledged to justify this clause were far from being full to the point, and satisfactory ; and, if they were, ought not to be followed, lest clauses of the same nature might become so frequent, as in time to lodge in the crown, and in the ministers, an absolute and uncontrollable power of raising money upon the people, which by our wise constitution is, and with safety can be, lodged in the whole legislature.' The debate being ended, Mr. Scroope's motion was carried by a majority of 225 against 109 ; and the clause was added to the malt-bill ; which, being sent up to the lords, occasioned the like debate there as in the house of commons, but was at last carried by a majority of 76 again 20 (a).

Two

(a) It may here be observed, that these clauses of appropriation have been by some late writers confounded with votes of credit, which are of a very different nature. Votes of credit were frequent in king William's first war, and when, at the beginning of a session, money was wanting, for providing for the services of the next year, before the supplies were granted, or any money-bills could pass, the commons came to votes that gave the crown a power to borrow money to a certain sum, and at a certain rate, to be repaid out of the first supplies to be granted that session : These were properly votes of credit, upon which money was advanced before the supplies were granted or raised by act of parliament.

But a clause of approbation is not a power given to borrow or raise money by a vote of the house of commons, but a power given, by authority of the le-

gislation, and by act of parliament, to apply or dispose of some part of the supplies (raised by law) to particular uses or services, not specified in the estimates or resolutions of supplies at the discretion of the crown upon future emergencies, or such services, as, by the nature of them, cannot properly, or without danger of rendering them ineffectual, be explained or laid before a house of commons.

There are many instances of this method of granting money, particularly in the year 1706, a latitude is given in the clause of appropriation of the supplies of that year, ' to pay sums due upon treaties made or to be made, and other charges of the war, for any time before, or till the 25th of December 1706, which method was continued several years successively.

This is a method, no doubt, that ought not to be wantonly

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Motion for
raising part
of the sup-
ply in the
coal-tax,

Two days after it was moved by Sir William Yonge, 'That, towards the supply granted to the king, the sum of 370,000 l. should be raised by loans on Exchequer bills, to be charged on the surplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reserved for the disposition of the parliament.' This motion was strenuously opposed, and particularly by Mr. Pulteney and Sir Joseph Jekyll. They objected, 'That, by several votes and acts of parliament, all the exceedings or surpluses of public funds were to be applied towards lessening of the public debts, or to the increase of the sinking fund. That this disposition could not be altered without wounding public credit, which was already extreme low, since the taking off part of the mortgage could not but lessen the security of the debt. That it was somewhat strange, such a motion should be made by those very persons, who had the honour of being in the administration, who could not have forgot, what his majesty had so strongly recommended from the throne, at the opening of this session, 'That the produce of the sinking fund might be immediately applied to the uses, for which it was so wisely contrived, and to which it now stands appropriated.' And that this motion was still the more surprising, after the large vote of credit, the house had so lately come to.' To all this it was answered, That the surpluses in coals could not be deemed a part of the sinking fund, since they had never been appropriated, but were reserved for the disposition of parliament. Upon which the motion was carried by a majority of 209 against 82 (b). On

or frequently practised. The grounds and foundation, upon which such a confidence should be allowed, ought to arise from a supposition, that services may occur that are unforeseen, and therefore could not be provided for; that opportunities may offer which may be unexpected and sudden, but very essential and decisive; that there are services, which, by the nature of them, must be kept secret, because, by being divulged, they would be disappointed; and that there are services which equally require the greatest secrecy, from the circumstances and situation of the persons with

whom you transact, and this secrecy must equally extend to future times, as well as preceding times. There are, for instance, princes, whose situation will not permit them to enter at once into offensive engagements, till a safe opportunity shall present, who will, in the mean time, be induced to accept private subsidies and supplies, to put themselves in a condition to declare, when called upon.

(b) As the affair of the coal-tax has been misunderstood and misrepresented, it may not be improper to put it in a clear light. In order to this it must be observed, that the sinking fund

On the 15th of May, the king put an end to the session, Geo. I. with this last speech to both houses :

1727.

“ My ———

fund consists of the surpluses of the aggregate fund, the South-Sea fund, and the general fund, and of these only*. In the act of 1 Geo. I. which establishes the aggregate fund, it is enacted, ‘ That all other public monies which after Michaelmas, 1715, shall come into the Exchequer, not being appropriated or appointed to any use by any act of parliament made, or to be made, shall be set apart and applied to, and for the uses by the present act declared, as likewise the overplus monies of the yearly sum of 700,000 l. per ann. established for the king’s civil list. By virtue of these clauses, the surplus of the civil list revenues, and all public monies remaining in the Exchequer, not appropriated by any act made, or to be made, were part of the aggregate fund ; but, as they were left to be appropriated by any acts to be made, as well as made, and any surplus, at that time arising from the aggregate fund, was made disposeable for the public debts and revenues which were not in themselves part of any of the three capital funds, the surpluses whereof constitute the sinking fund, as they might be carried to the sinking fund, as long as they remained unappropriated, so they might be disposed of to any other use or service by authority of parliament. Now it will appear upon examination, that the coal-duty made no part of the sinking fund. By the 9th of queen

Anne, the coal-duty was granted from Sept. 28, 1716, to Sept. 28. 1724, and made a fund for building fifty new churches, &c. By 1 George I. the duty is continued for another year, to provide for the ministers of the fifty new churches. By 5 George I. the duty is farther continued, and a fund of 21,000 l. is granted for thirty-two years, for raising 360,000 l. for building churches, &c. with an interest of 4 l. per cent ; and another fund of 30,559 l. was created, for raising 500,000 l. by a lottery ; and the further sum of 21,325 l. was applied, for completing the supplies granted that session. It is there enacted, ‘ That all the surplus-money of the coal-duty, which should, at the end of any quarter, remain, during the said thirty-two years, after the aforesaid sum should be discharged, should be reserved for the disposition of parliament, and should not be disposed of to any use, but by authority of parliament, and according to such future acts, as should be passed for that purpose.’ This then was the state of the coal-duty in the year 1719 : It was charged with two funds of 21,000 l. per annum, and 30,559 l. 14 s. per annum, when the produce of it was estimated at 70,000 l. per annum, which made a provision for the disposing the surplus necessary. This transaction was in 1719 : The sinking fund was established in 1716 ; but, if it had been the sense of the parliament,

* See p. 535-536.

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“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ **I** Acquainted you, at the opening of this session, with
“ the dangers which threatened this kingdom, and the
“ peace and liberties of Europe. I am now to return you
“ my thanks for the zeal and dispatch, with which you have
“ proceeded upon the several points I then recommended to
“ your care ; for the confidence you have reposed in me ;
“ and for the assurances you have given me of your support
“ and assistance, in vindication of my honour, and in the
“ maintenance and defence of the undoubted rights and pri-
“ vileges of this nation, so openly and notoriously invaded
“ and attacked.

“ The siege of Gibraltar proves, beyond all dispute, the
“ end and design of the engagements entered into by the
“ emperor and the king of Spain ; but the preparations I had
“ made for the defence of that place, and the bravery of my
“ troops, will, I doubt not, convince them of the rashness
“ and folly of that undertaking. However, the love of
“ peace has hitherto prevailed upon me, even under this
“ high provocation, to suspend, in some measure, my re-
“ sentments ; and, instead of having immediate recourse to
“ arms, and demanding of my allies that assistance, which
“ they are engaged and ready to give me, I have concurred
“ with the most Christian king and the States-General, in
“ making such overtures of accommodation, as must con-

liament, that the coal-duty, or
any surplus of it, had belonged
to the sinking fund, the provi-
sion for the disposition of the sur-
plus had been unnecessary, or
the direction, that is given by
the act of parliament, had been
an invasion of the sinking fund ;
but we see in 1719 (in the in-
fancy of the sinking fund, when
it wanted assistance) 521,325 l.
taken out of the coal-duty for
the service of the year, and the
surplus reserved for the future
disposition of parliament, which
is an express exception of this
surplus out of the sinking fund,
because, by the act establishing

the aggregate fund, this sur-
plus might have been carried to
that fund, and consequently in-
to the sinking fund, which it is
plain this restriction was pur-
posely inserted to prevent, and
to leave it to the discretion of
future parliaments, to make
such use of this surplus, as they
should from time to time think
most conducive to the public
good. Thus Mr. Pulteney and
Sir Joseph Jekyll's objections,
founded on the coal-duty's be-
ing part of the sinking fund,
and those of others since, are
entirely groundless.

“ vince

“ vince all the world of the uprightness of our intentions, and Geo. I.
 “ of our sincere disposition to peace, and demonstrate to 1727.
 “ whose ambition and thirst of power the calamities of a
 “ war are to be imputed, if these just and reasonable propo-
 “ sitions are rejected. In the mean time, I have the plea-
 “ sure to acquaint you, that the crown of Sweden has ac-
 “ ceded to the treaty of Hanover, and the convention be-
 “ tween me, his most Christian majesty, and the king of
 “ Denmark, is actually signed.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ The vigour and chearfulness you have shewn in raising
 “ so effectually, and upon such easy terms, the necessary
 “ supplies for the service of the current year, are not only
 “ instances of your zeal and affection to me, but demon-
 “ strate the established credit, power and strength of this
 “ kingdom.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ It would have been a great satisfaction to me, if, before
 “ your separation, I had been able to speak to you more
 “ positively, and with greater certainty, upon the present
 “ posture of affairs. But, as you have now dispatched the
 “ public business, and as the season of the year requires your
 “ going into your respective countries, I chuse rather to put
 “ an end to this session, than to keep you any longer toge-
 “ ther unnecessarily. The provisions you have made, and
 “ the perfect union and harmony between me and my al-
 “ lies, will, I hope, enable me, by the divine assistance,
 “ either to withstand and defeat the designs of our enemies,
 “ if their conduct should bring upon us the necessity of a war;
 “ or to improve the blessings of peace, if peace can, with
 “ justice, honour, and security be obtained.”

By this speech it appears that, notwithstanding the prepa-
 rations for war, as well by the allies of Hanover, as by those
 of Vienna, overtures of accommodation had been made. All
 had declared, that the preservation of the tranquility of Eu-
 rope was the end of their armaments. This the court of
 Spain did, at the same time that the siege of Gibraltar was Gibraltar
 ordered. The Condé de las Torres, captain-general of the besieged
 king of Spain's forces in Andalusia, opened the trenches be-
 fore Gibraltar the 11th of February. He had an army of
 about

Geo. I. 1727. about twenty thousand men, and was well provided with artillery of all sorts, with ammunition, and warlike stores, proportioned to the strength of the place, and the bravery of the garrison, which the Spaniards expected would lengthen the siege. Colonel Clayton, lieutenant-governor of the place, had troops and necessaries sufficient for defence, till supplies could come from England, for which due preparations had been made. Upon the repeated advices, that the Spaniards were preparing for the siege of Gibraltar, six men of war, the Kent, Lenox, Berwick, Royal Oak, Portland, and Tyger, were fitted out with all expedition. With these ships, and three regiments, Newton's, Disney's, and Anstruther's, Sir Charles Wager sailed in January. When the siege was begun, colonel Stanhope, the British ambassador in Spain, having received the passports, he had demanded of king Philip, set out from Madrid for Boyonne, in his way to England, having given the British merchants in that kingdom such timely notice to take necessary precautions for securing their effects, that, when orders came to the Spanish governors to seize them, these merchants suffered no considerable loss by that seizure. In the beginning of March, colonel Hayes's and colonel Middleton's regiments of foot were put on board the transports at Portsmouth, and sailed for Gibraltar, under convoy of the Torbay, Captain Haddock, and the Poole fire-ship, Colonel Clayton's regiment was about the same time, ordered to embark in the river of Thames, and a draught of ten companies out of the first regiment of foot-guards was made by lot (c).

The earl of Portmore, governor of Gibraltar, notwithstanding his advanced age, having been a colonel near forty years, resolved to repair to his government, and embarked at Portsmouth, on board the prince Frederick, appointed with the Yarmouth (two seventy gun ships) to convoy the

(c) The lots fell on those of

Colonel Price,
Colonel Hastings,
Colonel Pearson,
Colonel Meyrick,
Colonel Duncombe,
Colonel Inwood,
Colonel Treby,
Colonel Brown,
Colonel Oughton,
Colonel Williamfon,

The whole detachment to be under the command of colonel Guise, major in the said regiment.

Of these, colonel Treby resigned his commission, and was succeeded by colonel Onslow; captain Stanhope, of the said regiment, also laid down his commission, and was succeeded in it by Mr. Parker.

trans-

transports, on which the detachment of the guards and Clayton's regiment were embarked. All these forces arrived at Gibraltar the beginning of April, as did likewise five hundred men from Minorca, who with the garrison formed a body of six thousand men, the greatest part of whom incamped on the south point without the town, while the rest did duty within, and were relieved from the camp. The besiegers threw a great quantity of bombs into the place, which did the less damage, as most of the houses were empty by the desertion of the old inhabitants. The garrison had store of salt provisions from England and Ireland, and of fresh from Barbary; for which purpose a frigate was ordered to be continually going to and from Tetuan and Tangier, Sir Charles Wager, having caused the ammunition and warlike stores, with twenty-four pieces of cannon, to be put on shore, sailed from Gibraltar to cruise with the Torbay, Sterling-Castle, Burford, Kent, Royal Oak, Canterbury, York, and Poole fireship, leaving there the Tyger, Winchester, Lyme, Solebay bombship, Thunder bombship, Cruizer and Hawk sloops; which were joined by the Portland and Dursley galley; the Colchester and Swallow being ordered to Port-Mahon to be cleaned. In this disposition of defence the siege of Gibraltar gave little pain to the English, either at home or abroad; while the Spaniards, in the prosecution of it, for four months lost above half their army by slaughter, sickness, and desertion.

About the same time the court of Vienna having shewn a disposition to begin the war in the Netherlands, by attacking the Dutch barrier, the king ordered an augmentation of thirty companies of foot, and that the ten thousand auxiliaries, which England was obliged by treaty to send to the assistance of the States, should hold themselves in readiness for embarkation (d).

(d) Of this number were colonel Campbell's, major general Gore's, brigadier Churchill's, and major general Honeywood's dragoons; and two battalions of guards commanded by colonel Robinson, and colonel Robinson's, colonel Kirk's, colonel Harrison's, earl of Deloraine's, Sir James Wood's, lord Tyrawley's, colonel Pocock's, colonel Murray's, and colonel Grove's regiment of foot. This

body of forces were to be commanded by the earl of Orkney, commander in chief, the duke of Argyle, general of the foot, the lord Cobham and the earl of Stair, lieutenants-general. The earl of Deloraine and Philip Honeywood, major-generals; Sir James Wood, colonel Pocock, colonel Kirke, colonel Kerr, and the earl of Scarborough, brigadiers-general.

As

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Geo. I. 1727. As the king of Sweden had acceded to the treaty of Hanover, Sir John Norris was sent with a considerable fleet to the Baltic, to support him in this new alliance, so disagreeable to the courts of Vienna and Russia. The English being joined by a Danish squadron, the Russian court thought fit to put a stop to the equipment of their fleet, which was no more talked of after the death of the czarina, on the 17th of May, about the time of Sir John Norris's arrival in the Baltic.

A fleet to
the Baltic.

The court of France, being equally concerned with England to prevent a war, augmented their troops, and formed incampments for the exercise of their militia. But, as the Hanover alliance was only defensive, it did not exclude France from a mediation, which tended to adjust all the differences of the several parties. Accordingly, his most Christian majesty undertook that office, which was conducted by the duke of Richlieu, his ambassador at Vienna. The duke, in concert with the British and Dutch ministers, drew up a project of accommodation, which was sent to the emperor and the king of Spain. This scheme consisted of eight articles, which were to serve as preliminaries for a general congress. The emperor did not think proper to reject it, but formed a counter-project, which he sent to the allies at Hanover. The allies, judging it not satisfactory, formed their last resolution, in which they declared, they could make no alteration. The emperor, pressed by the duke of Richlieu, accepted at last of the scheme, consisting of the twelve following articles :

I. His imperial and Catholic majesty having no other view, than to contribute to the public tranquility of Europe, and observing, that the commerce of Ostend has given birth to jealousy and uneasiness, consents, that there shall be a suspension of the charter of the Ostend company, and of all traffic between the Austrian Netherlands and the Indies, during the term of seven years.

II. All rights or possessions shall remain intire to such of the contracting powers, as enjoyed them by virtue of the treaties and conventions made before the year 1725, which regard neither the emperor nor the States-General. But if any change has been made with relation to the said possessions ; or if, in consequence of those conventions, somewhat has not been executed, the change, that has happened,
or

or the points, which have not been executed, shall be discussed and decided in the future congress, according to the tenor of the treaties and conventions.

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III. Consequently all the privileges of commerce in Europe, Spain, and the Indies, grounded upon treaties, and formerly enjoyed by the English and French nations, and by the subjects of the States-General, shall be restored upon the same foot, and settled in the same manner they were, particularly by the treaties preceding the year 1725.

IV. The powers of the north shall be invited and desired by their respective allies, not to have recourse to hostilities; but, on the contrary, to embrace all reasonable methods of accommodation; and that, until the opening of the congress hereafter mentioned, wherein all the respective differences shall be discussed, the contracting powers shall not contribute to any hostilities directly or indirectly, under any colour or pretence whatever, which may disturb the present state of affairs in the North; but, on the contrary, they shall engage to act in concert, to put an end to hostilities, if they should be commenced.

V. All hostilities whatsoever, if any should happen, shall instantly cease after the signing of the present articles; and with respect to Spain, eight days after his Catholic majesty shall have received the articles signed. The ships, which sailed from Ostend to the Indies before this convention, the names whereof shall be given in a list on the part of his imperial majesty, may return freely and safely from the Indies to Ostend; and, if any of these ships be detained or taken, they shall be restored, bona fide, with their cargoes. The galleons also shall be permitted to return to Spain unmolested, in firm confidence, that his Catholic majesty will, with regard to the effects on board the galleons and the flotilla, deal in the same manner as usual in all times of liberty. In consequence of this, the English squadron, commanded by admiral Hosier, shall depart as soon as possible from Porto-Bello, and all other ports of America belonging to the king of Spain: He shall even return with his squadron into Europe, that the subjects of his Catholic majesty in the Indies may be free from all further apprehensions and uneasiness. The commerce of the English in America shall be carried on as formerly, according to the treaties. Moreover, the English, French, and Dutch squadrons, which may appear upon the
coasts

Geo. I. 1727. coasts of Spain, or on those of the states of his imperial majesty, at the time when this present cessation of hostilities commence, shall depart thence as soon as possible, that the inhabitants of those coasts may henceforth be rid of all disturbance and fear. Neither shall those ships be permitted to undertake any thing directly or indirectly against the said port.

VI. This cessation of hostilities shall continue as long as the suspension of the charter granted to the Ostend company, viz. seven years, that the jarring interests may be reconciled in that time, and peace settled on a more solid foundation.

VII. If, after the signing of these preliminaries, any troubles or hostilities should happen between the subjects of the contracting powers, whether in Europe or the Indies, under what pretence soever it may be, they shall join together to get reparation of the damage or prejudice their respective subjects have sustained.

VIII. If these articles are accepted and signed, a congress shall be opened in four months, reckoning from the day of signing at Aix la Chapelle, wherein the respective rights or all the contracting powers, and those invited to it, shall be examined, discussed, and settled.

IX. The plenipotentiaries, that shall be named, shall have in their retinue no more than two gentlemen, two pages, and six footmen, that they may be sooner ready for their journey, and to avoid pomp and expence.

X. The plenipotentiaries shall insist on no ceremonial, but follow the regulations settled at the congress of Cambray, to obviate all disputes relating to rank : However, each shall have liberty left to protest.

XI. The several powers shall earnestly recommend to their respective plenipotentiaries, to avoid any thing trifling, that may in any wise retard the congress.

XII. The ratification of these preliminary articles shall be exchanged in the space of two months, or sooner, if possible, reckoning from the day of signing.

These

These articles were first signed at Paris, the 20th of May, by the ministers of the Hanover alliance, and afterwards at Vienna, by the ministers of the emperor and the king of Spain.

The emperor punctually executed the first of these articles, and ratified the preliminaries within the time agreed on. Though Aix la Chapelle was appointed for the place of congress, it was afterwards transferred to Cambray for the convenience of the minister of France, whose presence was necessary at that court. The king of Spain also executed in part what concerned him; he gave orders for suspending all further attacks against Gibraltar, and all hostilities against the English elsewhere. This was an honourable way of abandoning a siege, which lasted four months without success; nor had it done much execution among the English, for they lost in all but three hundred and seventy-three men. The suspension of arms was signed the 23d of June, N. S. But, when the siege was on the point of being entirely raised, and the preliminaries to be ratified in form, Spain started new difficulties, and urged new pretensions. The Spaniards insisted, that a temporary suspension of arms did not imply an actual raising of the siege of Gibraltar; and that the restitution of the prince Frederick, the South-Sea ship (taken at la Vera Cruz, before Spain was in war with England) was not mentioned or included in the articles, whereas the English demanded both, by virtue of the preliminaries. Upon this hostilities began again between the ships of the two nations, and Sir Charles Wager continued to cruize on the coasts of Spain, after the cessation of arms at Gibraltar. And what was very remarkable, whilst he was looking out with seven ships for the Spanish galleons (which were said to be coming home) thirteen French men of war (six from Brest, and seven from Toulon) suddenly came and anchored before Cadiz, of which Squadron Wager had received no intelligence either from London or Madrid. As therefore he had no notice of their coming, all communication with the French fleet was forbid. However, after many cavils and delays, the preliminary articles were at last signed at Madrid, on the 24th of February, above eight months after the death of king George I, by the ministers of the emperor, England, France, Spain, and the States, which opened the way to the congress (c).

King

(c) To bring down these may be observed, that means matters to the present time, it were found to detach Spain from
from

Geo. I. King George had not visited his German dominions these
1727. two years, and therefore, soon after the breaking up of the
par-

Death of
King
George I.

from the emperor, and a treaty was concluded at Seville, November 9, N. S. 1729, between Great-Britain, France, and Spain. By this treaty commissaries were to be appointed to examine at the court of Spain, and decide about the captures on both sides, among which were reckoned the ships taken by the English fleet in 1718. That instead of neutral garrisons (as agreed to in the Quadruple Alliance) Spanish garrisons should be introduced into Leghorn, &c. for preserving the succession of don Carlos. This it was that induced the queen of Spain to come into a treaty, which gave great offence to the emperor, as it put an end to his subsidy from Spain, of about a million sterling a year. He thundered out complaints against it at all the courts of Europe, and particularly by a commissorial decree, directed to the diet of Ratisbon. But it was to no purpose, for the treaty of Seville, with regard to the emperor, and all other states, and the balance of power, varied in nothing from the Quadruple Alliance, but in substituting six thousand Spanish instead of so many neutral troops, for asserting the eventual succession of the infant of Spain to the grand duke's dominions, to which the emperor had agreed. However, the British court offering to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, or the emperor's settlement of his hereditary dominions, on his

eldest daughter, on the failure of issue male (which was thought necessary to preserve the balance of power) the emperor was at last pacified. This produced the second treaty of Vienna, March 16, 1731, between the emperor and Great-Britain, in which the States were included. By it the order of the succession, settled by the emperor was guaranteed by Great-Britain and the States; the commerce and navigation to the East-Indies were to cease in the Netherlands, except two ships for once from Offend: A tariff or new treaty concerning trade, and the rule of imposts relating to the Austrian Netherlands, was to be settled by commissaries at Antwerp: The introduction of Spanish garrisons into Leghorn, &c. was agreed to by the emperor. Thus the queen of Spain was pacified by the variation of neutral troops, and the emperor was contented, by guarantying his succession. The conclusion of these treaties gave hopes of a lasting tranquility: But the death of the king of Poland soon put an end to those hopes. The emperor, in conjunction with Russia, espoused the quarrel of the elector of Saxony, and supported an unfair election of a king forced upon a free nation. This being opposed by France, a war broke out between their imperial and most Christian majesties, in which Great-Britain and the States stood neuter, as they did also in the differences which arose be-

parliament, he prepared for his journey to Hanover, where he thought to enjoy the fruit of his labours in peace, or continue his endeavours for the good of the common cause. Having appointed the lords justices for the administration of the government, he embarked at Greenwich, on board the Carolina yacht, the 3d of June, attended by the earl of Ilay and the lord Townshend. The king landed, on the 7th, at Vaert in Holland, where he lay that night. The next day he proceeded on his journey to Hanover; and, on the 9th of June, between ten and eleven at night, arrived at Delden, in all appearance of perfect health. He supped there very heartily, and eat an Orange, but no melon, as was reported; and having rested well that night, set out from Delden about four the next morning. Between eight and nine he ordered the coach to stop, in order to make water, and perceiving that one of his hands hung motionless, said, 'I cannot move this hand.' Monsieur Fabrice rubbed it with both his, but to no effect; upon which he called the surgeon (who followed on horseback) who rubbed it also with spirits. In this interval the king's eyes and mouth began to move strangely, and his tongue to swell, so that he could not speak. The surgeon, taking it for an apoplectic fit, opened a vein, and the king recovered his speech, so as to say, 'Hasten to Osnabrug;' but immediately fell into a slumber in Fabrice's arms. As the violent motion of the coach could not keep the king awake, Fabrice asked the surgeon, What he thought of him? who answered, he despaired of his life. Fabrice ordered him to take care of him, and rid post himself from the last stage to Osnabrug, to prepare the duke of York, the king's brother, for such unexpected news. The king being arrived there about ten, was immediately carried to bed, where he continued speechless and in agonies till two

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between Spain and Portugal. But, though Great-Britain and the States were not engaged in these disputes, they were both obliged to guard against events, which had a good effect. Our naval armaments struck terror into France and Spain alternately. The French durst not venture to the Baltic to relieve Dantzick, whilst our navy rid in the Downs, nor the Spaniards to insult, much less attack Por-

tugal, whilst our fleet lay in the Tagus. At last, in order to adjust all differences between Great-Britain and Spain, the famous Convention was transacted by Sir Robert Walpole, but, meeting with opposition, was laid aside, and a war with Spain ensued, which brought on a war also with France, as will be seen in the annals of the next reign,

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His circum-
stances and
character.

o'clock in the morning, on Sunday the 11th of June, when he expired in the 68th year of his age, and 13th of his reign; and was interred at Hanover, among his ancestors (a).

Thus died George the First, who may truly be considered as more fortunate in more important circumstances of his life and affairs, than any prince of the last or present century. This good fortune, which is often the reward of virtue, and as often the effect of prudence, attended him as well before as after his accession to the crown of Great-Britain. The establishment of the electoral dignity in his family, was a work which, though begun by his father, was reserved for him finally to accomplish. A large accession of dominion fell to him by his succeeding to the dukedom of Zell, whereby he became one of the greatest princes of Germany, and by far the most powerful person that ever stood next heir to the British throne. The duchy of Bremen, and the bishopric of Osnabrug, considerably strengthened his interests in the empire, and gave an additional weight to the Protestant cause.

But his good fortune appeared in nothing so remarkable as in the removal of those seemingly invincible obstacles to his succession to the crown of these kingdoms. Queen Anne had high notions of hereditary right; and, in the latter part of her reign, slavish doctrines in support of the indefeasibleness of that right were avowed in numerous addresses. Preparations were made for the execution of purposes well understood, though not expressly avowed. The ministers, and all, who had been the sure supports of the Hanover succession, had been disgraced. Many favourable concessions were made to our often defeated enemies, who, both by interest and inclination, were the protectors and friends of the pretender. The administration of affairs was committed to the most daring and determined, and the nation deluded into madness for destruction. But amidst these apprehensions and dangers, the queen's sudden and unexpected death gave the fortunate elector of Hanover an easy and unmolested accession to the throne.

King George did not labour under king William's first disadvantages. His and their countries enemies were well

(a) His wife, the princess Sophia Dorothy, died November 2, 1726, at the castle of Ahlen, in the electorate of Brunswick, where she had been

confined many years. She was daughter and heiress of the duke of Zell, born in 1666, and married in 1682.

known

known, and could with no colour of right demand confidence and power. After strong professions of submission and loyalty, many actually entered into rebellion; and greater numbers wished it success. The murmurings and complaints, which were occasioned by the disgrace of the general and ministry, who had raised the credit and glory of the nation to an height before unknown, had been resented as unpardonable affronts to the royal prerogative: And yet, when the successor removed those, from whom he had received many indignities, and of whose measures and designs to defeat him of his royal dignity, he had many and undoubted proofs, this was represented as extreme partiality and injustice; and in public, and on the most solemn occasions, it was pleaded as a just provocation to rebellion, and all punishments of the authors of so much mischief and misery were opposed under the pretence of being acts of inhumanity and cruelty.

There are many circumstances not publicly known, which, if brought to light, would demonstrate the king's extraordinary good fortune in defeating the rebellion. Besides what broke out in the North, the associations and preparations in the South and the West were great and numerous. Caution, fearfulness, and delay, prevented the execution of measures, which could hardly have failed of proving fatal to the government. Such a multitude of enemies in so many places would have divided the troops, and have rendered the army insignificant in the defence of the whole. The march of part of the rebels into England, their trifling at Preston, and their speedy defeat, were of unspeakable advantage, by effectually discouraging insurrections in many other places; whereas a few days march further would have very much swelled their numbers, and given them a dangerous strength.

But nothing could be more fortunate to the king than the death of Lewis XIV, of France. From him the rebels would have received all sorts of succours and supplies. Bigotry and revenge animated the whole French nation with unanimous zeal for the success of the pretender. And even a minority, a contested regency, and the probable need, which the regent might have of our support, did not prevent all assistance. However, those circumstances proved a powerful restraint; and the situation of the neighbouring nations was an eminent security to this reign. The utmost degree of aversion and jealousy subsisted between the regent of France and the court of Madrid; which was properly improved by destroying the growing naval power of Spain; and our sur-

Geo. I. prizing and complete advantage in this affair utterly disappointed the vast designs of an able and enterprizing minister.
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The invasion and rebellion, in 1719, are the less remembered, because not one person suffered death on that account. The Spanish fleet with five thousand soldiers suffered so much in a storm, as to be obliged to return home ; but about four hundred of them landed in Scotland, where they were joined by a considerable number of Highlanders, but were soon defeated, by an inferior number of the king's forces.

The king of Sweden's death was far from being the least considerable of many favourable events ; for, had that implacable monarch lived, his designs against Denmark would probably have succeeded ; and then he would have had full leisure and opportunity for transporting his hardy troops into Scotland.

But, on the other hand, how great and uncommon soever the king's good fortune was in removing all obstructions, and firmly establishing himself in the throne, it was not without some alloy. Had his succession taken place before the change of the ministry, and the disgrace of the general, it would have been infinitely more happy, not only for the nation but for the lasting tranquility and liberties of Europe. France would then have been compelled to give up the Spanish Monarchy. By advantages in trading to the dominions of Spain, in Europe and America, and by several concessions, we should have had ample means of repairing the losses sustained in a long and expensive war. The house of Bourbon had been reduced within their proper bounds, and ceased to have been the terror and scourge of their neighbours.

To this may be added, that king George came to a people, who had been corrupted both in their political and religious notions, and had been taught an aversion to our natural allies, and to all foreign Protestants, while an esteem and affection for France, and a tenderness for many doctrines of Popery had been infused into them with great success ; and these prejudices had indisposed the nation to submit to a Protestant prince, while the dangers from a Popish one were not attended to. The advantages likewise of a prosperous war, and many valuable branches of commerce had been given up or neglected ; and the revenue was loaded with a very heavy debt. The authors of these calamities had the art and assurance to impute the consequences of them to the king and his ministers ; and their peace-making had left Europe in such a state, and their principles infected the nation to such a degree, that a good body of regular troops was absolutely necessary to the

the safety of the nation ; and yet this was exclaimed against as enslaving it.

The moderate and sure methods of discharging the public debts which had been offered, having been neglected, the South-Sea scheme took place, to the great misfortune and disgrace of this reign, as well as of the nation in general ; and though men of all parties and degrees upon this occasion equally renounced common sense and honesty, yet they transferred the whole blame from themselves to the government. But whatever mistakes or misfortunes happened, they cannot justly be imputed to the king, whose integrity and good designs were eminent and undoubted, and his resolution to govern agreeable to our laws and constitution, steady and unalterable ; though the best understanding, and the best disposition are not always secure from the arts of bold and ambitious men.

With regard to the management of affairs abroad, a due attention was paid to the feeble and corrupt state of our allies ; and the eager and hasty disposition of the people for war, their perpetual complaints of the wisest conduct, cavilling at the most affecting successes, soon growing weary of the expence, and longing for peace on any terms, were well considered ; but at the same time the dignity and honour of the nation were maintained in our methods of composing the disorders and disturbances ; which was performed with as little expence and hazard as possible ; and preventative and defensive measures were the wise and safe politics, the happiness and glory of his reign.

As king James, instead of giving the laws their proper course, assumed a power to dispense with them : And as queen Anne was flattered into a persuasion that the regal authority was unlimited ; King George, on the contrary, desired no power but what enabled him to promote the welfare of his subjects, and was too wise to deem those his friends who would have made their court to him by the profession of an obedience which they never practised, and which has always proved fatal to those princes who have put it to the trial. He had given a proof of his sovereign virtues before he exercised them in this nation. His natural inclination to justice led him to rule his German subjects in the same manner that our constitution directed him to govern the English. He regarded civil liberties as the natural rights of mankind, and therefore indulged them to a people who pleaded no other claim to them than his own goodness. The consistency of his behaviour was such that he inflexibly pursued those mea-

Geo. I. measures which appeared the most just and equitable. As he was most prudent in laying proper schemes, he was no less remarkable for his steadiness in accomplishing what he had once concerted. To this uniformity and firmness of mind which appeared in all his proceedings, the successes that attended him were chiefly owing. His martial virtues were no less conspicuous than his civil, though for the good of his subjects he studied to decline all occasions of military glory. He had acquired great reputation in his younger days, in Hungary and the Morea, when he fought against the Turks, as well as in Germany and Flanders, where he commanded against the disturber of the peace of Europe. And, as if personal courage was an hereditary virtue of his family, three of his brothers fell gloriously in the field, fighting against the enemies of their country, and his son (his late majesty king George II.) fought with the bravery of his father at the battle of Audenarde, when the sons of France and the pretender fled before him.

As to his more private virtues, He was of a grave, easy, and calm temper, and generous upon all occasions; and the serenity and benignity of his mind discovered themselves in his countenance, and captivated the love and veneration of all who approached him.



END of VOL. XIX.

